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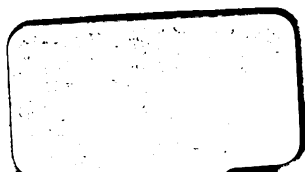
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NO. XI.—JULY, 1850.  
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HISTORY OF THE EARLY STUDY OF
HEBREW IN ENGLAND.

THE destruction of the Western Empire by the incursion of northern barbarians tended, for ages, to repress the spirit of literary inquiry. In the East, however, which was less exposed to attack, attention was still paid to learning, and by none more than by the Jews, whose schools flourished in the darkest period of the history of Europe. Circumstances having greatly changed in the course of time, many descendants of Abraham sought that security in the West which was denied them on the eastern continent. 'The rising sun of grammatical learning,' says the celebrated philologist Delitzsch, 'which appeared in Persia, passed over in its course to Africa and to Spain; and, illuminating with its radiance the remotest countries of the earth, penetrated even to Germany.'

By the aid of these teachers, scholars in Italy, Spain, France, and England were enabled to form some acquaintance with the Hebrew language. It was during the Saxon period that Jews first made their way into Britain. The 'Canonical Exceptions' of Ecgbriht, Archbishop of York, A.D. 740, forbade any Christian being present at Jewish feasts. Still later, in the Charter of Witzlaff, King of Mercia, granted to the monks of Croyland, A.D. 833, all lands bestowed by Christians and Jews were confirmed to them.* In the laws of Edward the Confessor the

* Ingulph., Hist. p. 9.

following language occurs, which is regarded as genuine by Spelman:—‘*Judæi, et omnia sua, Regis sunt.*’ It was, doubtless, primarily through these Jews that the few Anglo-Saxon scholars acquainted with Hebrew, obtained their knowledge of that language. From them was also procured the Hebrew manuscript mentioned by Alcuin, as being among the literary treasures in the library of York.^b

The first Hebrew scholar among the Anglo-Saxons, of whom any record remains, was Bede, born A.D. 673. In his writings he very frequently refers to the ‘Hebrew verity;’ and in almost innumerable instances explains the meaning of Hebrew words. When charged with heresy for writing his ‘*De Temporibus,*’ he justified himself, in his letters to Plegwin, by asserting that he followed the Hebrew text, not the Septuagint. Still, however, a careful comparison of these passages with Jerome’s writings, proves that he was almost entirely indebted to that learned father for his emendations and explanations. Nor, indeed, does he refrain from frankly expressing his obligation; ‘*nos qui per beati interpretis Hieronymi industriam puro Hebraicæ veritatis fonte potamur.*’—*Opusc. Sc. c. lxvii.*^c Alcuin, another Anglo-Saxon scholar, born at York A.D. 735, and brought up by Bishop Egbert, was taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in that city—a city, let it be remembered, where Ecgbriht’s canon was passed, and where there were, doubtless, at the time many Jews. The extent of Alcuin’s knowledge of Hebrew it is perhaps impossible to discover, since in his extant writings he, like Bede, borrows almost entirely from Jerome, as Vallarsius long ago proved.^d Still it is sufficiently evident that he had some knowledge of that language, since the statements of his pupil Joseph are such as to show that the study of Hebrew was not neglected in his school.

The disturbed state of England during the incursions of the Danes, and the banishment of the Jews by Canute, proved destructive to the interest of Hebrew study for very many years. At length under William I. Jews again found their way into England from Rouen. By the powerful protection of the Norman princes they flourished greatly, and spread themselves throughout

^b In his poem *De Pontif. et Sanct. Ecc. Eborac.* the passage occurs:—
‘*Hebraicus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno.*’

Alcuin’s Works, ed. 1777, ii. 257.

^c As Bede’s knowledge of Hebrew has been too highly esteemed, two other quotations from his works are given, which prove his expressed indebtedness to Jerome:—‘*Cæterum cunctis in commune suademus, ut sive quis ex Hebraica veritate, quæ ad nos per memoratum interpretem pura pervenisse etiam hostibus Judæis in professo est; sive,*’ &c. (*Opusc. Scient., c. 67.*) ‘*Apud Hebræos, Hieronymo teste, luna, quam jare nominant mensibus nomen dedit.*’ (*Opusc. Sc., c. 11.*)

^d The Quest. in Gen., Com. in Eccles., Interp. of the names of the Hebrew progenitors of Christ, contained in Alcuin’s works, are not his, but Jerome’s.

the whole land. William II. employed them in farming and managing the revenues of vacant bishopricks, and encouraged them to argue with his ecclesiastics. Charters were granted by Henry I. and II. in their favour. During these reigns, and for many years after, their legal privileges were equal with those of their Christian fellow-subjects,^a although, in that lawless age, they were often peculiarly exposed to the outbreaks of popular fury, and to the extortions of the powerful from their usury¹ and their wealth. The Jewish subject might equally purchase mes-suages for himself and his heirs with the Christian.² Warranties are now in existence which clearly show that Jews might be interested in lands so warranted. They as well as the crown and the Christian subject could advance money and become gagees or mortgagees; while in trials between Christians and themselves, the *venire facias* was: 'sex probos et legales homines et sex legales Judæos.' It was to John, however, that the Jews owed their most important charters. Soon after his accession to the throne, he granted them, by King's Patent, an officer for life, who is styled in the records both Presbyter and Sacerdos. Coke and Selden regard his office as purely ecclesiastical, and call him High Priest. In the second year of John's reign came out his great charter, giving not only to English Jews, but to those of Normandy, permission to reside in the King's dominions freely and honourably. It was allowed them to go where they liked with their goods, which were to be considered as safe as though they were the King's goods. They were declared free of all custom, tolls, modiations of wine, as was the King. The liegemen of the crown were commanded to keep, defend, and protect them.^b On the same day, he granted further to English Jews that all differences among themselves which did not concern the pleas of the crown, should be heard and determined by themselves. (*Deducantur secundum legem suam et emendantur, et justiciam suam inter seipsos faciant.*^c) No sooner was Henry III. on the throne than he followed the example of his father. He commanded all sheriffs to release all Jews that were on any account imprisoned. Many of these writs still exist. Next year he issued writs requiring sheriffs to elect 24 burgesses out of every town where the Jews resided in any number, to watch over them, and particularly

^a These particulars are gathered from the Rolls, and from a manuscript in the Lansdowne MSS., 215. 74 h. entitled 'Excerpta ex Instrumentis Publicis de Judæis Angliam incolentibus.'

¹ In the reign of Edward I. the Oxford students petitioned the king for relief, since, having pawned so many of their books to Jews, they could not follow their studies.

² Jews owned three hostells in Oxford. The students were their tenants. These hostells were Lombard Hall, Moses Hall, and Jacob Hall.

^b Rot. Cart. 2 John, n. 49.

^c Rot. Cart. 2 John, n. 53.

to guard them against the insults of Jerusalem pilgrims. The year following orders were sent to the sheriff of Hereford, not only to protect their property, but likewise themselves from all suits in the spiritual court (ab Episcopo de Hereford, quia nihil ad eum pertinet de Judæis nostris). Similar writs were directed to the sheriffs of Worcester, York, Lincoln, Stamford, Bristol, Northampton, Southampton, and Winchester.

Although the motives which influenced the English kings in extending their favour towards the Jews were doubtless selfish ones, they being regarded, even in King John's Magna Charta,^k as the property of the crown, and being, when circumstances required it, called upon to contribute largely to the revenues,^m yet the protection afforded them from all except regal rapacity, as far as that protection, in an age of violence, could be extended, attracted great numbers into the island, and extended still wider the means of obtaining acquaintance with their ancient language.

It must be borne in mind, too, that at this time Hebrew was far more extensively used among the Jewish inhabitants of England than it now is. Their contracts, sometimes called chartæ, and sometimes starra (from Heb. שטר), are still somewhat common.ⁿ Some of these are written in Hebrew; others in Latin with Hebrew subscriptions. At first these contracts were by law deposited in six or seven public places, afterwards in almost every considerable town. In records of law, too, the Hebrew was often used, so often indeed as to render chirographers necessary. 'Et vicecomes (Essex) mandavit tam litera latina, quam Hebraica.' The returns also of sheriffs were sometimes made in Hebrew and Latin; 'for,' says Selden, 'in these times both languages were used, not only in the deeds of the Jews, but also in the records of law.'—vi. 1460. Hence there was a 'Court of the Justices of the Jews,' with clerks attached. There were also many clerks in the Exchequer of the Jews, and many Jewish lawyers.^o Nor were the English Jews without men of literary fame among them. Rabbi Abraham Abenezra wrote in London his epistle אנורת טבה, concerning the Sabbath. Rabbi Solomon Ben Wirga, in speaking of the Jewish inhabitants of London, says that there were about two thousand masters of families of them, all men of note for wisdom and wealth, *Sepher*, fol. 19, a. They had, furthermore,

^k Omitted in the New Magna Charta of Henry III.

^m When Henry II. was thinking of going to the Holy Land, his Christian subjects were taxed at 70,000*l.*, the Jewish at 60,000*l.*

ⁿ Cotton. MSS. Aug. II. 107, Nero C. III. 183 b, 184, 196. In the later additions to the Brit. Museum are two starra, endorsed in Hebrew, A.D. 1182.

^o See Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, Sect. Exch. of Jews.

many synagogues^p and schools. Peck says that in the cities and smaller towns they openly taught the doctrines of their Rabbins with great exactness.^q In some of these Christian students were instructed in Hebrew. Thus in the Old and New Jewry, Oxford, they had a school where they not only taught their own people, but many students of the University. Nor were there wanting converts to the Christian faith, who gladly imparted their knowledge of Hebrew to others. Anthony a Wood mentions one Nicholas Harpsfield 'qui circa CIOCCCIIIX Hebraicam linguam in Oxonia per quendam Judæum ad fidem Christi conversum legi cœpisse.'—*Hist. Univ. Oxf.*, ed. 1674, p. 157.

The prosperity of the Jews did not, however, continue very long. Urged by his people, whose hatred to the Hebrews increased with their success, Edward I. in the third year of his reign prohibited them from the practice of usury; the very severe laws against which had been held in abeyance during the pleasure of preceding monarchs. This prohibition was, in the eighteenth year of his reign, followed by their banishment. The Red Book of the Exchequer settles the date of that act. 'Memorandum quod die Martis in crastino Sancti Dionisii, anno regni Regis Edwardi decimo octavo, et anno Domini millesimo ducesimo, nonagesimo, recesserunt omnes Judæi de London, versus mare.' The hasty departure of the Jews rendered it necessary that they should part with many of their manuscripts. 'Hebraica deinceps haud pauca,' says Wood, 'a Judæis ex Anglia turbatis, promercabantur.' Roger Bacon bought some of these, which he afterwards gave to the Franciscan Library at Oxford.* On one of these was a note in which he expressed his great indebtedness to them. Gregory of Huntingdon obtained others, which he bequeathed to Ramsey Abbey, A.D. 1250, together with his own writings—'choice annotations,' says Leland, 'which posterity may read with learned joy.' In a Roll in the British Museum,† written perhaps as late as the reign of Richard II., is a catalogue of the library of Ramsey Abbey. Among the works are:—*Secunda pars bibliotecæ ebraiæ, Glose sup. bibliotecam ebraiæ . . . Notale sup. bibliotecam hebraicam, . . . loquendi intelligendi in*

^p In the reign of Henry III. the synagogue in London surpassed in magnificence all the Christian churches.

^q Peck's *Antiq. Annals of Stamford*, lib. 4, p. 2.

* These have all perished. Leland, when visiting the Library, with difficulty gained access. 'Summe Jupiter!' he exclaims, 'quid ego illic inveni! Pulverem autem inveni, telas aranearum, tineas, blattas, situm denique et squalorem. Sic mihi quærenti Thesauros, carbonēs se obtulerunt.'

† This valuable manuscript is perhaps the largest roll-catalogue of books in England. It is somewhat defaced. Its mark is Cotton, ii. 16.

lingua Hebraica, Prima pars bibliothecæ hebraicæ cum aliis septem libris, secunda pars bibliothecæ ebraicæ, Liber exposit. distinctionum hebraicarum, Ps . . . hebræi . . . , besides others whose titles are nearly effaced.

The possession of these manuscripts enabled the monks to extend their knowledge of Hebrew, and excited among others, ignorant of the language, a desire to make its acquaintance. Still, however, the Hebrew learning of the times was very superficial. 'I am certain,' exclaims Bacon with much confidence, 'that in less than three days I could teach any person of a diligent habit and retentive memory, who would be conformable to certain rules, to read Hebrew, and understand whatever wise and holy men have formerly said in explanation of the sacred text; or whatever relates to its correction and explanation.' Yet Roger Bacon deserves great praise for his zealous advocacy of the study of the original Scriptures. In a treatise addressed to Pope Clement, he shows the importance of an acquaintance with the oriental tongues; and in another work, directed to the same dignitary, he requests the papal sanction to his attempts for promoting a general study of the Hebrew and Greek. Nor does it detract from the merit of this celebrated man that he was called to meet with much opposition in his pursuit and advocacy of Hebrew learning. The knowledge he possessed of this tongue was regarded as the medium of his intercourse with satanic agents.¹

Before long the sanction of the Church, desired by Roger Bacon, was granted. Clement V. published, A.D. 1311, with the approbation of the Council of Vienne, a constitution ordering that professors of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee should be established in the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. This decree was repeated and confirmed by the Council of Basle and by John XXII., who sent a letter to the University of Oxford,² ordering that these professorships should be maintained ('ut Lectiones illæ stabiles et perpetuæ fierent, et prælegantium mercede prospiceretur'). Although these ordinances were not immediately carried out, the sanction of Popes and Councils to such studies, must, it is reasonable to suppose, in an age of implicit obedience to ecclesiastical authority, have tended, at least in some degree, to remove objections to their acquisition.

Not long after the publication of Clement's constitution, we

¹ In the statutes of the Cistercians, A.D. 1095, mention is made of a certain monk directed to be examined and punished by the abbot of Clairvaux for having learned Hebrew of a Jew.

² Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus., Faust. a. 5.

find John de Bristol, a converted Jew, teaching Hebrew in Oxford, who 'magno scholarium plausu plures annos eam obibat.'—Wood's *Annals*, p. 159. In 1345 Richard Aungerville, Bishop of Durham, wrote his *Philobiblion*, having just previously founded a library at Oxford. In this work he expresses his regret at the general ignorance of Hebrew and Greek which prevailed, and adds that he had provided for the use of students both Greek and Hebrew grammars—'quorum adminiculo studiosi lectores in dictarum linguarum scriptura, lectura, necnon intellectu poterant informari.'—Hody *De Text. orig.* p. 433. Nine years later William Breton, of St. Edmundsbury, wrote a treatise on the Hebrew names of the Old Testament, &c. In his Introduction he says, 'recurri ad Hebraicam veritatem.'—*Ib.* 433. At the same time Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, urged the importance of consulting the Hebrew original in doubtful passages. *Ib.* 437. At the commencement of the fifteenth century Adam Eston translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin, except the Psalter, and wrote several works on Hebrew literature (*Ib.* 440); Holbeck completed a Hebrew Lexicon, which Gregory of Huntingdon had begun; and William Grey, afterwards Bishop of Ely, eagerly sought for manuscripts, and delighted in Hebrew learning. Still later we find traces of this study at Oxford.*

During this period, and indeed subsequently, the utmost prejudice existed against the study of Hebrew—a prejudice, by the way, which proves the existence of Hebrew scholarship. It was commonly believed that the language was of recent origin, and that those who learned it would become Jews. Any fondness for it was regarded as savouring of heresy. 'Remember ye not,' says Tyndale, addressing Sir Thomas More, 'how, within this thirty years, and far less, and yet dureth to this day, the old barking curs, Dun's disciples, and the like draff, called Scotists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit, against Greek, Latin, and Hebrew?' Cheke, Greek Lecturer at Cambridge, in a letter to the Bishop of Winton, who was at that time Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, plainly declares that the 'many reprove the study of Hebrew,' and that 'it is as much as one's credit and reputation is worth, to attempt the knowledge of it.'

At length a more favourable era dawned upon England. The impetus given to the study of the original languages of the Bible

* In 1491, Tonstal, an excellent Hebrew scholar, was student at Oxford. There too, it is probable, R. Sherwode, Professor of Hebrew at Louvain, A.D. 1519, acquired his knowledge of that language. John Helyar certainly did, who was fellow-prob., A.D. 1522.

† Strype's *Memorials*, i. p. 599.

by the Reformation was not long in finding its way thither. Soon after Robert Wakefield had left Louvain and Tubingen, at which places he was Professor of Hebrew, he was engaged in giving instruction in the same language to the members of the University of Cambridge. In a letter of Ferdinand to Henry VIII., dated March, 1523, are the following words:—‘in Cantabrigia sua hebraicas publice profiteretur litteras.’ Nor does this early attempt of introducing more correct Hebrew learning seem to have been unattended with success, as appears by a letter to King Henry VIII. from the authorities and students of that University, dated April, 1524. They say:—‘*Erat non parvus in hac tua academia scholasticorum numerus, illustrissime princeps, si non defuissent nummi quibus præceptorem conduceret, qui religiose flagrabat linguam Hebraicam cognoscere, per quam divina nosse mysteria datum est. cujus linguæ pariter et Chaldaicæ atque Arabicæ præceptorem tua singulari liberalitate cum habeamus eruditissimum simul ac diligentissimum, spes est nos brevi hujus tanti thesauri compotes fore.*’ There, in the same year, was Wakefield’s celebrated oration delivered, which was soon afterwards printed by Wynkyn de Worde under the title of ‘*Oratio de laudibus, et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ.*’ In this work, which has now become very scarce, the first Hebrew type used in England was employed. The character is very rude, somewhat like the manuscript Hebrew of Shepreve, but not nearly so good. It is furnished with points. The author complains in his preface that the types, such as they were, were not sufficient to execute all the Hebrew printing he required for his work.*

About this time ‘one of the University preachers at Oxford,’ as Erasmus tells us, having expressed himself with great violence against the study of the Scriptures in the original, Henry VIII., who happened to be residing at the time at Woodstock, and had received an account of the affair from his secretary Richard Pace (formerly a pupil of Wakefield’s), issued an order commanding that the ‘said study of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures should not only be permitted, but made an indispensable branch of the course of academical instruction.’ This led to the founding of the Hebrew professorship at Oxford. On the entreaty of the University,^a Robert Wakefield was, in 1530, sent hither from Cambridge to fill the newly formed office.

* Numerous manuscript copies of Kimchi’s Heb. Gr., &c., exist in the various libraries in England. They were probably written at this time, before the printed grammars of the Continent came extensively into use.

^a In their request they say of Wakefield—‘He gives place to none for his admirable knowledge in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic tongues.’

This

This eminent man continually enjoyed the favour of his sovereign, who took great interest in the progress of Hebrew study, as is evident not only from the public acts of his reign,^b but from a manuscript among the Cotton MSS, in which the following passage occurs in his own handwriting,—‘reders of Greke, Ebrew and Latyne to have good stipend.’ Wakefield was further countenanced, as he himself says, by John Eayler, John Stocksley, Sir J. Bullein, Thomas Hurskey, Prior William, Dr. Tait, Dr. Lovel, ‘aliisque multis nostri regni magnatibus.’ Of his own attainments he speaks with becoming modesty:—‘in qua’ (Hebrew), he says, ‘possum nondum quidem cum laude sed citra culpam epistolam dictare;’ and perhaps it may now be thought with some reason, as he talks of teaching Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic in three months:—‘Ego conscius sum,’ he writes, ‘D. Richardus Paceus’ (Henry’s secretary) qui tribus mensibus tres simul linguas Hebræam, videlicet, Chaldeam, ac Arabicam, me quoque docente, non impigre didicit.’ Still high merit must be awarded to the author of the ‘Oratio,’ and to the instructor of Pole and Pace, and, as is probable, of Tyndale,^d Frith, and Pilkington—scholars whose attainments in Hebrew were rarely equalled while they lived.

To Robert Wakefield succeeded John Shepreve, who in the year 1541 began to expound in public the book of Genesis in Hebrew. Two manuscripts of his are extant in the British Museum, entitled, ‘Johannis Scheprei orationes in laudem Henrici VIII., Hebraice.’ The manuscript Hebrew is excellent and duly pointed.

In the year 1540 the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in Cambridge University was founded. Thomas Wakefield* was chosen to fill the post. The following is a copy of the act:—‘Rex omnibus, &c., per præsentem damus et concedimus dilecto subdito nostro Thomas Wakefield in Artibus Magistro officium sive locum Lectoris nostri in Hebraica lingua, jam noviter a nobis fundatum et erectum, in usum et profectum juventutis nostræ

^b To the extract given from the University’s letter to Henry VIII., and to the language of Erasmus above cited, may be added the statement of Wakefield himself:—‘Noverat enim noster pientissimus rex et optimus princeps qui me D. Reynaldo Polo, viro nobili, et Græce ac Latine erudito adjunxit ut Hebraica disceret, quod theologis futuris quam maxime necessarium erat nimirum recte judicans absque linguæ sanctæ peritia neminem in scripturis feliciter processurum.’

* A MS. work of Pace’s still exists. It is entitled ‘De lapsu Hebraicorum interpretum.’

^d Tyndale’s acquaintance with Hebrew was singularly exact.—‘I am not afraid,’ says his bitter enemy Joye, ‘to answer Master Tyndale in this matter, for all his high learning in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.’ To this eminent man’s philological attainments, our authorized and venerable version sufficiently testifies.

* This scholar must not be confounded with Robert Wakefield, as has been too often done.

Anglicanæ in Alma academia nostra Cantabrigiæ quadraginta libras sterlingorum . . .’ Although this professorship was not founded till 1540, we have already seen that the royal favour and liberality were extended to Hebrew study in this University many years before. Whatever be the faults of the eighth Henry, and they are, alas! too many, let us not deprive him of his just dues as a liberal patron of literature.

Edward VI., during his too short reign, took quite as much interest in promoting the study of Hebrew as did his father. In the first year of his reign we find him giving his licence to Reginald Wolff to print Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.’ In 1549 the celebrated Hebraist Fagius was invited to England, and appointed King’s reader of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. An order still exists, dated 26th Sept., 1549, requiring the payment of 100*l.* to Fagius, probably to defray the expenses of his removal. This learned man did not, however, live long enough to enter upon his duties. Bishop Pilkington, in his ‘Sermon at the Restitution of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius,’ preached A.D. 1560, says of the latter, ‘after his coming into the realm he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught.’ The same year Tremellius, son of a Jew of Ferrara, succeeded to the vacant professorship.

By the countenance of Edward VI. and his father, the enlightening and stimulating influence of the Reformation, and the zealous and well-directed efforts of the professors and teachers of Hebrew, the knowledge of the language was extended far and wide. Even ladies strove to excel in oriental studies. The youngest daughter of Sir Anthony Cook was celebrated for her Hebrew erudition. If we may believe Sir Thomas Challoner, in his elegy on Lady Jane Grey, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic were added to that lady’s other accomplishments.[§]

A singular instance of the use to which Hebrew learning was put about this time occurs in Strype’s Memorials. Speaking of Sir Hugh Willoughby’s projected enterprise, ‘of seeking for a passage into the eastern parts of the world through the unknown and dangerous seas of the north,’ he goes on to say, ‘The letters of safe conduct were wrote in Latin, to all kings, princes, and other states, being three in number, for each ship one; and three others of the same effect were writ in Hebrew, and three others in the Chaldee tongue; to suit with the language of the eastern

[†] Rymer’s *Fœdera*, xv. 150.

[§] His language is:—

‘Quis putet? Hæc Arabum Chaldaica verba loquelæ
Junxerat, Hebræum scite idioma tenens.’

countries when they should arrive in those parts of the world.' These letters were dated May, 1553.

The reign of Mary did not, as may well be imagined, prove more favourable to the interests of Hebrew learning than to those of national prosperity and religion.^b The most eminent men in the kingdom were imprisoned or burned. In a letter of Hooper's, written a short time before his death, and while in prison, there is a passage which indicates his acquaintance with Hebrew. Nor was this the only instance of high attainments lost to mankind by imprisonment or the stake during this reign of unrestrained and triumphant bigotry.

At the death of Mary a better state of things immediately ensued. Elizabeth, though as tyrannical and hard-hearted as her sister, was, it must be confessed, a distinguished patroness of learning. In the first year of the new queen's reign we find the Council requiring the immediate payment of the Hebrew lecturer's salary, which had been unjustly detained.ⁱ The next year the English Church at Geneva presented her majesty with a new translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew, made by themselves.

A letter exists in the British Museum from Cævallerius to Sir W. Cecil,^k desiring the recommendation of the minister as a teacher of Hebrew to the University. It would seem that this was not only granted, but was also successful, sustained as it was by the friendly offices of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London,^l since we find Cævallerius soon after styled 'reder of Ebrew in Cambridge.' By a patent, dated 14 Eliz. 1572, the freedom of the state and the advowson of a prebendary in Canterbury were granted to this French scholar.^m He appears to have been a learned man and a good teacher. Hugh Broughton, in comparison with whom Lightfoot declared himself a mere child in Hebrew and rabbinical learning, speaks very highly of him. 'In Hebrew,' says he, 'he could drive such a study, that they might learn more of him in one month than others could teach in ten years.' That the study of Hebrew was prosecuted with much success in this seat of learning during Elizabeth's

^b Ridley says, referring to this period, 'All the reformations made with regard both to statutes and to studies are now again deformed and invalidated, and every thing reduced to its pristine chaos and ancient papistry.'—Ridley's Works, Parker Soc., p. 392.

ⁱ Strype's Annals, i. 48.

^k Lansdowne MSS., x. 40. This letter is dated May 27, 1569. In it Cævellarus signs himself 'Rodolphus Cævellarus, Hebræus.'

^l These prelates, in their letter to the heads of colleges, refer to 'the good and godly affection that divers in the University bear to the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.'

^m Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 703.

reign is evident from several other circumstances. Besides the instruction given by the Regius Professor of Hebrew, we find the Provost of King's College ordering a Hebrew lecture to be read in the chapel of the college and in his own private house.^a Some other colleges seem to have supported, in addition, a Jew to instruct in Hebrew.^b A Hebrew teacher was also established and provided for in connection with Sidney College by the munificence of Lord Harrington. It would seem that in some colleges an examination in Hebrew frequently preceded the bestowal of a fellowship. This was certainly the case in Emmanuel College. In order to facilitate the study of this language, the collegians were in the habit of meeting for the purpose of reading the original languages of the Bible. Indeed, from various sources it appears sufficiently evident that a great majority of scholars who during Elizabeth's reign were acquainted with Hebrew, were indebted for it to the instructions they received at this University.

During the same period this study was successfully prosecuted in the University of Oxford. In 1570 Thomas Kingsmill was appointed to the Hebrew professorship there in the place of Thomas Nale.^c A few years after (1579) a resolution was passed by the University to the following effect:—'*ad extirpandum hæresim quamcunque et ad informandum in vera pietate juventutem libros hosce legendos censemus et statuimus, viz. . . . catechismum Johannis Calvini, Latine, Græce, et Hebraice.*'^d In this University the celebrated Drusius, himself educated at Cambridge, taught four years.^e When Elizabeth visited Oxford, we are informed that she was received with gratulations in Hebrew—'*quo etiam tempore valvis et parietibus affigebantur carmina Latina, Græca, et Hebræa.*' (Wood, p. 288.) Still it seems evident that the study of Hebrew was not so enthusiastically and successfully followed as at Cambridge, since it was not till after the Hebrew lecture had been long neglected, arising from the protracted illness of the Hebrew professor, that the Vice-chancellor and University engaged the services of the celebrated Hooker.^f Broughton appears, too, to call the Oxford fellows to task for envying him his rapid advance in Hebrew learning. 'Such a course,' said they, 'of making Hebrew and Greek as native in years so young (twenty), will, twelve years hence, do that with ease which all our pains could not come by.'

^a Strype's Annals, ii., Part ii. p. 39.

^b Clark's Lives, p. 99.

^c Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 678.

^d Wood's Annals, p. 296.

^e Drusius appears to have been more especially employed to teach Syriac. 'Cancellarium . . . Johannem quandam Drusium convocationi solenni commendabat, ut linguam ille Syriacam in scholarum aliqua explicaret.'—Wood's Annals, 212.

^f Fulman's MSS., viii. 183.

Others,

Others, besides those residing at the seats of learning, acquired a knowledge of Hebrew. Gataker taught it for some time in Essex, and Cævallerius in London before he went to Cambridge: Broughton also taught Hebrew in the metropolis. In the prefatory speech to his lectures at St. Paul's he says: 'I being requested to read, thought no place more fit than this, because I heard that a learned man of France (Cævallerius), about 23 years ago, did read here in the Hebrew tongue it hath pleased God that I should come hither to revive his study.' These learned men exerted a great influence and had many scholars. Barrow, styled by Strype a separatist, in an address which he wrote to the Council while in prison, and indeed just before his execution, says: 'If it be objected that none of our side are worthy to be thus disputed or written with, we think that this will prove the contrary, viz., because there are three or four in this city (London), and more elsewhere, which have been zealous preachers in the parish assemblies, not ignorant of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues.' Indeed it would appear that ignorance of Hebrew was at this time regarded as a defect in the education of a minister. Knox, in his defence before the Bishop of Durham, frankly declares, 'In the Hebrew tounge I confess myself ignorant, but have, as God knoweth, fervent thirst to have some entrance thairin.' Broughton, moreover, expressly affirms that 'Divinity graduates must know (or be thought to know and see with other men's eyes), and by the English Universities they are bound to know' Hebrew. Broughton, moreover, styles 'Bishop Elmer the best Ebraician of *all* the bishops' (*Ep. to Nobilitie of Eng.* p. 16), inferring, at least, that several of them were acquainted with Hebrew.

In Elizabeth's time the teachers of Hebrew were surprisingly successful in rendering their students proficient in the language.⁴ Broughton not only wrote but spoke the Hebrew with astonishing ease. He taught Sir Rowland Cotton, when a child, to converse in the same language with fluency. Bishop Bedell was as familiar with the Hebrew as the English, constantly translating from the original when reading with his family. The profoundly learned Gataker followed the same plan with as much ease. This practice, by the way, was introduced into Scotland by the celebrated John Row about the same period, and was afterwards followed in

⁴ Many Hebrew poems of these days survive. The two Universities published no less than three volumes of verse in Hebrew, &c. in honour of Sir Philip Sidney. Among the Lansdowne MSS. (104, 78) are elegies in Hebrew on the death of Anne Countess of Oxford, written 1588. There are also numerous grammars and lexicons in manuscript in the libraries of Dublin, Cambridge, and Oxford, and in the British Museum, which must have been written about this time. See list at end of this article.

New England ; indeed it seems to have been common, especially among the Puritan divines. Such a course of study as then obtained was, as might be expected, followed by great results. It ushered in the age of Selden, Lightfoot, Castell, Pococke, Walton, and Hyde—men who while they lived were admired alike for their piety and learning, and whose works, now that their authors are no more, give to England her only right to be regarded as the encourager and patroness of Hebrew literature. We cannot, however, give to the Hebraicians of Elizabeth's reign our unqualified praise. They bowed too humbly at the feet of Jewish grammarians and lexicographers ; they filled their works with too much Mishnic trash. The knowledge of the cognate dialects, of the fundamental principles of language in general, and of the peculiar formation of the Semitic tongues in particular, was extremely defective ; the historico-analytical school of our times had then no existence.

The interest taken in the study of Hebrew during the reign of Elizabeth was not at all repressed by the accession of James I. to the English throne. That monarch, who had, when residing in Scotland, sought to obtain the services of Broughton, Cartwright, and others as Hebrew professors there, and who himself made some pretensions to an acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament, readily extended his patronage to this branch of literature.

As might therefore be expected, Hebrew was at this time assiduously cultivated at Cambridge under Livie and Spalding, and privately under Matthias Pasor, son of the Greek lexicographer George Pasor, and at Oxford under Harding and Kilby. Then, too, was this language taught at some schools. Lightfoot learned it at school, although he afterwards neglected it while a student at Cambridge.^a

From what has been said respecting the erudition of Elizabeth's time, it will not surprise us that no difficulty was found in procuring an adequate number of oriental scholars for our present version of the Bible, which was determined on in the first year of James's reign. The twenty-five translators of the Old Testament, and several of those who translated the Apocrypha and New Testament, were eminent Hebraicians. Among them were six who, either at the time or subsequently, were Hebrew professors at Cambridge or Oxford. Two other translations of the Bible from the original were about this time in progress, although

^a His college (Christ's College) little patronising Hebrew learning at the time. Trinity College was always the most celebrated for this kind of learning. All the eight professors of Hebrew in the eighteenth century were of that college. Indeed, in filling the chair of Hebrew, preference was (*cæteris paribus*) given to its Fellows. never

never published; the one was by Archbishop Usher's brother, the other by Jessy and Row.

During this reign Hebrew printing in England appears to have been confined to a privileged party in London, as it was in Edward's time. No such printing had as yet been executed at either of the Universities; there was, indeed, but little need for it.* The Hebrew Bibles of Plantin and Stephens were readily to be had, together with the Cologne, Leyden, and Geneva editions of the grammars of Bellarmine and Cævallerius, and the Leyden, Paris, Antwerp, and Basle editions of the lexicons of Pagninus, Munster, and Forster. From various sources it appears that these works could be obtained not only of London booksellers, but of those in the country towns. The intercourse with Continental printers and publishers was consequently very great.† Broughton, at the end of his treatise on Melchizedek, gives a list of twenty-two Rabbinic works cited by him, 'whose whole workes, from Venice or Francfort, studentes may have.' The pointed text was generally preferred, as appears not only from the works of Pilkington and others who expressly refer to that text, but to the constant use of points in the earliest printed works in which Hebrew appears, and in the numerous manuscripts which Hebrew scholars have left behind.‡

The study under review advanced rapidly during the reign of James's unfortunate son. In the promotion of Oriental learning the all-powerful Laud materially aided. He urged his sovereign to collect Oriental manuscripts, munificently befriended the celebrated Pococke and others, and gave to the University of Oxford 1276 valuable manuscripts in Hebrew, Arabic, &c., after he had established an Arabic professorship there.

Towards the close of this reign Christian Ravis taught Hebrew in London House. This Berlin scholar was assisted and patronized by Archbishop Usher. The Hon. Robert Boyle, referring to the same period, says:—'After I had almost learned by rote an Hebrew grammar, to improve myself in Scripture criticism, I,

* It has been frequently asserted that the first Hebrew in any quantity printed in England was in Rhæse's '*Cambro-Britannicæ Cymeræcæ lingue Institutiones et Rudimenta*,' Lond. 1592. This is a sad mistake. In the whole work there are no Hebrew words whatever! The *preface*, indeed, by Humphry Pritchard, contains *eight letters* of Hebrew, miserably executed.

† The Hebrew Bibles used by our countrymen for centuries were printed by Bomberg, who is said to have had one hundred Jews as correctors of the press; by Plantin, who had establishments at Antwerp, Leyden, and Paris, and who, when his circumstances were much reduced, had seventeen presses always at work; by Stephens, and by the Jews of Constantinople. Eighty-one editions of Hebrew works made their appearance on the Continent between 1500 and 1536.

‡ Shepreve's manuscript Hebrew has the points. So have Broughton's manuscripts, and most of those in the British Museum.

not over-cheaply, purchased divers private conferences with one of their skilfullest doctors, of whom I received few lessons that cost me not twenty miles' riding, at a time when I was in phisic and my health very unsettled.'—*Boyle's MSS.* From Burnet we learn that in Scotland at this time a knowledge of Hebrew was required of all who sought admission into orders in the Presbyterian Church.^a

It might at first view be supposed that the anarchy caused by the struggle between the King and Parliament, and which, after the death of Charles, continued till the 'crowning mercy' of Worcester, would have exerted a baleful influence on Hebrew study. Dr. Lee asserts that this was the case; his words are:— 'The unhappy events which took place in the days of the first Charles, and continued for some time after to harass the country, had the effect of bringing the study of the Bible into disrepute.' This, however, does not appear to have been the case; Oriental and Biblical scholarship, on the contrary, flourished in its palmiest state during the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and a few subsequent years. Amid the very din of strife, some of the most erudite works of Pococke, Lightfoot, Selden, Usher, and others first saw the light. Between the battles of Naseby and Dunbar two editions (the first and the second) of Leigh's *Critica Sacra*—the best Hebrew-English lexicon of the age—appeared. During the same period, the first Hebrew grammar ever printed at Cambridge, and the first Hebrew lexicon published in London, were issued. The only ordinance ever framed in England, requiring a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of all candidates for the ministry, was then passed. 'It was likewise,' says Leigh, in his Preface to the *Critica Sacra*, addressed to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 'a worthy task for our Parliament worthies, assisted with a synod of judicious divines, both to order the speedy publishing of excellent notes and animadversions upon the whole Bible, and also to provide (in the Directory for Ordination of Ministers) that all such as shall hereafter undertake the holy function of the ministry shall first be examined touching their skill in the original tongues.' In the very year of Charles's death the English booksellers offered to purchase six hundred copies of Le Jay's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* in ten folio volumes. One year after the battle of Worcester, proposals were issued for the publication of Walton's celebrated *Polyglott*—the first book ever published in England by subscription. The first volume of this great work appeared in 1654, the last in 1657. Significant and all-important facts these!^b At

^a Hist. Times, ed. of 1734, i. 35; ii. 674.

^b Seven editions of Bythner's *Institutio Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaee* appeared in forty

At this period, in the Universities, according to Anthony a Wood, whose testimony is truly in this instance impartial, 'education and discipline were more severe than after, when scholars were given more to liberty and frivolous studies.' At Oxford, the celebrated oriental scholars Pococke, Gale, Harris, Langbaine, Clark, Hyde, and Bernard then resided, while Marsh, Huntingdon, Cumberland, Cawton, and others, celebrated in after years for their erudition, were enjoying the privileges of the University. 'Learning,' says Bishop Burnet, 'was then high at Oxford; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the Polyglott Bible then set forth.' Nor were these pursuits less zealously followed at Cambridge, patronized as they were by Lightfoot, Wheelock, and others. Numerous teachers of Hebrew, too, were engaged in instruction in various parts of the kingdom. Roger Williams and Hanserd Knollys were for some time thus employed in London.

At no time, either previously or subsequently, was English philosophy held in such repute as at this period. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards England. The most learned men on the Continent, such as Alting, Bochart, Hottinger, Golius, and Ludolf eagerly sought correspondence with its scholars, whom they regarded as second to none, and in many instances begged to be led by their direction. Foreigners from all parts repaired thither attracted by the fame of Pococke, Lightfoot, Gataker, and Usher.^c Hottinger writing to Pococke by F. Mieke, son of the vice-chancellor of the Elector Palatine, who had visited the Universities of Germany, tells him that the young scholar was on his way to England, 'abstrusioris literaturæ sedem.' Le Grange le Capellain speaks of one as going to the same country to pursue his oriental studies, 'tanquam ad fontem unde felicius et

forty years, viz.—1635, 1638, 1648, 1650, 1664, 1670, 1675. In 1646 appeared Leigh's *Critica Sacra*; a second edition, 1650; a third, 1662. The first edition of Ravis's *Grammar* appeared in 1648, the second in 1650.

^c The celebrated Locke thus writes of Pococke:—'His name, which was in great esteem beyond sea, and that deservedly, drew on him visits from all foreigners of learning, who came to Oxford to see that University.' 'There are many,' says J. H. Otho, addressing Lightfoot, 'who have not enjoyed the privilege of making your acquaintance, who yet among other nations have heard of your fame, and who, after the perusal of your admirable works, have entertained for you the utmost veneration.' Clarke, in his life of Gataker, speaks of 'foreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University.' 'His house,' he says in another place, 'was a private seminary for both Englishmen and foreigners, who resorted to him, lodged at his house, and received instruction from him.' The celebrated Vossius, in speaking of Usher, says:—'I cannot speak any thing so high of him, but his worth doth surpass it.' And Paulus Testardus Blesensis styles him 'the greatest honour of the church and age.'

uberius hauriri possit.' The celebrated critic Otho, who studied some time at Oxford, eulogizes Pococke, Lightfoot and Guise in the highest terms, and acknowledges the great value of their advice and instruction. Indeed, he professes his inability sufficiently to praise them. 'What other land,' says Surenhusius, having in view the period under consideration, 'is more abundant in men born to oriental studies than England?'

The productions of these English Hebraicians were eagerly sought on the Continent, frequently translated, and more highly esteemed than in England. The most celebrated Continental scholars frequently dedicated their productions to these eminent men. Thus Spanheim, Ludovicus de Dieu and Morus dedicated works to Archbishop Usher, and Sixtinus Amama to Langton and Prideaux.

The direct efforts of English scholars were not confined to their native land. Dr. Marsh, an intimate friend of Pococke's and provost of Dublin University, says with reference solely to Ireland:—'We have not many that can judge of the original; but I hope to breed up good store that way, since we have an Hebrew professor's place lately settled in the college, to which lecture I make all the Bachelors of Arts attend, and be examined thrice every week; and they are likewise to be publicly examined in Hebrew, before they can take their degree of Master of Arts, which I sometimes do myself.'

To America, also, English students carried a knowledge of the Hebrew language. The studies of Harvard College at its origin, embraced Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. From the book entitled *New England's First Fruits*, published in London, 1643, the following extract is taken:—'The fifth day reads Hebrew and the Eastern tongues. Grammar to the first year, houre the 8th. To the second, Chaldee at the 9th houre. To the third, Syriac, at the 10th houre. Afternoon. The first year's practice in the Bible at the 2nd houre. The second, in Ezra and Daniel at the 3rd houre.' From Neal we learn that at the commencement of the same college one of the candidates was required to pronounce an oration in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.

Such then was the state of Hebrew learning in England till the death of Cromwell. 'Then came those days, never to be recalled without a blush—the days of servitude without loyalty, and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot, and the slave.' Amid such a state of things, the study under consideration of course declined, though somewhat gradually, as might be expected from the great attention hitherto paid to it.

Nine years after the Restoration, Castell's *Heptaglott Lexicon* made its appearance. It had been begun in 1657. At this work Castell laboured for seventeen years, and maintained for that space of time at his own cost, seven Englishmen and seven foreigners, as transcribers. These all died before the work was finished. After having spent his own fortune, this indefatigable scholar was obliged to apply to Charles II. for assistance, 'that a prison might not be the reward of so many labours and such an outlay.'^a The king, and twenty-nine English and Irish bishops warmly solicited pecuniary aid for him, but without success. The nation had become impoverished and frivolous, and, more than all, oriental studies were on the decline. Folly was fashionable.

Previous to this, the *Critici Sacri*, in nine folio volumes, had been published, and subsequently, Poole's *Synopsis*, in five volumes folio. Thus in about twenty years, 'works printed in Hebrew, forming twenty-two vast folio volumes, were begun and finished in London by the industry and at the expense of a few English divines and noblemen.' What other city can boast of the publication of such works in so short a period?

The Act of Uniformity, passed 1662, ejected very many ministers of the Gospel from their pulpits. Of these, nearly one hundred are known to have been excellent and indeed profound Hebrew scholars. This rigorous usage, together with the levity of the times, the reaction of the somewhat austere and forcibly imposed religion of the Commonwealth, brought Oriental and especially Biblical studies into disrepute. Castell's Arabic lectures, at first listened to with great applause, were soon so much neglected that he put over the school gates the following inscription:—'*Arabicæ linguæ prælector cras ibit in desertum.*' Dr. Greaves, writing from Fulham, says of Oriental studies:—'in these parts, for aught I observe, they are not much followed or regarded, and receive small encouragement from those who, I thought, would have been fautors and promoters of them.' Nor does this decline appear to have been wholly confined to England. Professor Harder of Holland, successor to F. Golius, could not publish a work of his, 'because Oriental learning decays there, and books of that nature will turn to no advantage.'

^a In his Epistle Dedicatory, Castell gives the following account of his astonishing labours:—'I considered that day as idle and dissatisfactory, in which I did not toil sixteen or eighteen hours, either at the Polyglott or Lexicon.' Who can read the following passage without a sigh?—'I had once,' says he, 'companions in my undertaking, partners in my toil; but some of them are now no more, and others have left me, alarmed at the greatness of the undertaking. I am now, therefore, left alone, without transcriber or corrector, far advanced in years, with my patrimony exhausted, my bodily and mental strength impaired, and my eyesight almost gone.'

This inattention to Hebrew study, thus noticed as commencing, became more and more apparent. Towards the close of James II.'s reign, Bishop Kidder uses the following language :—'The study of the Hebrew language hath (I know not by what means), been too much laid aside, and we have by this neglect been less able to convince the Jews. 'Tis certain that this study hath not only been neglected, but ridiculed also. . . . The Jews are well pleased with our neglect of these studies : and those of them that are now in England, have been observed of late years, when a learned Christian hath died, and his books have been exposed to sale, to buy the whole collection of Jewish books. . . . I knew a very choice collection or two of late, thus unhappily disposed of.' In another place the learned bishop thus writes :—'The time hath been, even in the last age, that our kingdom hath been furnished with men as eminent this way, as any that ever appeared in the world ; men that understood the Jewish learning incomparably better than the most learned of the Jews themselves. But these men are dead, and those studies have been too much neglected, and by too many despised also.'

In the Universities especially, this decline in Hebrew learning became increasingly evident. Their late condition in this respect, as given by Professor Lee, himself Regius Professor of Hebrew in Cambridge University, has been their state for many, many years. It is thus described :—'Not only do the statutes of our colleges generally provide, that their societies should cultivate theology, but in many instances a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures is made necessary for the admission of their Fellows ; and, in others, Hebrew lectureships have actually been established, which have unhappily degenerated into sinecures. The statutes of the Universities, too, require that candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity shall study the original Scriptures ; and to meet this, Hebrew and Arabic professorships have been established, which have been either converted into sinecures, or have been almost entirely neglected.' In another work, the same laborious scholar says, alluding to Walton, Castell, etc. : 'After their day, indeed, Biblical and Oriental literature greatly declined in this country. The unhappy events which took place in the days of the first Charles, and continued some time after to harass the country, had the effect of bringing the study of the Bible into disrepute : which, aided by the ribaldry of a vicious court, succeeded in completing the lamentable declension in this literature just now noticed. This, as it was likely, influenced our seats of learning. Professorships consequently became sinecures ; and the only branches of learning cultivated, were those which were exclusively secular.'

Surveying

Surveying the period of the Stuarts, a few things strike us as worthy of remark.

Hebrew printing was, as we have seen, confined by a patent to but one party in London during the reign of James I. It was not till some few years after this, that it was executed at either of the Universities. In 1638, we find W. Turner printing Hebrew at Oxford. A Hebrew press, founded at the charge of the University, was not, however, in operation till the year 1655. The first work printed at it was Pococke's *Porta Mosis*. Indeed these letters, Dr. Twells tells us in his life of Pococke, were procured at the charge of the University, upon the assurance which Dr. Langbaine gave, 'that something of Mr. Pococke's should be speedily printed with them.' Before that time many works had been printed at Cambridge in that language.

Even then, Oriental printing was by patent confined to London, Cambridge, and Oxford. In May, 1636, an Act was passed, purporting to give encouragement to learning. It was to the following effect:—'That whereas in his Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in his city of London, divers books, *not elsewhere printed*, have been reprinted in the dominions of foreign princes . . . the king . . . doth charge and command, that no person whatsoever shall import into the realm of England or Ireland, or dominion of Wales, out of the dominions of any foreign prince, or shall offer to put to sale any foreign edition, or any books or copies, either in Latin or Greek, or in the *Hebrew, Chaldaea, Syriac, and Arabic tongues*; the first edition of publishing whereof, hath been first come out of any press or house of printing in the *said universities*, or out of the *city of London*.' Rushworth, p. ii. 322. Even as late as the 7th of March, 1642, the printers of London presented to the Committee of the House a petition 'for a better regulating of the art of printing, and the calling in of four several patents, which they conceived to be monopolies.' The third of these was for printing books in *Hebrew*, Greek, and Latin.

No sooner were the restrictions removed, than many engaged in this line of printing. From that period till the close of the century, the following printers, and probably others, were furnished with Hebrew type, viz.: J. Junius and Ball, R. Cotes, Allestry, J. Dawks, S. Roycroft, A. Miller, R. Daniel, M. Flesher, M. Simonds, Bee, A. Mathews, J. Haviland, and E. Millington of London, and Field, Hayes, Turner, etc., of Cambridge and Oxford. Most of these were contemporaries. At the beginning of this period, we learn from Sixtinus Amama, that in the celebrated Dutch University of Franckar only one printer possessed Hebrew type. This was the more surprising, since, by the efforts of that
professor

professor and Drusius, many synods had refused to admit candidates to the ministry unless they well understood Hebrew.

At first the type in use, which was obtained from the continent or cut in wood, was extremely inelegant. Soon, however, the illustrious Hebraicians of England effected a great change for the better,* as may be seen by comparing the Hebrew type in Gataker's '*Lots*,' Godwin's '*Moses and Aaron*,' 'Fulke on the *Rhemish Testament*,' and such like works, with the university edition of Lightfoot and Pococke, and the *London Polyglott*. Matrices were readily cut in London under the direction of the best scholars.† Dr. Walton accounts for some delay in the publication of the *Polyglott*, by saying that 'the Hebrew types were mending,' having been pronounced by Pococke, in need of alteration. Such was the esteem in which the Oriental printing of England was at this time held, that many continental authors sent their manuscripts to London to be published. Thus Bochart's *Hieroicoicon* was first printed by Allestry with the very types used in the *Polyglott*—an edition '*satis splendide*,' says Dora.

A fondness for Hebrew study was not, during this century, confined to ministers of the Gospel. Many in high rank were distinguished for their Oriental erudition. The Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Harley, Lord Camden, the Hon. R. Boyle, the Hon. O. Bridgman, Sir John Fortescue, Sir W. Maurice, Sir T. Boro-grave, Sir R. Cotton, Sir Norton Knatchbull, and others, were good Hebraicians. 'We owe,' says the celebrated Surenhusius, adverting to Oriental pursuits, and especially to Hebrew, 'very much to the nobles of England.'

It has been asserted by many authors that Hebrew learning was, during the period under consideration, ostentatiously exhibited in the pulpit, little to the edification of the hearers. True it is that Burnet in his *Lives*, speaks of preaching that 'was over wise with pedantry . . . full of many sayings of different languages;' and in his *History* of his own *Times*, tells us about

* Scholarship always effects this more or less with every language. Pococke was very particular about Arabic type. In a letter of his to Dr. Langbaine, he expresses his dislike to an Arabic character, and his desire that his friend would procure for him from London a new punchion and matrix. From Guigne's *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, we learn that in 1700 the University of Cambridge applied to the King of France for a cast of Stephens' Greek type. The celebrated printers, the Aldine family, Stephens, Plantin, and others, were scholars. The oriental and Greek typography of Germany would never have been so elegant as it is, had it not been for German learning.

† From Rushworth, it appears that by a decree of the Star Chamber, dated July 11th, 1637, 'four founders of letters for printing were allowed, and no more.' The same decree limits the number of printers to twenty, and of presses to each printer to three at most. The pillory and the lash were the penalties affixed to the infraction of this ordinance! The approach of times more favourable to liberty of course removed this disgraceful and tyrannical restriction.

Gunning of Ely, whose sermons were full of Hebrew and Greek, to the great delight of certain courtly ladies, who went to hear him preach, according to Charles II., because they did not understand him. This, however, was not the case with the really learned men of the day. Usher used in his sermons great plainness of speech. Who, on reading Leighton's Commentary on Peter, would suppose him to have been a good Hebrew scholar? Yet such was the case. 'Our parson,' said a poor countryman, 'is one Mr. Pococke, a plain, honest man; but, master, he is no Latiner.' And yet this man was the glory of his age. Bishop Beveridge, although a profoundly learned Oriental scholar, has left behind him works, the most simple and thoroughly Saxon of any in our language, with the exception of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. 'True learning differs widely from pedantry. The one is modest from what it does not know, the other proud from what it fancies it has acquired.

Having rapidly glanced over the efforts made by English Hebrew scholars, and the celebrity which they in consequence enjoyed throughout the learned world, we are induced to inquire into the opinion to be entertained of their acquirements in the present enlightened age.

It needs not much acquaintance with the philological works of continental critics and of those speaking our own language, to see that they very frequently quote from English Hebraicians of the seventeenth century. Let any one consult Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, de Wette's *Lehrbuch der Historisch-kritischen Einleitung*, u. s. w., Gesenius' *Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache*, and many other standard works, and he will meet with numerous references to the productions of Pococke, Walton, Usher, and others.

Nor indeed are these learned modern scholars slow to acknowledge their indebtedness to the eminent men referred to, and to speak of them in terms of high approbation. Thus Tholuck makes mention of 'the truly learned Spencer;' declares that 'peculiar notice is due to the *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ* of Lightfoot;' and affirms that 'the best of the older commentators on the Minor Prophets is that of Pococke,' which he pronounces to be 'thorough and profound.' Hengstenberg asserts that Pococke's commentaries exhibit 'diligence in the collection of exegetical materials, and a mode of explanation in general natural.' Michaelis, Hoffmann and Delitzsch speak in high terms of Castell. Gesenius styles Brian Walton's *Prolegomena*, 'very learned disquisitions.' Ernesti, speaking of Gataker, declares that he excels in learning all the writers on the Hebraisms of the New Testament. He also praises Cartwright, as being one of the most learned authors who have sought to illustrate the New Testament from
Hebrew

Hebrew sources. Winer declares that Gataker wrote 'learnedly.' Of the same illustrious men Professor Lee says: 'In our Walton, Castell, Pococke, and others of the same period, we had, indeed, Orientalists of the first celebrity,—men who, by the efforts of their mighty minds and almost incredible labours, left behind them monuments of industry and learning never to be excelled.'

It is by no means, however, asserted that these scholars were, as such, perfect. Far otherwise. Although in advance of their age they were far behind ours. There is a heaviness about their style, and a tedious enumeration and refutation of different opinions in their commentaries far from being either agreeable or profitable. They were deficient in that tact, that enlargedness of view, and that thorough knowledge of the principles of criticism and of language in general, which distinguish the great critics of the present day. These, however, were not so much the faults of the men, as of the age. Their peculiar excellencies were their own—called forth amidst much that was uncongenial. Let their attainments and their productions be compared with those of students in the department of natural philosophy who lived at the same time, and with what advantage do they appear. The efforts of the one class are almost lost sight of amidst the advances of modern science; whereas those of the other are still regarded with merited admiration. The lapse of ages will invest the former with more and more indistinctness, the latter with an ever expanding and brightening halo of glory.

While we repair to Gesenius and Nordheimer for lucid definitions and grammatical frame-work, to Ewald for scientific investigations and fundamental research, and to Fürst, Bopp, and Humboldt, for the connection of languages and the development of roots; let us also imitate the untiring energy, application, and reverential piety of our forefathers, and endeavour to prove to posterity that their descendants have neither lost their spirit nor their mental power.

Never, till England produce more eminent scholars, will the names of our old Hebraicians be remembered with aught but the deepest respect for their talents, and the most heart-felt veneration for their unobtrusive piety. Nor even then. Should such arise, emulating German philologists in their profound learning, and surpassing them in child-like reverence for God's Holy word,—and may Almighty God hasten the time,—the mantle of their brethren of the seventeenth century will have fallen upon them, their celebrity will have stimulated them, their spirit will have characterized them. Our ancient and honourable name will have been regained, and England's sons will once more be regarded,
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after the lapse of centuries, as the countrymen of Pococke, Lightfoot, Castell, Walton, and Usher.

The following is a list of Hebrew grammars and lexicons existing in manuscript in the libraries of the Colleges and the British Museum. Doubtless it might be greatly enlarged by a careful examination of the literary stores at Cambridge and Oxford.

Manuscript Hebrew Grammars.

- MSS. Dudleii Loftus, Trinity College,
Dublin—
Hebrew Grammar, 874, 25
" " 875, 26
" " 876, 27
Trinity Coll. Cambridge:—
Grammatica Hebræa, 544, 19
Bodleian MSS.—
Institut. ling. Hebraicæ, 6587
British Museum—
Grammatical Tracts on Heb., Arab.,
and Syriac lang. Lansd. MSS., 694
Short Notes on Heb. lang. " 119, 17
Elementa linguæ Hebrææ. Harl. MSS.
952, 4
Regulæ Grammaticales pro lingua
Hebræa. Harl. MSS., 6529
Lucubrationes Hebraicæ (1656), Harl.
MSS., 6899, 10
" " secundæ,
Harl. MSS., 5332
Rudd's Hebrew Gram. Harl. MSS.,
6480
Heb. Alphabet and Gram. Rules.
Aysc. MSS., 2117, 31
Fragmentum Gram. Heb. Aysc. MSS.,
2138, 2
Grammar et Crit. Frag. on Heb.
Aysc. MSS., 4377, 1
Paxton's Pocket-Book of Observations
on Hebrew Tongue. Aysc. MSS.,
3385

Manuscript Hebrew Lexicons.

- Trinity College, Dublin—
Vocabularium Heb., 795, 655
Salisbury Cathedral—
Hebraicorum Nominum vocab., 1016,
90
University Library, Cambridge—
Lexici Hebraici, pars prima.
Bodleian MSS.—
Expositio quorundam nominum He-
braicorum.
Interpretatio Græcorum et Hebraico-
rum terminorum.
Vocabularium Hebraicum.
British Museum—
Vocabul. Hebraica explicata. Cotton
MSS. Jul. F. f. 121
Libellus de lingua Hebræa, continens
partem Lexici, &c. Harl. MSS.,
6530
Rudd's Hebrew Roots. Harl. MSS.,
6480
Lexicon Hebr. Lat., Bulstrode, Whit-
locke. Aysc. MSS., 4992, 4

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It is of no small importance in studying Scripture, or indeed any other book, to ascertain if possible the general principles according to which its structure is regulated—the age in which any work was written, the persons to whom it was addressed, the prejudices which then existed, the object which the author had in view—all these things must have had influence in determining the nature of the writing, and must therefore be borne in mind in seeking an interpretation. It is an ascertained fact that, on many points, the Holy Scriptures are silent where we might have expected a revelation. A certain amount of knowledge is communicated, and then further curiosity is forbidden. We are led up, as it were, to the mountain-top, from which we hope to survey the promised land, and find to our disappointment that mists intercept the view. This is to be expected from the condensed nature of the sacred canon. The Bible, from first to last, suggests rather than exhausts the truths which it communicates—‘Now we know *in part*.’ Occasional glimpses are all that are permitted; yet from this silence and obscurity we infer in a measure the *plan* of the divine word. It is not altogether a mystery why so many subjects are left untouched, why others are only partially revealed. Where the revelation is greatest the things revealed are obviously of the most importance, and conversely we infer, if any truth is withheld, it is less desirable that we should be made acquainted with it. So far allusion is made to a subject which has been already discussed in this Journal,* and for the subjoined reason—as it was there shown that Scripture is silent on certain topics, so we now shall find that it has been silent to certain men. In other words, as the revelation is limited in its range of subjects, so has there always been a limit to the numbers of those to whom it is addressed. These are kindred facts: and though it is, perhaps, less easy to account for the latter than for the former, nevertheless we accept it as a thing ascertained, and as such it is not without its use. Parallel facts are often the only explanation we have of natural phenomena. The colours of the rainbow are accounted for by the colours transmitted through the prism, though neither the rainbow nor the prism explains why light should be compounded of seven elements. Do we ask why the Lord God has hidden his dealings from one nation or century?

* See ‘Inferential Reasoning,’ etc., from the Silence of Scripture’, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. VIII. p. 277.

we can only reply, that he has done the same with regard to another.

It is our object in the present article to give an answer to the question, Why did not Jesus show himself to his enemies after he rose from the dead? This is a question relating to a particular event, but we hope to show that it admits of a general answer; or rather, that the particular reply that may be made to it involves the solution of one of the most comprehensive problems connected with the subject of divine revelations. The appearance of Christ after his resurrection was, in the strictest sense of the term, a *revelation*, and his refusal to appear before those who crucified him was one instance among many others of the withholding of 'heavenly things' from a certain section of mankind. Let this hint suffice for the present to justify our coupling this subject with the more general one above alluded to. The sceptic boldly asks, 'Why is a divine message shrouded in ambiguities?' He does not deny that the Creator of the world may, if he chooses, give a revelation of himself to his creatures. He assumes an appearance of candour in allowing that God may promulgate moral laws for man's guidance and that he may reveal to him a future state. But he argues that it is contrary to reason that such a divine communication should be of a nature that would leave man in doubt of its purport. No, he adds, the laws of heaven should be written on the broad sky and make themselves apparent to every beholder. The convictions respecting a future state should force themselves on the mind and be as palpable as the fact of personal existence. Doubt should be made impossible. Instead of this, the inquirer into the things of God has to grope his way in the dark, to depend on a balance of probabilities, to weigh evidence often slender, sometimes contradictory, and never be able to arrive at conclusions at all approaching the clearness of mathematical demonstration.

Now our Lord's resurrection was in itself the strongest and most palpable declaration of a future state. 'If there be no resurrection of the dead,' says the Apostle, 'then is Christ not risen.' And conversely we may make a legitimate comment. If Christ *is* risen there *is* also a resurrection of the dead. The proof of the one carries with it the certainty of the other. The strongest evidence that could be given was the personal presence of him who had been dead, but this was alone vouchsafed to his chosen followers. Here then arises another sceptical objection which runs closely parallel with the general one. 'Jesus,' they will say, 'predicted his own resurrection. On this depended his whole mission. He foretold it to the Jews, he foretold it to Pilate. Why did he not verify his words to those who had heard them?

them? His death was witnessed by the whole nation; every one knew that he was laid in the grave. Had the fact of his death been the point in question and he had died only in the presence of a few, the many would have believed. That which was common to all would be credited on ordinary testimony, but the resurrection of the dead being contrary to universal experience, demanded something like universal testimony to establish the fact. But while he died before the many, his appearance after his resurrection was testified only by the few. Again, these few were interested persons; they were his friends committed to his cause, and having their reputations at stake on the success of his mission. So far therefore from the resurrection being the subject of universal belief, there was ample room for universal doubt. The evidence was not written with a sunbeam, but penned in the illegible characters of the assertions of a few obscure followers.'

Before we proceed to answer these plausible objections, let us examine more particularly the special importance of the resurrection as a great historical fact, as well as its connection with collateral truths. The infidel has rightly judged it to be worthy of his sharpest assaults. He has not formed a conclusion wide of the truth, when he has determined in his own mind that the resurrection is the corner-stone of the Christian system. The Apostles were impressed with a like conviction when they 'preached Jesus and the resurrection.' To investigate, therefore, how the fact of the resurrection is established, may be presumed to throw much light on the mode of revealing the 'truth as it is in Jesus.' The first revelation given to man involved this great fact. The language addressed to the serpent is, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.' The bruising of the heel conveys the idea of injury of partial extent, or else of short duration. It would not be possible to determine beforehand which of these it might be, but when the seed of the woman was apparently bruised on the head, when he had died on the cross and was laid in the tomb, it was clear that unless the victory of the grave should be reversed and death's sting withdrawn, the prophecy would be unfulfilled. Moreover it was pronounced as a merciful alleviation of the curse: 'Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return,' was the dismal sentence pronounced on sinning man. Here was a mantle of gloom spread over a world framed originally for happiness. The serpent's wiles have been fatally successful, sin has gained a hold, and death is permitted to reap its harvest. The intimation, however obscure, that the defeat is not hopeless, that though cast down mankind is not destroyed, that the doors of the grave are not eternally

eternally shut,—this is the hope that, like a sunbeam, pierces the thick darkness. If the seed of the woman rises from the conflict wounded but not crushed, bruised in the heel but not bruised in the head,—if there be a resurrection from the sepulchre in which he is entombed, then the word of God stands sure and the hopes of man are established.

It scarcely requires proof to show that the hopes of man with respect to a general deliverance from the grave, are coupled with our Lord's rising again. Leaving out of view the evangelical doctrine that he 'rose again for our justification,' it is obvious on yet more simple grounds that the raising one rendered probable the resurrection of all. St. Paul argued with Agrippa on general grounds when he asked (Acts xxvi. 8) 'Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?' It was therefore remarked that if the divine power were manifested in one instance it might be expected in more. Besides, the raising up and the ascension to heaven no more to return to corruption imply certain capabilities of that nature which all of us possess in common. If death could not retain dominion over our Lord,—if the grave was a place unfit for the body in which his soul had taken its habitation,—if there was a *place* prepared for that body of a more glorious character, we infer that death is an anomaly in this our world; that to lie in the grave is contrary to our nature; that to escape the trammels of the tomb and enter a happy abode is alone that which is consistent with our state and will be fulfilled accordingly, unless any divine command should interfere.

These we conceive to be reasonable inferences from the bare fact of our Lord's resurrection, but they will be abundantly confirmed to us by revelation itself. 'I am he that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore. Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.' (Rev. i. 18.) In these terms does the risen Saviour lay claim to the power of raising the dead. He has the key of that great charnel-house in which the sons of Adam lie in silent gloom, bearing sad testimony to the results of sin and the unerring certainty of divine vengeance. But as the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. (John v. 21.) 'Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation.' (John v. 29, 30.)

Moreover the resurrection was the main fact essential to the verification of all that our Lord said and taught. His instructions were by no means confined to moral maxims or abstract reason-
ings,

ings, the truth of which did not depend on him who uttered them. Truth delivered in such a form would have the same weight whoever he be that enunciates it. But our Lord ever spake with authority. His own mission and office and future sovereignty were mixed up with his teaching, and if he failed in establishing his divine character, the greater part of his declarations were rendered void. If the immortality of the soul may be inferred from the Old Testament Scriptures from the dignity imputed to man by the relation declared to exist between him and God, how much more does the authority of Christ require to be vindicated by the establishment of his subsequent existence. If 'I am the God of Abraham,' is a saying that proves the future resurrection of the patriarch, how much more does the saying 'This is my beloved Son,' require that he should rise from the dead. Now our Lord assumed his own resurrection in the allusions he continually made to his own death. One such declaration will suffice as an example. 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' (John iii. 14, 15.) He does not here predict his rising; but how are men to live by believing in one who dies and continues among the dead? Men believe in a *risen* Saviour: therefore the Apostle says, 'If when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.' (Rom. v. 10.)

Our Lord, however, did more than indirectly imply his resurrection, he predicted it in express terms. 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' (John ii. 19.) This is one among several expressions in which he foretold the great event, but it is distinguished from the others by its reference to the demand of the Jews for a *sign*. It was a reply to the question, 'What *sign* shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?' Now, although our Lord constantly worked signs (*σημεῖα*), it would appear that he applied the term emphatically to certain events which in their own nature were calculated to force conviction on those who witnessed them. It was the Jewish disposition to seek such extraordinary manifestations of heavenly power, whilst the Greek mind craved (*σοφία*) wisdom. The Jew was captivated by what was external to sense, the Greek took delight in the subtleties of philosophical speculation. This peculiarity of the Jewish character often showed itself. The miracles of our Lord were not deemed sufficient, something yet more astonishing was demanded. He feeds five thousand with a few loaves, nevertheless they ask for a sign from heaven; with his own hand he clears the temple of a vast multitude, together with
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the oxen and sheep which they had introduced, yet a sign is demanded; and the thing asked is promised—the sign of the prophet Jonas. Three events relating to our Lord are specially termed signs: his conception by a virgin (Isa. vii. 14), his resurrection, and his return in the clouds of heaven. (Mat. xxiv. 30.) Each of these was intended to carry special conviction with it. The resurrection in particular was pointed to as the divine manifestation that should meet every Jewish objection, that should convince all men that Jesus was he of whom Jehovah had said, ‘Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.’

It is sufficiently evident that the resurrection, viewed as an historical event, is a central fact in the divine economy; as such, therefore, it requires the most accurate evidence, it needs to be substantiated so clearly that no hostile assault shall be able to shake the foundations on which it rests. Directly or indirectly, all Scripture points to it, all Scriptural teaching presupposes it, the hopes of man are built upon it. It is the antithesis to Adam’s fall; it rolls back the tide of Satan’s triumph. The reality of Christ’s mission depends upon its truth, and all his teaching requires its seal to its validity. As he announced it to his persecutors and proclaimed the fearful judgment that he himself would come to execute, their fears were awakened and every motive to jealous watchfulness for the result called into play. It was the turning-point in the great struggle between the powers of light and those of darkness; not a few soldiers only watched the sepulchre, but the hosts of heaven, yea and the powers of hell. These considerations will suggest what has already been hinted, that this event had in it the nature of a revelation. Before it was chronicled by an evangelist or commented on by an apostle, when it transpired as a bare fact, it was a declaration of God’s will; it suggested man’s future state; it gave a new meaning to the Prophets and the Psalms (Luke xxiv. 44), and especially contributed new force to all the Saviour’s teaching. Therefore we are justified in regarding it as a prominent example of the communication of heavenly truth, and the evidence on which it rests may be classed with all other evidence that has been given to mankind, enabling them to know the will of God.

The historical evidence of the fact of which we are now speaking lies within a small compass. A vast multitude saw him die; Roman soldiers pronounced him really dead, and forbore in consequence to break his legs. His body was placed in the sepulchre by Pilate’s permission, was seen there by the women who had prepared spices wherewith to embalm it, a stone was rolled to the entrance of the cave and sealed by his jealous foes. Every precaution was taken that fear and hatred could suggest; and lastly,
soldiers

soldiers were set to watch who could not have slept at their post without incurring the penalty of death. Hitherto his enemies have been eye-witnesses, but now friendly eyes alone are permitted to gaze on the Saviour. The angel that removed the stone was seen by the soldiers, but the fearful vision laid them prostrate. Nevertheless they were witnesses to the fact of the resurrection, and came into the city and showed unto the chief priests the things that were done. We say that friendly eyes saw him after his resurrection. The angel who came from heaven to roll away the stone was no unimportant witness. And when the women wept at the cave's mouth over the very circumstance that was so fraught with joy, and they saw two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain, to them they gave their testimony, Why seek ye the living among the dead? he is not here, but is risen. But Mary Magdalene herself was the first to see Jesus, and the sound of his voice drew from her a cry of recognition, Rabboni! The Apostles then at different intervals were admitted as eye witnesses of the risen Saviour, 'to whom he showed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs.' (Acts i. 3.) St. Paul speaks thus of this accumulated evidence. (1 Cor. xv. 3—8.) 'He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that he was seen of James; then of all the Apostles. And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.'^b It will be unnecessary to dwell at greater length on that kind of

^b Bishop Pearson's enumeration of the peculiar evidence afforded by each of the successive personal manifestations of our Lord is worthy of notice:—"He sufficiently assured the apostles of the verity of his corporeity, saying, "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." He convinced them all of the identity of his body, saying, "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself" (Luke xxiv. 37-39); especially unbelieving Thomas: "Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless, but believing." The body, then, in which he rose must be the same in which he lived before, because it was the same with which he died. And that we might be assured of the soul as well as of the body, first, he gave an argument of the vegetative and nutritive faculty, saying unto them, "Have ye here any meat? And they gave him a piece of broiled fish and of a honeycomb, and he took it and did eat before them." Secondly, of the sensitive part, conversing with them, shewing himself, seeing and hearing them. Thirdly, he gave evidence of his rational and intellectual soul, by speaking to them and discoursing out of the Scriptures, concerning those things which he spake unto them while he was yet with them. Thus did he shew that the body which they saw was truly and vitally informed with a human soul. And that they might be yet farther assured that it was the same soul by which that body lived before, he gave a full testimony of his divinity by the miracle which he wrought, in the multitude of fishes caught, by breathing on the apostles the Holy Ghost, and by ascending into heaven in the sight of his disciples."—PEARSON, *On the Creed*, Article V.

evidence of the resurrection by which they who receive the inspired Scriptures are convinced. No one takes his stand on the Bible as a true record, to attack the received doctrine of the resurrection; but we have to deal with those who entrench themselves in an alleged inconsistency in the facts for the purpose of assailing the record itself. Our object is now to point out an additional proof of the consistency of Scripture with itself, and thus to strengthen the internal evidence of the sacred canon.

The enemies of Christianity complain that our Lord did not personally appear to those who crucified him; but we ask, 'Had they not sufficient data to infer the certainty of his resurrection?' At least they had enough to render it highly probable. The soldiers who saw the angelic apparition could have entertained no doubts. Indeed, the very falsehood which they were bribed to promulgate, demonstrated what were the real convictions even of the Jewish Sanhedrim. Besides, the empty sepulchre, the abandoned grave clothes, the stone rolled away, each of them supplied its proof. And if the disciples had concealed the body, they did not conceal themselves. On the contrary, they courted publicity, they openly avowed the facts which had taken place, they were prepared to confront their adversaries and establish the truth of their own statements. Had Jesus lived altogether in obscurity, had he not predicted the events which were to happen, had prophecy been silent concerning him, had he died under ordinary circumstances, had there been no earthquake, no darkness, no rent vail, none of those things which drew the cry from the centurion, 'Truly this was the Son of God,' the fable invented by the priests and circulated by the soldiers might have been more plausible, and the resurrection more safely disbelieved. Now, when Peter and the rest of the disciples asserted the contrary, they openly appealed to the 'rulers of the people and the elders of Israel' (Acts iv. 8.), they referred them to their own Scriptures and to the facts of which they were conversant,—'This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner' (ver. 11). The Pharisees might have remembered these very words as having been applied by the crucified One to himself (Matt. xxi. 42), for on that occasion they were reluctantly convinced, and now they were unable to reply. 'They saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men,' and consequently could find little hope that the imputation of subtlety and fraud would obtain credence. We conclude, therefore, that the evidence given to the enemies of Christ, though indirect, was sufficient to establish in their minds the belief of the resurrection.

In examining the historical account of this event, it has sufficiently

ciently appeared that the friends of our Lord were alone admitted into his presence. It is from this circumstance that the sceptical objection has taken rise to which we have alluded, and which is the subject of this article. Some have replied to that objection by observing that it does not follow from the silence of the Evangelists, that others were not allowed to behold him. But St. Peter's words are conclusive on this point; for he asserts expressly that he appeared *οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀλλ'—ἡμῖν* (the disciples, Acts x. 40, 41). Now if, as we have endeavoured to show, there was sufficient indirect proof of the resurrection afforded to the people, what further end, may we ask, would have been obtained by our Lord's openly showing himself? Assuming that he had done so, we may glance at two opposite hypothetical results differing from what actually took place. We may suppose a more open manifestation to have produced a widely extended belief in the miraculous events, or the reverse. The latter supposition is not unreasonable, and if so, the objection is at once met. We say it is not unreasonable, for in the excited state of the public mind there would appear to be ample inducement for an impostor to come forward and proclaim himself the risen Messiah. Had our Lord, therefore, appeared to the people, he might have placed himself in a false position by doing that which an impostor could readily have imitated, and so brought upon himself the charge of fraud, and thereby confirmed the unbelief of his adversaries. But to take the first supposition as the more plausible one, we may conceive a public appearance to have been coupled with miraculous attestation. In this case the multitude might have been brought to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah. But it was clearly inconsistent with our Lord's mission to establish his Messiahship by the acclamations of the public voice. Such a belief on the part of the nation of the Jews would be hastily formed, and might as hastily be abandoned. On the spur of the moment, they would have lifted up their Hosannas, and cut down once more the palm branches from the trees. They would have hastened to proclaim him their King, and adopt Pilate's superscription and the soldier's purple robe not as a mockery, but as a declaration of the popular conviction. On a less exciting occasion (see John vi. 15), the people were disposed to take similar measures, to come by force and make him a King. Now, the nature of our Lord's kingdom required that it should be established on a different basis. Sovereignty is a mutual relationship. The man who governs a warlike race must himself be warlike; and on the other hand, a reign of righteousness and peace presupposes a harmony of the ruler and the subject in respect of these holy principles. 'Except a man be born again,' our Lord had told Nicodemus, 'he could not become

become a subject of this kingdom,' and the Jewish nation in general were far from coming under this description. They were the very reverse of spiritual, and therefore unfit for spiritual sway.

As a nation, they had so far belied the principles of their own law as to crucify Him who came to establish it; it was therefore improbable, yea, unreasonable, that he should appear among them to receive their applause, while their hands were as yet imbrued with his blood. In fact, our Lord's humiliation ceased when he rose from the tomb. During the days of his condescension, he submitted to be rejected, vilified, despised. He wrought miracles which were imputed to Beelzebub; he associated with men at their festal boards, and was called gluttonous and a wine-bibber. But after he had risen he screened himself from hostility, he *hid his face* from shame and spitting. He saw his foes before, and they rejected him; he sees them but once again, and then he will reject them. During his ministry, our Lord had stood as it were in the attitude of a suppliant; he had implored Jerusalem to learn the things which belonged to its peace; but now they were hid from its eyes. *Men* must henceforth be the only suppliants. Jesus turned away his face in the flesh; and they can only be made worthy to gaze on him henceforth by faith, and the road to faith is through the tearful valley of repentance. In other words, the riddle of the vacated sepulchre was not to be solved by wonders wrought to gratify the curious, nor made a matter of idle speculation; but to attest a momentous truth that the nation had sinned, that God's anger was roused, and that they must repent and believe, or perish in their unbelief. And it is to be remembered that the most glaring evidence has in itself no power of producing conviction. Men were determined to reject the Saviour, and by whatever testimony his mission was commended to them unbelief would be equally the result. They would never lack a loophole for their scepticism. It seemed as if our Lord knew that among the Jewish nation some would believe and some would believe not; that those who believed would do so though evidence was scanty, and that those who believed not would persist in unbelief though evidence abounded. Yea, he had said, 'Neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.'

Now, when we turn to the narrative of our Lord's interviews with the disciples, we infer ample reasons why his personal presence should have been restricted to so small a number. In the first place, it was needful, in order to his recognition, that he should have been previously well known. None could identify him but those who had been well acquainted with his features. We may take a familiar illustration. If an impostor had appeared in France in the year 1816, and announced that he was

Napoleon, and had escaped from St. Helena, he might have chanced so far to resemble the emperor in feature and appearance as to obtain credit from the mass of the French nation. Those who knew the exile only by his portraits, or by having seen him on certain occasions, would easily be deceived as to the identity. The general belief arising from this would be no satisfactory proof to posterity that the great man had returned among his countrymen. But let the pretender go amongst the old marshals of the empire, the secretaries, and court officials, those who knew every peculiarity of the person and manner of their former emperor, and if *they* pronounced him to be the man in question, their evidence might be safely relied on. Now our Lord submitted himself precisely to this test. He appeared among those who had often watched his countenance and listened to his voice; he showed himself to them by many infallible proofs (*ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις*). To Mary the sound of his voice was sufficient, and drew forth the exclamation, *Rabboni*. Thomas was not convinced by his features, his voice, or his person, but must needs examine the wounds that had been inflicted on the cross. And it is the evidence of Mary, and of Peter, of Thomas, and of John on which we rely, that he who rose was he who had wrought miracles, and preached for three years the glad tidings of the kingdom.

We have described two opposite results, arising from the hypothetical case of our Lord showing himself to the people; the one a universal rejection and allegation of imposture; the other a wide-spread but shallow belief. With regard to the effect on the disciples hypothesis is excluded, since we know as a fact that they were 'slow to believe' that it was he. The avowal of this prolonged scepticism on the part of the inspired narrators is one of the most remarkable instances to which we can point of their honesty as writers. What an amount of blindness, of ignorance of the Scriptures, of want of confidence in the word of that very Saviour they are now so anxious to exalt have they to apply to themselves! It would almost seem to bar their own preaching, to afford an excuse to the unbelieving; but it has, in the providence of God, served an important end. It indicates to what a searching test the statement of the resurrection was subjected, and leaves that event as the most clearly established of any in the whole range of history.* Now may we not infer from this difficulty of convincing the friends of our Lord, that it would have been immeasurably increased had he by his personal presence sought to convince his enemies? Christ did nothing in vain: but

* Gregory the Great remarks justly and happily, '*Dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur a nobis.*'

assuredly,

assuredly, had he made his public appearance with this view, the effort would have been thrown away.

We have yet one more reason to give in reply to the sceptical inquiry which has suggested this investigation, and to this we would attach special importance. We state it in the very words of Scripture: 'Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly; not to all the people, but *unto witnesses chosen before of God*' (μάρτυσι τοῖς προεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ), Acts x. 40, 41.) This is the most satisfactory solution, if there be any difficulty to the devout mind, that God saw how the truth would best be established, and chose his own witnesses to receive and his own heralds to proclaim the momentous fact. We have already seen that human reason may discover many particulars in which the course pursued appeared to be expedient; we now see that it was proclaimed as the deliberate result of a divine plan. We know that the divine dealings have a unity of design: consequently to discover the fundamental points of mutual resemblance is to supply the best explanation of occasional apparent incongruities. The principle we here discover is that the most important revelations have been made to the few, and not to the many. But the few are not told to keep their knowledge to themselves; but to spread it far and wide. And we have seen that it was better that the few should individually be enabled thoroughly to sift the evidence, that others might receive the truth on their testimony. This is a necessity springing from the very nature of things. Had all Jerusalem seen the risen Saviour, Samaria and Galilee would still have been left to receive the fact by hearsay. Had a whole generation been made eye-witnesses, succeeding generations would have failed to share in the privilege. There is a law of isolation existing in the world which confines every man to his own kindred and country, to his own language and laws, to the age in which he lives, and the events in which he takes a part. The barriers of space and time can be but imperfectly removed. We may run to and fro as we will, and knowledge may be increased to the utmost stretch of human ability, and we are still unacquainted with the thoughts that fill the minds of men who belonged almost to our own time or to our own birthplace.

There were a few witnesses to our Lord's resurrection, and these his own friends; there were still fewer that beheld his transfiguration, and these the nearest of his friends. The former amounted to more than five hundred, the latter were confined to three, and these chosen disciples, an election out of the elect—Peter, James, and John.

It would seem as if many of those events in the Saviour's life which had the deepest significance were, for some unexplained cause,

cause, allowed to be seen by few, and those scrupulously chosen. To verify this would not be difficult to those who would examine the sacred narrative. At the last supper there were but the twelve; to the temptation in the wilderness and the agony in Gethsemane there was no witness; the disciples on this latter occasion were heavy with sleep.

There is an old aphorism, not of inspired origin: Nature is always self-similar. If this is true of nature it is assuredly not less so of revelation. We observe that the direct evidence of the resurrection was vouchsafed only to a few; is not the same law evident in the revelations of all ages? In the infancy of the world the will of God was probably made known to an entire generation; the first prophecy was proclaimed to all who lived on the earth. As mankind increased in number, probably those who were left in ignorance increased in a greater ratio. But we find that the light which shone upon the few increased in intensity. It may readily be observed that prophecy as it advances becomes more definite. The prophecy given to Eve is a dark parable compared with the dying words of Noah; the words of Balaam are more distinct than the promise given to Abraham. We may conceive something of this law of reserve as having belonged to Noah's preaching. It is impossible that he could have been a 'preacher of righteousness' to every individual then alive; the world was probably as thickly populated as it is now; and those who came into personal contact with the favoured prophet would be the inhabitants of his own place or country. The ark itself sufficiently prognosticated the coming deluge; the millions might easily be aware that so wondrous a structure was being prepared, although they might not hear the doctrine of repentance from Noah's lips. The rising ark was to them what the vacated sepulchre was to the Jewish nation—the index of a great fact which ought to have stimulated them to anxious inquiry.

Following the stream of time we find a deepening of the stream of revelation, with a narrowing of the banks which contained it. The call of Abraham, the successive manifestations to Isaac and Jacob, were all of them bright gleams of divine light; but indicate at the same time that, from the midst of a world that lay in dark idolatry, only a few, a family, a tribe, or a nation were privileged with a revelation of God's will. The advantage held by the Jew was that 'unto him were committed the oracles of God.' When Israel came forth from Egypt and toiled through the wilderness, that mingled crowd alone was permitted to hear the word of the living God; the other nations were utterly cast off, they had made themselves objects of divine abhorrence, and this people, insignificant

insignificant in point of numbers, was chosen as a candlestick for the heavenly light. After the degrading influence of two centuries of Egyptian slavery we may well conceive that their minds were in a state the very reverse of cultivated, that their morals were not much better; that in their whole aspect they would suggest anything rather than what would be expected from the most highly favoured nation upon earth. But they were the witnesses to the Lord's signs and wonders, to his revealed attributes, to his glorious promises, were 'chosen before of God' (*προεχρηροτονημένοι*) for this purpose. The infidel may ask why were not the Moabites and Canaanites and the inhabitants of the wide world equally enlightened? We can supply no reason, we only point to the fact.

The prophecies given at the close of the Old Testament, beginning with those delivered just before the captivity, including as they do the sublime predictions of Isaiah and the exact chronology of Daniel, were much in advance of all that had gone before in respect of clearness of revelation. And here we again find the keepers of the sacred oracles materially diminished in numbers. The ten tribes never returned from captivity, and were lost among the nations. So that when our Lord himself came down from heaven, when the *sign* pronounced to Ahaz was given, a single tribe of Israel's sons was alone the chosen witness. At this time the banks of the stream were broken through,—or to use the Scripture metaphor—the wall of partition was broken down; nevertheless, the history of the world, subsequent to the ascension of Christ, does not exhibit the wide dissemination of revealed truth that we might have hoped for. Scripture is still silent to the majority of mankind. True, it ought not to be so. God no longer imposes a restriction. The Church is commanded to widen its boundaries. Expansiveness is the very test of spiritual life. But though no corner of the world is left unexplored for the sake of commercial enterprise, or territorial aggrandisement, or scientific research, Christians fail to hold up to their fellow men the light of God's truth. His ways are not made known to the ends of the earth, nor his saving health to all nations. This is not owing to the design of God; but to the neglect of the Church; nevertheless it is a fact in the nature of things, that millions have never received a spoken or written revelation of the will of God.

But we may revert to our Lord's own teaching, and there we find the same withholding of truth from all but a few. If he did not show himself to all the people after he rose from the dead, neither did he declare heavenly things to all the people during his ministry. The chosen witnesses of the resurrection were also
chosen

chosen recipients of Gospel truth. They were emphatically his friends: 'Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you' (John xv. 14, 15). The circle is, therefore, still more contracted to whom the clearest revelations are made.

The teaching of our Lord was much of it parabolic. This mode was singularly adapted to instruct at one and the same time an outer and an inner circle of hearers. To the former, instruction would be given: the primary force of the parable was the inculcation of moral truth. No one could hear and not receive benefit; but in many instances the crowd went away without receiving any new declaration concerning the reign of Messiah. And our Lord avowed this to his disciples: 'Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to them that are without all these things are done in parables' (Mark iv. 11). It might be alleged that this was to the Jewish nation a refusal of the mystery, and that they could not be blamed for not accepting him as the Messiah, whose teaching was studiously kept from them. An objector might compare the parables of our Lord to the pillar of cloud, that was a light to the Israelites but darkness to the Egyptians. Now the parable served the same end to the Jewish hearer that the vacated sepulchre did to the nation, and the ark to the antediluvian. It suggested inquiry. Our Lord always told 'them that were without' what was the subject of his parable. They had their own conceptions of the kingdom; they were interested to an extreme degree in learning all that pertained to it; and if a teacher appeared before them with miraculous attestations of his mission, and told them to what the kingdom might be likened, the least they could do was to ask for a solution, to inquire into the nature of the resemblance. The disciples prosecuted the inquiry which the others neglected; they obtained an answer, not primarily because they were friends, but because they were inquirers; sight was given because they were willing to see, and hearing because they were anxious to hear. Assuredly the Pharisees and Scribes might have done the same, and the judicial blindness that was inflicted upon them had its cause not so much in the sovereignty of God as in their own perverseness and unbelief. The narrowed channel of revelation may everywhere be similarly understood. Nature is one vast parable to which the kingdom of God is likened. None are so far excluded from Divine knowledge, but that they have this book at least open before their eyes: 'The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are

are made, even his eternal power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse.' (Rom. i. 20.)

It would appear that hitherto the revelations of God have been confined to a few, and limited in clearness. But this characteristic does not apply to the next dispensation. Our Lord was silent before Pilate, he spoke little to the Sanhedrim; the *sign* of the prophet Jonas was an obscure one, and left many unconvinced. But a different sign shall usher in the day of the Son of Man; that sign will be a universal manifestation of Him who showed himself to so few after he rose from the dead. 'Then shall appear the *sign* of the Son of Man in heaven.' (Matth. xxiv. 30.) Partial convictions will then cease, imperfect evidence will never be offered; man will not grope about for the truth, nor say 'Lo! here,' or 'Lo! there.' For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.

The questions of the infidel, why Jesus appeared only to his friends after the resurrection, why revelation is limited and obscure, are sufficiently answered by the discovery that God has always revealed himself to chosen witnesses, and has never imparted truth to those who manifested an unwillingness to receive it. This accounts in a great measure for the *mystery* that pervades the Bible. It is also consistent with our state of probation. Sin is possible, or virtue would not merit the name; error is able to intrude itself that the truth may be more valued. Hence, effort is necessary, either in the practice of virtue or the investigation of truth; and the very essence of faith is that it works in the dark; it has respect to the unseen. Truth is best seen against the back-ground of error, and faith is rendered perfect when tried by uncertainty.

Even amongst those who have the Bible in their hands there will be two classes: the friends to whom the Saviour reveals himself, and those who see only the empty tomb. All see not with the same eyes. But if we consider the purposes for which God gives a revelation, the limits to which he restricts it, the small numbers to whom it has ever been addressed, we may infer the general design with which it is constructed, and the patience necessary to become acquainted with all its parts. Humility in receiving the truth, earnestness in seeking it, zeal in practising it, will be the best characteristics of the Scripture student; and he who digs the sacred mine with all the helps that God himself has given, will assuredly obtain a rich reward.

C. D.

POETICAL

POETICAL LEGENDS OF THE TALMUD.*

THERE is perhaps no uninspired book of which more has been said and written than of that extraordinary production of the human mind, the Jewish Talmûd. It is proposed in the following pages to give a short description of its nature and origin, and to indicate some of the more remarkable and poetical portions of its contents.

The laws which were imparted to the Israelites by divine command through Moses, 'the man of God,' are contained in the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses, are a system of legislation the most perfect, and embrace religious, moral, political, social, and ritual enactments.

Although Moses had prohibited^b the Israelites from adding unto the word which he had commanded them, and from diminishing therefrom, yet, as those laws were general, he gave the power of making special applications, when necessary, in the hands of those who should succeed him in the judgment-seat of Israel; saying,^c that if there should arise anything too hard for them in judgment, the persons so pressed were to go to the place which the Lord should choose, to the priests and to the judge that should be in those days and inquire, and that they were to do according to the sentence which they should pronounce, under the penalty of death.

As long as the Israelities were wanderers in the desert, under the government of Moses, their affairs were so little complicated, that the application of the divine law to specific cases was of rare occurrence. But when they had obtained possession of the promised land, had built cities, and had become a large nation, more intricate disputes of necessity arose, and appeals to the supreme judge became frequent. At first each decision rested on its own merits; but when, in cases that much resembled each other, such decisions became recorded as precedents for future adjudications, these primary decisions were called הלכיה למשה מסיני (*eleke le-Moseh me-Sinai*), a decision of Moses from Sinai, which possessed the authority bequeathed to it by their great legislator.

The Mosaic ritual required also many specific directions and applications, and the necessity of establishing rules for their observance became also necessary. These were also conferred by

* This article must be regarded as in some respects a sequel to that on the HEBREW POETRY OF THE MIDDLE AGES, in the last Number of the JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE.

^b Deut. iv. 2.

^c Deut. xvii. 8.

the same authority to the teachers of the people. These were delivered verbally, not being contained in the code of laws written down by Moses, and were, it is alleged, preserved from generation to generation by tradition, and delivered solemnly and with severe injunctions to preserve them unaltered from father to son.

It is held that the existence of these traditions during the time of the first Temple may be proved from the writings of the sacred historians and prophets. After its destruction, and the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the traditions were still preserved, so that a twofold code existed, the *תורה שבכתב* (*torah sebaktab*), Pentateuch or the Five Books of Moses, the written law, and the *תורה שבעל פה* (*torah sebol pe*), the verbal or unwritten law, founded upon and explanatory of the former.

During the period of the second temple, the great and influential sect, the Sadducees, denied the authority of this oral law. This sect, however, was not established till long after the return of the Jews from Babylon, and the earliest writer who mentions it is Josephus.⁴ The founders of this sect were of the school of Antigonus of Socho, head of the Sanhedrin in the third century before Christ. Zadok and Baithos, two of his disciples, differed from him, joined the Samaritans, who worshipped in their temple on Mount Gerizim, and established the sect which lasted till the reign of Justinian, who denounced them as atheists, and persecuted them with great violence. They are also mentioned by Maimonides, and in the *אבות* (*Aboth*) of Rabbis Nathan and Abraham ben David as schismatics, who gainsaid the divine origin of the oral law and denied the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of the soul; agreeing in many points with the doctrines of the Epicurean philosophers. They were named Sadducees (or *Zadokim* צדוקים) and Baithosees from their founders, Zadok and Baithos.⁵

But after the destruction of Jerusalem and the bloody persecutions and dispersion of the Jews under Hadrian, who prohibited the practice of their rites, and declared the transmission of the oral law, or the appointing a teacher learned in the law, under the penalty of death, it was feared that the oral law might be forgotten, and that if the chain of tradition became broken it would become obsolete.

It was, therefore, the care of their teachers to prevent this rupture, and to keep their people prepared for that restoration to freedom and nationality, to be again a freeholder and a citizen in the land of their forefathers. Such were the motives that ren-

⁴ *Jewish Antiquities*, lib. iii. c. ii., and xii. and lxiii. of his *Jewish Wars*.

⁵ *Geschichte, Lehren und Meinungen aller religiösen Sekten der Juden*, by P. Beer, Brün, 1822.

dered the preservation of those traditions which formed the oral law. One of their great teachers, Rabbi Jehuda Hachadosh, the *hanassi*, prince, patriarch, or chief of the school of Tiberias, in the time^f of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, collected all the legal and ritual traditions and the various established decisions and embodied them in a work called the *משנה* (*Mishna*) Repetition or Doctrine of the Law. His Mishnah or first Talmûd, notwithstanding the inconsistencies and obscurities with which it abounds, comprehends all the laws, institutions, and rules of life, which the Jews held themselves bound to observe, and many excellent aphorisms, soon obtained credit as a sacred book. It subsequently received additions and comments by other celebrated Rabbis, which were published in the fifth century by Rabbi Jochanan-ben-Eliezer, under the title of *Gemara*.^g

Rabbi Jehuda was assisted in this compilation by several learned associates, who were designated *Tanaim*, or Mishnic Doctors, the most celebrated of whom was Rabbi Jochanan, his disciple. Within a century after this compilation, four commentaries on its contents were published by disciples of his school. Rab composed the treatises *Jephra* and *Jephri*, and Rabbi Chiya wrote *Josephta*, to expound and elucidate its principles; Rabbies Hosea and ben-Caphara jointly composed *Beraitha* to interpret its contents, and Jochanan embodied these various commentaries, together with the different opinions expressed by learned Rabbies his contemporaries, in the work called the Jerusalem Talmûd.

A second and more laborious and extensive compilation was undertaken about a century later by Rabbi Asher, president of the Jewish Academy at Sura, who devoted three score years of his long life to this work, which is called the Babylonian Talmûd to distinguish it from the older or Jerusalem Talmûd. In this work he embodied all the opinions and explanations of the Mishnah up to his time. After his death, his successor, Rabbi Avina, laboured with equal zeal on this immense work, which was completed by the *Saburaim* about a century later, and contained the commentaries of Rashi, Josaphoth, Maimonides, Rabbenu Simeon, and Rabbi Asher.

The contents of the Talmûd are classed by the author of a treatise 'On the Social Condition of the Jews'^h under two great heads, namely, הלכות (*Halacoth*), 'Decisions,' and הגדות

^f About A.D. 164.

^g An edition of the Mishnah was published by Surenhusius, a celebrated Hebrew and Greek professor in the university of Amsterdam, in 1688, in six volumes folio. A translation into German of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmûds, the Mishnah and the Gemara, by Dr. M. Pinner, of the Asiatic Society, Paris, was announced for publication, in twenty-eight large folio volumes, Berlin, 1832.

^h In the Magazine of Rabbinical literature, vol. iii. p. 51. 8vo. Lond. 1836.

(*Hagadoth*),

(*Hagadoth*), 'Dissertations.' The first form that code of legal and ritual enactments which, derived from Moses, had been preserved, as before mentioned, by tradition and subsequently embodied in the Mishnah. These having been examined by the *Amoraim* or Talmûdic doctors and adopted by them, are the code of the oral law. These decisions, and the disputations and reasons by which they were established, became so numerous as to tax even the best memory. To obviate this objection, Maimonides abridged the Talmûd, and gave in his *Jad Hachazakah* (the Strong Hand), a complete digest of the Talmûdic laws.

The nature of the dissertations, which formed the second great division of the Talmûd, is so general, that there is scarcely any subject, religious, moral, spiritual, or scientific, but that the Talmudic sages have noticed it. Many, if not most, of these dissertations are written in that metaphorical style of allegory, that was at all times so prevalent in the East. Some of these allegories would match for extravagance the fables of the Papists in their legendary tales; such as, that the Creator of the Universe puts on *phylacteries*,ⁱ and prays; that he wraps himself in a ^k *talet*, like the reader of a congregation; that he is angered every day (note ib. Tr. *Berachoth*, p. 7); that he weeps (note ib. fo. 59, p. 1), that he roars^m like a lion, and many other similar expressions with which the Talmûd abounds; and, if taken literally, are as contrary to the dictates of common sense as they are to the fundamental principles of the divine law as given in the Pentateuch. The most pious of their Rabbis declare the study of this second division of the Talmûd profitless and vain; and Maimonides expressly declares that no man should occupy himself with these disputations or devote much time to the ethics, as neither of them are to be considered as principles of faith, not promoting the love or fear of the Lord.

The jurisprudence of the Talmûd is entitled to high respect, as combining the three great qualities of any code, namely, equity, efficiency, and dignity. The criminal code is humane, and the civil code attentive to the rights of person and property. One of their axioms,ⁿ 'The enactments of the state are law,' is held to be so binding that no Jew can plead the sanction of the Talmûd as his authority for disobeying the laws of the land in which he lives, or for not being as good a citizen and as loyal a subject as any member of the community into which he is received; and many other similar commands as to their conduct towards their fellow men.

ⁱ Talmûd, tr. *Berachoth*.
ⁿ *Ib.*, tr. *Chulîa*, fo. 59, p. 2.

^k Talmud, tr. *Rosh-hashannah*, fo. 17, p. 2.
^m רינא דמלכותא רינא (*dina de-melcetha dina*).

A few examples of the aphorisms or maxims of the Talmudic doctors will suffice to show the spirit of this great but inconsistent compilation, which may be correctly described as consisting of good, bad, and indifferent:—

‘AKABIAH, the son of Mehallel, said, “Contemplate three things, and thou wilt avoid sin; know whence thou comest, whither thou goest, and before whom thou art to render a responsible account. Whence camest thou? From a perishable atom. Whither goest thou? To a place of ashes, worms, and maggots. Before whom art thou hereafter to render an account? Before the Sovereign of the King of Kings, the Holy One—blessed be HE.”

‘RABBI DOSA, the son of Harchinas, said, “Sleep in the morning, wine in the forenoon, childish conversation, and frequenting the assemblies of the worldly-minded, drive a man out of the world.”

‘RABBI AKIBA said, “Laughter and levity accustom men to lewdness; tradition forms a fence to the law; titles form a fence to riches; vows a fence for abstinence; and the fence for wisdom is science.”

‘He (R. Akiba) used to say, “Man is beloved, for he was created in the image of God; but that love was greater still, which made it known to him that he was made in the image of God; as it is said, ‘In the image of God he made man.’”

‘BEN ZOMA^a said, “Who is truly wise? He who is willing to receive instruction from all men: As it is written, ‘From all my teachers I gather understanding.’ Who is truly a hero? He who subdues his own passions:—As it is said, ‘He who is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he who governs his own temper, than he who taketh a city.’ Who is truly happy? He who is contented with his lot: as it is said, ‘When thou shalt eat of the labours of thine hands, then happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee. Happy shalt thou be in this world, and it shall be well with thee in the world to come.’ Who is truly honourable? He who honoureth the human species; as it is written, ‘For them who honour me will I honour, and they who despise me shall be lightly esteemed.’”

‘BEN^b AZAI said, “Run to the performance of the slightest commandment, and flee from the commission of sin; for the performance of one precept leads to another, and one sin involves the commission of another: as the reward of obeying one precept consists in the performance of another, so the recompense of sin is the evil of committing another.”

‘He (Ben Azai) used to say, “Despise not any man, and do not spurn anything: for there is no man who hath not his hour, nor is there anything that hath not its place.”

‘RABBI ELEAZAR ben Shamuang said, “Let the honour of thy

^a The name of this youthful teacher was Simeon; but as he died before he had obtained the inauguration and title of Rabbi, he is not called by his own name, but by that of his father. His rank was that of a disciple of the sages, not a sage.

^b This youthful teacher, whose name was Simeon, is called by his patronymic for similar reasons to the preceding.

disciple be as dear to thee as thine own ; and thy respect for thy companions as thy veneration for thy teacher ; and thy veneration for thy teacher as thy fear of the Deity."

' RABBI SIMEON said, " There are three crowns ; the crown of the law, the crown of priesthood, and the crown of royalty : but the crown of a good name is superior to all of them."

' RABBI SIMEON ben Eleazar said, " Attempt not to appease thy neighbour in the hour of his wrath, nor to console him while his dead lieth before him. Question him not at the time of his making a vow, nor be pressing to see him in the hour of his remorse."

' RABBI ELEAZAR Hakappar used to say, "'Those who are born must die ; the dead are made to live, and the living to be judged ; to know, to make known, and to confess that HE, the Almighty God, is the former, the creator, the examiner, judge, witness, and complainant ; and HE is the judge for all times to come. Blessed is HE ! in whose presence there is no unrighteousness, no forgetfulness, no respect of persons, no acceptance of bribes, for everything is his. Know also, that everything is done according to account. Let not thine imagination feed thee with the hope that the grave is a place of refuge for thee: for without thy consent thou wert formed, without thy consent thou wert born, without thy consent thou livest, without thy consent thou must die, and without thy consent thou must hereafter render a responsible account before the Sovereign of the King of Kings, the Holy One. Blessed be HE.'"

Of such and of similar sentiments were the axioms and monitions of the Talmûd composed, and every one of them enlarged by scores of folio commentaries and elucidations. Many of them shew a merely childish playing upon words, and some set forth mere truisms and logical extravaganzas ; such as the following :—

' RABBI ELEAZAR, the son of Azariah, said, " If there be no knowledge of the law, there can be no correct worldly conduct ; and if there be no correct worldly conduct, there certainly can be no law. If there is no fear of God, there can be no wisdom ; and if there be no wisdom, there can be no fear of God. If there be no knowledge, there can be no understanding ; and if there is no understanding, there can be no knowledge. If there is no meal there can be no study of the law ; and if there be no study of the law, there is no meal."

These wise sayings have also an elaborate commentary in the מִסְכֵּת אבוֹת (*Mesceth Aboth*), the Ethics of the Fathers, but the last aphorism of this ethic is unexplained.

The legends, allegories and tales, with which the Talmûd abounds, are as various as their axioms and ethics, but many of them are full of poetry and imagination. Of such are the following :—

' THE SUN AND THE MOON.

' From the council of the Eternal the creating decree went forth, " Two lights shall shine in the firmament ; and they shall rule the earth, and decide revolving times and seasons."

' HE

'Hz said, and it was so. The sun arose, the first of lights. As a bridegroom goeth forth from his chamber, as a hero rejoices in his victorious career, so doth the glorious luminary proceed on his course, robed in the radiant splendours of his Creator. A chaplet of various colours enriched his head; earth rejoiced, the herbs diffused their choicest fragrance, and the flowers expanded all their beauty.

'The second light beheld the splendid sight, and its heart was filled with envy. It saw that its own splendour could not excel the effulgence of the orb of day.

'Repinings and complaints broke from the lesser planet. "Why do two monarchs sit upon one throne? Why am I to be the inferior and not the chief?"

'Suddenly, the splendid light of the moon, expelled by its inward discontent, vanished from its face. Far it spread over the vast empyrean and lighted up the numerous host of stars.

'Dark and trembling stood the moon, downcast and ashamed before the celestial hosts. Weeping she prayed, "Have mercy, Father of all, have mercy upon me!" and lo! the angel of the Lord stood before the humbled luminary, and announced the irrevocable decree, "Because thou hast envied the splendour of the sun, thy radiance from henceforth shall be borrowed from his light; and when yonder earth passes thee, thou shalt stand as thou now dost, deprived of light, and eclipsed either wholly or in part. But weep not, planet of the silent night; the All-merciful hath pardoned thy repining and granted thy prayer. 'Go forth,' Hz commanded me, 'console the penitent moon; she, also, shall be a queen in her milder radiance. The tears of her repentance shall be a reviving balm to all that languish, imparting new vigour to all whom the noon-tide heat has exhausted."

'The moon was consoled; and lo, the pale radiance in which she still shines, flowed beautifully around her. She entered on her silent career, the queen of the night, leader of her attendant stars. Weeping for her own fault, she commiserates the tears that are shed on earth, and sends forth her silvery rays to console the mourner and to sympathise with those who suffer.'

To this apologue the Talmudic sages address the following moral to the fair daughters of Israel:—

'Daughter of beauty, beware of envy; envy has driven angels from heaven, and lowered the splendour of the beauteous moon, the silent queen of night.'

Envy, or the sense of pain at the sight of excellence or happiness in others, is a passion so common in the human breast, that it has received the censure of every moralist from King Solomon to Doctor Johnson; and the Talmudic doctors have many grave and solemn exhortations against this sordid passion. As the moon in the preceding fable envied the greater glories of the sun, so the Roman conspirators, except Brutus,

'Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar.'^a

^a Shakspeare.

The following apologue in condemnation of despair, and in praise of patience and hope, is no less pleasing and to the purpose than the former :—

‘THE VINE.

‘ On the day of their creation the trees rejoiced ; and each praised in joyous exultation its own good qualities. “ The Lord himself planted me,” exclaimed the lofty cedar ; “ and firmness and fragrance, durability and strength are all combined in me.”

“ The mercy of the Lord has presented me as a blessing,” said the umbrageous palm-tree : “ beauty and utility are found in me.”

‘ The apple-tree said, “ I stand glorious among trees, like the sun amidst the hosts of heaven.” And the myrtle exclaimed, “ Like the rose among its thorns, I stand distinguished amongst my kindred, the graceful underwood.” They all boasted ; the fig-tree of its fruit, the olive of its richness ; even the pine-tree and the box-tree exulted.

‘ The vine alone remained silent, and dropped its head, saying, mournfully, “ To me everything seems denied ; I can boast of neither trunk nor branches, blossoms nor fruit ; yet such as I am, I will wait in silent hope.” It sank down upon the earth, and its tendrils wept in sorrow and solitude.

‘ Not long did it wait in tears ; for the newly-created lord of the earth, kind-hearted man, approached. He saw the feeble plant, a plaything to the winds, drooping, and appearing to implore his aid. In pity he raised it, and wound the tender sapling round his arbour. Joyfully the air saluted the glowing vine, the heat of the sun penetrated its hard, green grains, and prepared that sweet moisture, the most precious beverage of man. Decked out in the fulness of its rich grapes, the vine bent down to its preserver, who tasted the refreshing juice, and called the vine “ his friend.” The proud trees envied the feeble plant, for its fruit was more valued than theirs ; but the vine rejoiced in its slender stem and the accomplishment of its hopes. Therefore its juice still invigorates the heart of man, cheers his desponding spirits, and imparts gladness to the mourning soul.’

The teacher addresses himself on the preceding tale to his disciples, saying—

‘ Ye who are suffering and think yourselves abandoned, do not despair, but persevere in patience and hope. There is an eye above that beholds even you. The humble plant yields the most precious juice, and the feeble vine begets valour and animation.’

With similar feelings and purport is their popular legend :—

‘THE TREES OF PARADISE.

‘ When the Deity conducted man into his paradise, all the trees of the garden of Eden saluted the favoured of the Lord. With waving branches they offered him their fruits for his food and the fragrant shade of their foliage for his refreshment.

‘ “ O ! that he would prefer me,” said the palm-tree. “ I will feed him with my golden dates, and the wine of my juice shall be his beverage ;

beverage; my leaves shall form his tranquil hut, and my branches cast their shadows over him."

"I will shower my odoriferous blossoms upon thee," exclaimed the apple-tree, "and my choicest fruits shall be thy nourishment."

In like manner did all the trees of Paradise greet their new-created lord; and his supreme benefactor permitted him to enjoy their rich offerings. He gave him liberty to partake of all the fruits in the garden except one: ONE fruit only he was forbidden to taste—that which grew on the TREE OF KNOWLEDGE.

"A tree of knowledge!" said man within himself. "All other trees yield me but terrestrial, corporeal nourishment; but this tree, which would elevate my spirit and strengthen the powers of my mind, this tree alone am I forbidden to enjoy." Yet he silenced the voice of desire, and suppressed the rebellious thoughts that arose in his bosom. But when the voice of temptation assailed him, he tasted the forbidden fruit, and its pernicious juice still ferments in our hearts.

"Hard is the prohibition laid upon man," said the angelic spirits of heaven; "for what can be more tempting to a being who is endued with reason, than the acquisition of knowledge? And shall he who will soon transgress the command, therefore be punished with death?"

"Wait and behold his punishment," replied the dulcet voice of celestial love; "even on the path of his errors, amidst the pangs of repentance and the stings of remorse—even then will I be his guide, and conduct him to another tree that grows in his heavenly home."

The advantages of remembering our common origin, our duties to our fellow-men, and to do as we would be done by, are constant lessons from the sages to their disciples; but among the many there are few more appropriate than the apologue of—

THE CHILD OF MERCY.

"Let us make man," said the CREATOR, and myriads of angelic beings listened to his voice. "Do not create him," said the angel of Justice. "He will wrong his brethren, injure and oppress the weak and cruelly ill treat the feeble." "Do not create him," spoke the angel of Peace: "he will manure the earth with human blood. The first-born of his race will become an assassin, and murder his own brother."

"He will desecrate thy sanctuary with his lies," said the angel of Truth; "and although thou stampest on his countenance thine own image, the seal of truth, yet will falsehood and deceit prevail in his voice."

"Create him not; he will rebel against thee, and abuse the freedom which thou bestowest on him," exclaimed the united chorus of assembled angels.

Still they spoke, when Charity, the youngest and best-beloved of the Eternal's creation, approached his throne and knelt before him. "Father! create him," she prayed, "in thine own image; let him be the beloved of thy goodness. When all thy servants forsake him, I will seek and lovingly assist him. His very errors I will turn to his

his good. I will fill the heart of the weak with benevolence, and render him merciful to those who are weaker than himself. If he depart from peace and truth, if he offend justice and equity, I will still be with him; and the consequences of his own errors shall chasten his heart and purify him in penitence and love."

'The Universal Father listened to her voice, and created man, a weak and erring being; but, even in his errors, a disciple of Divine Goodness, a child of Mercy, Love, and Charity, which never forsake him and ever strive to amend him.'

The sages of Israel, the doctors of the Torah, in concluding this sacred allegory, call thus upon their people:—

'Remember thy origin, O man! when thou art cruel and unjust. Of all the Divine attributes, Charity alone stood forward to plead that existence be granted unto thee. Mercy and Love have fostered thee; therefore remember, **BE JUST, BE MERCIFUL.**'

Man's duty on earth, the limited time of his existence in a mortal state, and the natural termination of his temporal existence, are favourite topics with the poets and teachers among the Jews in the middle ages. The following allegory on this subject shows how they submitted such important topics to the consideration of their disciples. It is entitled—

'THE CONFORMATION OF MAN.

'THE CREATOR descended. All the angels and the princes of the elements beheld and contemplated his proceedings.

'HE called to the dust of the earth, and it gathered itself from all quarters of the terrestrial globe; and the angel of the earth said, "This frame will be a mortal creature, wheresoever it may dwell upon earth, for it is dust and unto dust it must return."

'He called to the heavenly cloud, and it moistened the dust. The clay began to heave and shape itself into vessels and compartments; and the angel of the waters exclaimed, "Thou wilt require nourishment, thou curiously constructed creature! Hunger and thirst will be inseparable from thy being." Inwardly the veins and cells began to form themselves; the manifold outward limbs to assume their shape. Then said the angel of the living, "Beauteous and scientific creation, thou wilt be subject to many desires; love of thy species will impel and attract thee."

'THE CREATOR approached, with his daughters, Wisdom and Love. With fatherly kindness he raised the inanimate form, and breathed into it the breath of life, and gave it life and immortality. Man stood erect, and delighted he looked around him. "Behold," said the voice of the Most High, "all the productions of the fields and trees, all the animals that dwell upon the face of the earth, I give unto thee. Thy father-land, the earth, is thine, and thou shalt rule over it. But thou, thyself, art mine; thy breath is my gift, and when thy time cometh, I summon it again to myself who gave it."

'Wisdom and Love, the offsprings of God, stayed with the new lord

lord of the earth. They instructed him and taught him to know all animate and inanimate nature. They conversed with him as loving companions, and their light was with innocent man.'

The moral appended to this apologue by the Rabbinical doctors teaches, that 'Man lives his allotted time on earth happy, if Wisdom and Love deign to cheer him with their influence. But when his appointed time expires, his body returns to mix with the elements whence it was taken. The spirit, however, returns again to God, by whose paternal embrace it was breathed into him.'

The fall of man naturally follows his creation in the Mosaic history, and is so treated by the learned authority of the Mishnah; who were used to address their disciples in parables, as was the divine accomplisher of the law of Moses, the meek, the benign, the loving and the beloved Jesus, his disciples.

Imagine one of the highly-educated, influential Rabbis in the schools of Cordova or of Seville, addressing a numerous and attentive congregation of doctors, poets, philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, and literati, such as abounded among the Jews in the middle ages, and a crowd of listening and attentive disciples, in somewhat the following manner:—

'Incline your ears to my words, for ye will find them useful, and therefore treasure them in your hearts. Think not that I have invented them, or that they are the offsprings of mine own imagination. No! as men gather birds'-nests and climb high rocks and trees to get at them, so have I gathered the sayings of the wise and pious, and have endeavoured to climb up the high and fertile palm-trees of their knowledge. Therefore hearken now, and understand the words of the wise and their dark sayings. Ye have heard of the creation of man in primeval innocence; now listen to the history of his fall, and open thy hearts to the words of instruction, contained in the mystical allegory of

'ZAMMAEL.

'When the Lord first made man out of the dust of the earth, and had crowned the perishable material with the diadem of his own likeness, he presented his latest creation to the angelic hosts of heaven. Joyfully the angels saluted their younger brother, and cheerfully they attended him when his bridal-feast was celebrated in Paradise.

'One of them only, the proud Zammael, scorned the earth-born creature. "Am I not formed from light," he exclaimed, "whilst thou art but dust of the earth? The fiery stream which flows from the throne of Glory forms my essence, whilst the frail perishable world is thy poor substance."

'And, behold, the stream of light, of which he boasted, departed from him. As melts the snow before the glorious orb of day, so did the radiant garments that adorned him vanish. The proudest of spirits became the meanest stripped of that light which was not his own.

'Inflamed

'Inflamed with rage, he withdrew from the assembly of the celestial hosts, and vowed to avenge himself upon man, the innocent cause of his degradation. "I have been dishonoured through you, base mortal!" he exclaimed; "and you shall be disgraced through me." He knew of the divine permission to man and of the single exception, which prohibited Adam from eating the pernicious fruit of the tree of knowledge. He collected the few remaining rays of his departed glory, and tried to reduce them into the garb of an angel of light. But the radiance out of which he strove to form his garment died away, and when he trod the sinuous path of the seducer he glided upon the ground in the semblance of a creeping serpent. Nothing remained of the once splendid seraph but the horrid colours of the scaly reptile.

'Eve, however, saw and admired him, and was persuaded by his sophistry to taste the forbidden fruit. She ate death, and reached to her husband the fruits of disobedience. Sorrow and misery sprung from their united sin, and continue an inheritance to their descendants.

'THE CREATOR appeared. He judged the seduced pair with gracious mercy, but rigorously he punished the seducing reptile. Accursed, it became a loathsome and detested creature, crawling slimly upon the earth. "Because it hath been thy delight," HE exclaimed to Zamael, "to make others miserable, let joy at the grief and unhappiness of others be henceforth thy unholy portion." Exiled from the hosts of the blessed, denied all participation in those blissful pursuits, which once he shared with them, Zamael roams accursed the executioner of his own fearful punishment—THE ANGEL OF DEATH.'

As a fitting episode to the last three allegories, one showing the happiness or misery to be derived by man in selecting a proper helpmate to his cares, and that a good wife is formed from man's own heart, is the Talmûdic legend of

'LILIS AND EVE.

'Solitary and silent Adam traversed his Paradise. He had tended his trees, he had given appropriate names to the animals, had rejoiced in the rich abundance of his blessings which creation unfolded to his view; yet among all animated beings he found none that would share with him the wishes of his heart. At length his eye became fixed upon one of those beauteous creatures of the air, which, as tradition informs us, inhabited the earth before man was called into being, and which his clear sight could then perceive. LILIS was the name of this beauteous creature of the element, who, like her sisters, dwelt on

* Names were not originally mere simple and arbitrary sounds, imposed at random, but were generally expressive of the nature and properties of the things or persons to which they were applied. As in the earlier parts of the sacred history, Adam is so called from אֲדָמָה (*Adam-eh*), red or vegetable earth, of which man was made, Adam named his wife (Gen. ii. 23) אִשָּׁה (*isha*), woman, as emanating from אִשׁ (*ish*), man; and named her (Gen. iii. 20; iv. 1, 25; v. 29; xvii. 16; xxix. 31; and Exod. ii. 10) חַוָּה (*Heveh*), the mother of all living; and similarly were Cain, Seth, Noah, all the sons of Jacob, also Moses, from מֹשֶׁה (*Mosheh*), drawn out.

trees and flowers, and fed only on the most aromatic fragrance. "All creatures," said Adam, within himself, "live in social community, I only stand alone! O that this beauteous creature would become my companion."

"THE ETERNAL heard his wish, and said, "Thou hast cast thine eyes upon a form that was not created for thee. Yet, in order to instruct thee by correcting thine error, thy wish shall be granted." The command of transformation was given, and Lilis assumed the human form.

'Adam joyfully hastened towards her; but soon discovered his error. The beautiful Lilis was proud, and disdainfully withdrew from his embrace. "Am I," she haughtily demanded, "of the same race or origin as thou art? I am formed from the purest air of heaven, and not from the lowly dust of the earth. My life will last for thousands of years, the might of spirits is my strength, and fragrant odours my celestial sustenance. I will not join to increase thy lowly dust-begotten race." She then flew away, and refused all solicitations to return to him.

"Then," said the Creator, "it is not good that man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him." A deep sleep fell upon Adam, and a lethargy settled on his limbs; a prophetic dream showed him the new creation, which arose from his side near the region of his heart, formed of the same essence and substance as himself. Joyfully he awoke and beheld his second self. When the beneficent Creator led the lovely being to him, his bosom heaved and his whole heart yearned affectionately towards her, for she was derived from its essence. "Thou art mine," he rapturously exclaimed, "and thou shalt be called woman, for thou wert taken out of man."

The learned teacher thus expounds and moralizes upon his parable:—

'When the Lord loves a man he gives him the mate that is his; formed for him out of his own heart, and she becomes his wife. Knowing that they were created for each other, they become one in daily-renewed contentment, and in the happiness of sympathetic union. But he who desires the possession of outward charms alone, or longs for a being that appertains not to him, is punished by obtaining a mate who is not his, nor formed from his heart. Thus the two souls forced into one by a compulsive union, soon discover that they were not created for each other, indulge in mutual hatred, and torment each other till separated by death.'

Having sung the union of the first pair, the parents of the human race, the Rabbinical bards proceeded to their first-born offspring; the first, who, in accordance with the celestial decree, tilled the ground, which no longer brought forth its fruits spontaneously as in Paradise, and the second a tender of sheep. The first fratricide furnished an excellent subject for the legendary muse, and it was recorded under the title of—

'THE

' THE SHEPHERD OF CHALDEA.

' In the silent midnight hour that preceded the vernal festival upon which the first brothers were to bring their grateful offerings to the Creator, their mother, in a dream, beheld a fearful vision. The white roses that her younger son had planted around his altar had changed their hue; they had become more blood-red and more fully blown than she had ever seen. She went to gather them, but they withered at her touch. A bleeding lamb lay extended upon the altar; plaintive voices were heard around her, and among them a shriek of piercing despair, till all were lost in heavenly harmony, such as she had never heard before.

' A beauteous plain lay before her, more beautiful than even the paradise of her youth, and a shepherd, in the shape of her younger son Abel, arrayed in robes of radiant whiteness, tended his flocks. Roses of the ruddiest hues, formed into a coronal, encircled his brows; in his hand he held a lute, from which went forth the harmony of heaven. His mild eye beamed affectionately upon her, but when she approached to take his hand he vanished from her sight, and with him the vision of her dream.

' The tender mother of our race arose as the ruddy dawn illumed the sky, and with a sinking heart she went to the festival. The brothers brought their respective sacrifices, and their parents departed. Evening came, but her sons returned not: their anxious mother went forth to seek them. She found Abel's flocks scattered, mournfully lowing, and looking for the return of their good master, whose lifeless body lay stretched at the foot of his own altar. The roses he had planted around it, were dyed with his blood, and the groans of his brother Cain resounded in bitter anguish from a neighbouring cavern.

' The bereaved mother sank fainting upon the bleeding corpse of her son, when she again beheld the vision of her nocturnal dream. Her beloved martyred son became the shepherd whom she had seen in the new Paradise. Red roses were intertwined around his head, in his hand he held an angelic harp, and his melodious accents fell sweetly on her ear as he sang, "Look up to the heavens, look to the brilliant stars. Look up, weeping as thou art, my mother, behold yon splendid wain, which will lead me to fields more blooming, to a Paradise more beauteous than thou ever sawest in Eden's lovely gardens: where the blood-stained rose of suffering innocence blooms in celestial and eternal splendour, and its mortal sighs turned into immortal songs of rapture."

' The vision faded from her eyes, but with a strengthened mind and confiding resignation, Eve arose from the inanimate body of her son. The next morning, his parents, the first living, mourned over their son, the first dead, bedewed his pallid corse with their scalding tears, decked it with the roses dyed in his life-blood and buried him at the foot of the altar he had raised to the Lord, in the presence of the gentle dawn, which spread its orient tints upon the vault of heaven.

' Often they sat at his tomb in the silent hour of midnight, their eyes lifted up to heaven, where they sought their beloved shepherd, for there they hoped to be re-united to him.'

Thus

Thus did the Rabbinical sages teach their people that the Deity always adopts the cause of the persecuted.* 'If,' say they, 'one righteous man persecutes another, if one wicked man persecutes another, if the wicked persecute the righteous, or even if the righteous persecute the wicked, the Deity always adopts the cause of the persecuted.'

The revelation of the divine laws, as delivered by Moses, teaches the omniscience of the Deity—man's free choice—Providence, or the divine superintendence of terrestrial affairs—and rewards and punishments. These doctrines made the Jews of the middle ages, although they were excellent astronomers, reject astrology. They declare in the Talmûd 'that the Israelites are not subject to fate or planetary influences,' which they conceived to be a heathenish and irreligious doctrine, and quote their prophet^a Jeremiah, who says, 'Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven, for the heathen are dismayed at them.' These passages are explained by one of the^a ablest of their commentators, 'that the free-will of man, his adherence to the laws of God, and obedience to the will of his Creator, supersedes fatality and astral influences.' These several doctrines they taught to their disciples in the apologue of

'THE DEATH OF ADAM.

'Nine hundred and thirty years had passed from the time when the breath of the Almighty Creator gave life to the clay and man became a living soul, a responsible being, and Adam felt within himself that the time of the accomplishment of the irrevocable sentence, "THOU SHALT SURELY DIE," was approaching.

"Let my sons appear before me," he said to the weeping Eve, "let them all come, that I may again see and bless them." His descendants all came, obedient to their father's command. Many hundreds in number, they all gathered around him and wept; all prayed for the continuance of his life.

"Who among you," said the venerable Adam, "will ascend the holy mountain? Perhaps he will find mercy for me, and bring me the fruit of the tree of life." All his sons arose, each was willing to go, but the dying father selected his third son Seth, who was to him as another Abel, as being the most pious among them, to be the messenger of imploring pity.

'His head bestrewn with ashes, the obedient Seth tarried not, but

* *Sepher Ikkharim* (the Book of Principles), by Rabbi Joseph Albo.

^a Ch. ix.

^a Jer. x. 2.

^a Rabbi Salomon ben Isaac Jarchi, familiarly called Raschi, from the initials of his names, was born at Troyes, in Champagne, in 1104. In the thirtieth year of his age he travelled over the greater part of Europe, through Russia, Tartary, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, and other eastern countries. His works on the Pentateuch obtained for him the title of the Prince of Commentators. He died at Troyes in 1180. A Latin translation of his comment on the Pentateuch was published by Breithaupt at Gotha in 1710.

hastened onwards till he reached the gates of Paradise. "Let my father find mercy, All-Merciful," he meekly implored, "and vouchsafe to him the fruit of the tree of life."

'Suddenly a radiant cherub stood before him, holding in his hand, not the prayed-for fruit, but a branch with only a solitary leaf. "Convey this to thy father," said the angelic messenger, with a friendly voice, "convey it to cheer his departing hour, for life eternal dwelleth not on earth; but haste thee, for his hour is at hand."

'With hurried step the pious Seth approached the couch of his dying father. "No fruit of the tree of life do I bring thee, my father! This branch the holy angel gave me to solace thy departing moments."

'The father of the human race took the heavenly branch and rejoiced; he inhaled the odour of Paradise, and his soul became invigorated and comforted. "My children," said the venerable sire, "eternal life is not to be found on earth. You will all follow me. In this leaf I scent, I breathe the odour of another and a better world." The eye of Adam closed, and his spirit fled to Him who gave it.

'The children of Adam buried their father, and mourned for him thirty days. But Seth mourned not, he wept not; but planted the branch at the head of his father's resting-place, and called the branch of renovated life, of awaking from the sleep of death.'

But it was not always from the words of holy writ that the sages of the Mishnah drew their instructive parables. They sometimes drew them from their own adventures, or from pure invention. The celebrated Rabbi Akibah was an eminent and a successful teacher of his people. He bore the character of piety towards God and benevolence towards his fellow-creatures. It is related that he never heard any glad tidings without giving thanks to our Almighty Father for affording him the opportunity of doing good to others. Nor did he listen to a message of sorrow without bowing to the heavenly rod that had chastised and corrected him. Folding his hands and reverently bowing his head, he would say, 'Blessed be the righteous Judge.'

His chief endeavour was to instil into the minds of his disciples, by precept and example, the same degree of piety in all circumstances of life, the same filial confidence in the providence of the Almighty Protector. 'Whatever is decreed by heaven is for our good,' was the maxim by which he consoled many a man ready to succumb under a load of grief; while with persuasive language he poured the balm of religion into the wounded hearts of the afflicted. Then would the teacher unroll the parchment upon which was written the sacred text, and expound to his hearers, who came from the most distant parts of the land to listen to his exhortations, the word of God, which instructs us
to

to bear up always against the apparent evils of life, to abide in innocence, and to fear nothing; as King David said, 'Of thy mercy and of thy justice will I sing, O Lord;' and, in another psalm, the same king piously exclaims,^a 'I found trouble and sorrow, and I called upon the name of the Lord.' ^a 'I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the Lord.' He would cite, also, above all others, the example of the virtuous, the innocent, the afflicted Job, who, in the midst of transcendent sufferings, exhibited a patience and a pious resignation worthy of all imitation,^b 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.'

In such manner did the pious Akibah strive to make all his brethren as happy as himself; and as his long life had been filled with numerous vicissitudes and events of striking interest, he related to the youth who were entrusted to his care many an adventure that had befallen him. If good, he taught them how to acquire similar good fortune; and if bad, how they might learn to avoid them, but, under all circumstances, that they should never give way to despondency. One of these instructive adventures he related in the following manner to his assembled pupils:—

'I once went on a distant journey, and my road was through a country disturbed by war. My little store was carried by my mule, and my sole companion was a favourite cock, whose familiar voice had for years roused from sleep to devotion and occupation. I carried about me a small lamp, the light of which assisted me in my studies at night. Although lightly laden, I found before the journey was over that I had taken more with me than I should bring back. I arrived on one occasion, just at nightfall, within the gates of a city in which I expected to find shelter from an approaching storm: I was rejoiced to see the faces of men and women, and to witness troops of children playing in the streets, for it was the first peaceful town I had seen for some time. The other parts of the country through which I had passed were devastated by fire and sword; but the barren heaths which surrounded this secluded town seemed to offer no alluring booty to the ferocious enemy. I made my way towards a house, but its inmates practised not the gentle laws of hospitality. They harshly bade me pursue my way, and told me in a surly tone that I should fare no better with their neighbours. Their words were but too true; no door was opened, no seat was offered to the way-worn stranger, as we do in Israel to all who come from distant countries. Meanwhile the tempest began to howl fearfully, and, as I left the inhospitable walls of this churlish city, I perceived an ocean of sand whirled by the mighty winds over the low shrubs of the heath. My mind began

^a Ps. ci. 1.^b Ps. cxvi. 4.^a Ib. xii.^b Job i. 21.

to be troubled at the inhumanity of the citizens, and at the misfortunes that I might have to encounter during such a terrific night. A slight murmur rose from my oppressed bosom and gave a curl to my lip; but I thought of our father Jacob, who lay a whole night in the desert, resting his weary head upon a rock, and consolation entered my heart. "Whatever is ordained by heaven," I exclaimed, "is for our good," and cheerfully approached the desert heath. The howling of the storm had aroused from their torpor the beasts of the field; a furious lion stood in my way as I turned from the town to seek refuge among the clusters of stunted trees which grew here and there upon the sandy plain. Flight was impossible, and the aspect of the king of quadrupeds was terrific. I therefore recommended my soul to God and bowed my head to the ground. The powerful animal rushed forward and with a terrible blow struck my patient mule to the ground, tore it to pieces, and hastened to his den with the victim. I was saved, but my laborious beast was no more. Again I lifted up my voice with gratitude, and exclaimed, "The ordinances of heaven are for our good." I then lighted my lamp, to frighten away the fierce jackals of the desert, as well as to enable me to see my way under the shelter of some slender tree, for nature is very sparing in those lands. At length I found a resting place for my weary feet. I fixed my light on the tree, and fastened the cock, who was yet safe, to a bough. I prayed, and, notwithstanding the horrors of the night, enjoyed repose. During the night I was suddenly awakened by a great noise, but my lamp was extinguished—the wind had deprived me of that consolation in a strange and lonely place. I deeply felt the privation of light at such a time, yet I again said, "The ordinances of heaven are just," and again reclined upon the arid ground. I slept a long time, and when I awoke the sun shone brightly and was far advanced on his course. Ashamed of my sloth, I started from the ground, and after having offered a short but grateful prayer to the Guardian under whose shield I had been protected during so awful a night, I looked for the bird who ought to have aroused me at sunrise, but the cock was not upon the bough. I found his golden plumage spread about the blood-stained ground. A fox or a weasel had strangled and devoured him in the night while I slept. It was a great affliction to me to see the traces of the slaughter of my poor favourite, yet I said, "The ordinances of heaven are just," and prepared to leave the scene of so much misery.

"I then retraced my steps to the inhospitable city, when an appalling spectacle presented itself to my view. The town was smoking in every quarter; some of the buildings were still blazing; a multitude of women and children were thronging, in the greatest distress, through the breaches of the shattered walls, and everything proclaimed the visitation of an hostile army. This opinion was soon confirmed by the sad accounts of the inhabitants; that at midnight a horde of armed barbarians had rushed upon the city from the desert, had put many of the ill-fated citizens to the sword, and were now pillaging their dwellings. I shared my little with these wretched victims of war and rapine,

rapine, and left the spot, where I had been so impressively taught that "the ordinances of heaven are for our good." For my good, shelter was refused me in the city that was to be destroyed; for my good, I was bereaved of my mule, whose braying—of his companion, whose crowing—and of my lamp, the light of which would have betrayed my place of repose to the plundering enemy.

'We must, therefore, pray to God, in the hour of prosperity, with an humble heart, that no ill may arise from the apparent good; and in the moments of adversity we must equally, in trusty confidence, look up to our Father, and pray that this seeming evil may be the germ of good; for truly mortal man is little able to distinguish one from the other.'

The weakness and folly of vanity is expounded in the manifold volumes of the Talmûds, in the legend or apologue of the Nazir. נזיר *nazir*, 'abstinent,' from the root נזר *nazr*, 'to separate,' is the designation given in the Pentateuch to one male or female who voluntarily takes upon himself the vow of abstinence, as commanded by the Lord to Moses.^c Throughout the duration of their vows, they were to abstain from wine, and from whatever grows upon the vine; were not permitted to approach a corpse or to cut their hair. But at the expiration of their vow their hair was cut off, and they had to bring a sin-offering. The Talmûd, in the treatise *Zazir*, says, 'They are to bring a sin-offering, because they have sinned, inasmuch as they had, through their abstinence, afflicted their bodies without sufficient cause; for he,' they say, 'who needlessly fasts even one day, is called a sinner.'

Simon the just, the last survivor of the illustrious men who formed the great assembly, and high-priest in Israel, obtained a high character in his day for zeal and piety. He was zealous to maintain in purity the worship of God and the observance of all the precepts of his holy law; and he was equally zealous to promote the happiness of every member of that community over which he presided by encouraging them in the practice of virtue and obedience to the law. He also checked, by every means in his power, that tendency to hyper-sanctity, which too often generates bigotry, intolerance, and superstition. He therefore always endeavoured to prevent men from taking upon themselves penances and observances not commanded by the law, and to dissuade them from lightly making vows which the revealed will of the Deity did not require of them. Accordingly, in an assembly of rabbis of the great assembly, he assured his colleagues that he had never partaken of the sin-offering which the law requires of the Nazir, but had always dissuaded the intended from lightly

^c Num. vi. 2, et seq. ad 21. Hence Nazarite, one who takes the vows of a Nazir, and Nazarene, a native of Nazareth.

undertaking the obligation, and to reflect seriously ere he pronounced his vows.

He gave one instance, however, in which he departed from his usual practice, and not only approved of the Nazir's vow, but partook of his sin-offering. The occasion was as follows :—There came to him a youth of transcendent beauty, whose noble and intellectual countenance seemed to be the index of a pure and virtuous mind. His beauteous hair flowed in natural and graceful ringlets over his shoulders, and his whole form was elegant and active. The youth expressed his desire to take upon himself the vows of a Nazir. Simon was astounded, and exclaimed, 'Young man, hast thou lost thy senses? What ails thee, that thou desirest to ruin thy health, and to deprive thyself of the natural and beautiful ornament of thy head, thy hair?' 'I wish,' replied the youth, 'to be good, my hair is an obstacle to that wish, and therefore I am desirous to take the vows.'

The attention of the high-priest was excited, and he listened in silence to the youth's narrative, who continued: 'From my earliest infancy I have tended the flocks of my father. I loved God, my parents, and my fellow-creatures, and was contented and happy. One morning I led my flock to a brook, my eye enjoyed the beauties of nature, whilst the animals under my care refreshed themselves in the cooling stream. Suddenly my eye was struck with admiration, it rested on the limpid mirror, and I beheld an image of myself. Silly boy! dost thou not know thyself, was the insidious whisper of vanity. I stood gazing upon the reflected image of my person, and sensations till then unknown to me arose to my heart. Lost in admiration of my own beauty, my enraptured eye was fixed upon the glassy surface of the water, and I stood playing with the curling ringlets of my hair. Alternately I suffered them to fall over my shoulders, and then to float in the air as the wind played around my delighted temples. When my rapture was at the highest, a skipping lamb came playfully to drink. It sipped a little water and disturbed the surface of the brook; my mirror was ruffled, and my figure disappeared. With a dreadful imprecation, such as till then had never defiled my lips, I struck the innocent offender with my staff and drove it rudely away. Patiently the stricken lamb retired, and stood afar, trembling and in a posture which seemed to reproach me with my injustice and my cruelty. The sight restored my better feelings, and my alarmed conscience addressed my figure, this beauteous "piece of well-formed earth," and said, "Worthless integument, forget not thy origin nor thine end. Know that thy self-admired beauty is transient and perishable, but the stigma of the deed thou hast done is durable, and will not

not soon be obliterated by thee." Contrition gnawed my heart, I burst into tears, and vowed to humble physically that beauty which had well nigh morally destroyed me. Therefore, reverend sage, I desire to take upon myself the vows of a Nazir. The hair that excited my vanity shall fall beneath the edges of the scissors, and the roses of my cheeks shall become blanched by abstinence. For I wish no longer to be beautiful but good.'

With these words this Hebrew Narcissus closed his narrative. The venerable High-Priest, Simon the just, who related it to his assembled brethren, embraced the penitent youth, gave him his blessing, and exclaimed, 'O that many, like thee, in Israel, would, with motives as pure and as praiseworthy, take upon themselves the vow that I shall now be happy and pleased to hear thee pronounce.'

The abolition of idolatry which had prevailed among the founders of the Babylonian and Egyptian empires, and the restoration of the worship of the true God, by Abraham the friend^d of God, is delivered to the Israelitish youth in the instructive allegory of—

'THE INFANCY OF ABRAHAM.

'Abraham was reared in a cavern; for the tyrant Nimrod, forewarned by his astrologers that the infant son of Terah would teach mankind to renounce the service of the imaginary divinities that Nimrod worshipped, sought to take his life. But in the darksome cavern in which his body was immured the light of the Omnipotent illumed his infant mind. He reflected during his hours of solitude, and inquired of himself, "Where am I? who has created me?"

'He was in the sixteenth year of his age when he first left his dreary abode: when he for the first time beheld the heavens and their resplendent orbs, the earth and its joyous fulness. How great was his astonishment, and how greatly did he rejoice! He interrogated all creation around him, "Whence are ye? who hath created you?"

'The sun arose in all its glory, and Abraham prostrated himself before the shining orb. "This glorious being," he exclaimed, "must be the Creator. Great and splendid in appearance, its radiance dazzles my feeble eye." The sun pursued its course and set at even-tide to make way for the silvery moon. Then said Abraham to himself, "This luminary, which has now set, cannot be the God of heaven! it yields to yon lesser light and to the hosts of stars by which it is attended."

'Clouds overspread the sky, the moon and the stars were hidden from his sight, and Abraham stood alone in the midst of his meditations. In this perplexity he sought his father and asked him who was God, the Creator of heaven and earth? Terah showed him his idols. "I will put their divinity to the test," said the youth to himself, and when he was alone he presented them with the choicest viands, and addressed them, saying, "If ye are living gods, accept my offering

^d 'The seed of Abraham my friend' (Isa. xli. 8).

that I may worship you." But immovable stood the idols, no ear had they for his invocations nor inclination for his offerings.

"And these," exclaimed the youth, "are considered by my father as gods! but I may show to him his error." He then took a staff and shivered the graven images into fragments, excepting one, within whose bended arm he placed his staff. He then hurried to his father, and said, "Father, thy great God has slain his lesser brethren!"

'Terah looked at his son with anger, and replied, "Mock me not, boy; how can he have done what thou sayest, since he is inanimate, and mine own hands fashioned him?" "Then," said Abraham, "be not angry with me, O my father! but let thine ear hear and thy reason weigh what thine own mouth hath uttered. If thou deemest him incapable of an action which my boyish hand hath performed, how can he be the God by whose power thee and me, and the heaven and the earth were created?" Terah stood silent and reproved before his youthful son.

'The fame of Abraham and of his deed soon reached the ear of the mighty tyrant Nimrod, who summoned the daring youth before him, and thus sternly addressed him: "*My* God thou *must* serve, or the burning fiery furnace awaits thee." "And who, O king, is thy God?" inquired the undaunted Abraham. "Fire, the mightiest of all beings, is my God, and thou must worship him," answered the king. "Fire!" said the youth; "fire is extinguished by water: water is borne by the clouds; the clouds are scattered by the wind; but man defies the peltings of the storm and the blast of the wind. Thus man is the mightiest of beings." "And I am the mightiest of men," exclaimed the king, in wrath; "adore *me* then, or the burning fiery furnace awaits thee." But Abraham fixed his sparkling eye upon the king, and said, "Yesterday at morn I saw the sun arise, and at eve I saw it set. Command now, O king, the sun to arise at night and set in the morning, and then I will worship thee."

'The king deigned not to reply, but gave a sign, and the youth was hurried from his presence and hurled into the midst of the furnace.

'But the flames harmed not the dauntless martyr; an angel of the Lord received him in his arms, and fanned the fury of the fire from him, and they refreshed him like the odour of roses. Beauteous and radiant as a seraph the highly-favoured youth left the fiery ordeal. Soon afterwards, the Almighty, who had thus signally preserved him for his especial service, appeared to him* and commanded him to forsake Chaldea, the land of his fathers, and depart to the land whither he would direct him. And Abraham became the founder of the worship of the true God, who created the heavens and the earth and all that are therein, to all the human beings that inhabit the terrestrial globe.'

Anecdotes and incidents from the life of the father of the faithful, the 'God-fearing'† Abraham, and the Rabbis could

* Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3.

† ירא אלהים (*ira elohim*).

not have omitted his obedience to the command of God to sacrifice his only son Isaac, the child of promise, the staff of his declining years, and in whom alone rested his hopes of being the father of a great posterity, the founder of a mighty kingdom. They descanted on the wondrous fact, and called the attention of their disciples to the overwhelming power of faith on the human heart. These sentiments and feelings they embodied in their sacred allegory:—

‘ THE POWER OF TEARS.

‘ Three days Isaac was dead in Abraham’s heart, for God had chosen him for a burnt offering, and the obedient patriarch refused not obedience. In solemn silence Abraham ascended the lofty steep of Mount Moriah, lost in painful reflection. The soft voice of his child aroused him, by asking, “ Behold, my father! we have fire and wood, but where is the lamb for the burnt offering?” And Abraham replied, “ My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering.” And the father and the son proceeded on their way in silence.

‘ When they had reached the place which God had appointed, Abraham built thereon an altar, and bound Isaac his son and laid him on the wood upon the altar.

“ Then the obedient Abraham stretched forth his hand and took the knife to slay his son; but he first cast up a look of anguish towards heaven. The boy lay mute upon the altar, he neither complained nor remonstrated, but silently lifted his streaming eyes to heaven. The silent tear that glistened in the eyes of both pierced the sky. Its mute appeal ascended to heaven and pleaded before the mercy-seat of Him before whom silence is equal to eloquence.

‘ And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, “ Abraham! Abraham!” and Abraham replied, “ Here am I.” And he said, “ Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me.”

‘ Joyfully the gladdened father received the heavenly message, joyfully he released the destined victim, the beloved son who was thus mercifully restored unto him. And he named this scene of his anguish and his joy “ The Lord provideth.” He seeth the silent tear in the eye of the patient sufferer; he seeth the mute anguish of the heart, which implores more fervently than the loudest appeals.’

The teacher thus moralises upon the sacred tale:—

‘ Threefold are the prayers of man to God, and their efficacy is also ascending in its degrees.

‘ The quiet prayer of the heart is acceptable to the All-Merciful; he hears and graciously receives it from the moving lips.

‘ The loud cry of distress in the hour of need pierces the sky, and heaps burning coals on the head of the oppressor.

‘ But, more mighty than these, is the silent tear of the sufferer,

§ Jehovah-jireh (Gen. xxii. 14).

who steadfastly cleaves to his God, even though he die. It forces the gates of heaven, bursts locks and bolts, appears before the throne of mercy, and calls down the look of HIM who indeed "SEETH."

THE DEEDS OF MOSES, the great lawgiver of the Israelites, the founder of their theocratic federative commonwealth, and their great deliverer from the house of bondage in the land of Egypt, were also favourite topics of the Rabbinical sages, and furnished subjects of instruction. His miracles, his sufferings, his heroism, his learning in all the sciences and knowledge of the Egyptians, his code of laws, his narrations of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and other events recorded by him, are fertile sources of Talmûdic dissertation.

The devout aspiration^h of 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my latter end be like his,' is exemplified in their apologue of—

‘THE DEATH OF MOSES.

‘When Moses, the faithful messenger of God, was to die and his hour approached, the Lord assembled his angels, and said, “It is time to recall the soul of my servant Moses. Who amongst you will go and summon him to come into my presence?”

‘The princes of the angelic host, Michael and Gabriel, with all who stand before the throne of the Lord, implored, and said, “We are his, he hath been our teacher, let us not have to summon the soul of this holy man.”

‘But Zammael, the leader of the rebellious angels, stood forth and said, “Behold, here am I! send me:” and he went.

‘Arrayed in cruelty and wrath, he descended, wielding the flaming sword in his right hand. He rejoiced, before he departed on his mission of death, at the agony that he was about to inflict, at the death-throes of the righteous. But when he approached, he beheld the face of Moses. His eye was not dimmed, nor his natural force abated. The servant of the Lord wrote the words of his last song and *the sacred name*. His countenance was resplendent, radiant with the brightness and peace of heaven.

‘The enemy of mankind stood abashed. His sword dropped from his hand, and he hurried away. “I cannot bring the soul of this

^h Num. xxiii. 10.

ⁱ Plato informs us, in his dialogue entitled *Cratylus*, that Socrates wished for the true name of the Deity, as the most probable way of obtaining a just knowledge of that great Being. The ‘sacred name’ here alluded to has been the subject of voluminous treatises, from the Babylonian Talmûd to the English *Dissertation on the Primitive Names of the Deity* by Dr. Hales. The first name by which we find the Creator designated in Holy Writ is אֱלֹהִים (*Alehim*, or *Elohim*), ‘the Omnipotent,’ from the root אָל (*al* or *el*), power or might. The plural termination יִם (*im*) was used by the sacred historian as indicative of the Creator’s power, wisdom, and all *strengths*, as the creator, director, and preserver of his creatures. The Talmûd (tr. *Shevuoth*) enumerates nine different names by which God is spoken of in Holy Writ, all erasure of which is prohibited; but the one here specifically alluded to is that of four letters (*tetra-grammaton*), and held in the highest reverence.

righteous man," he said to the Lord; "for in him I found nothing impure or unholy." And the Lord himself descended to summon the soul of his faithful and beloved servant. Michael and Gabriel, attended by the hosts of angels that stand before HIM, followed in His train. They prepared the bier for the departing prophet, and encircled it with reverence: "Fear not," said a voice, "I myself will inter thy mortal body."

'Then Moses prepared himself to depart from his earthly tabernacle to the eternal mansions of his heavenly father, and sanctified himself even as one of the seraphim would sanctify himself. And the Lord called to the spirit which animated the soul of his servant and said, "My daughter! one hundred and twenty years is the term allotted for thy inhabiting my servant's earthly tenement; the term is expired, come forth, then, and tarry not."

'Then the soul of Moses answered in the spirit, and said, "O Lord of the universe! I know that thou art God, the sovereign ruler of all spirits and of all souls, and that the living and the dead are alike in thy hands. From thee I received thy glorious law; I saw thee in the flame; I ascended and went along the path that leadeth to heaven; girded with thy power and protected by thy hand, I entered the palace of Egypt's king; I took the crown from the head of the proud Pharaoh, and did many signs and wonders in his land. Aided by thee, I led forth thy people from captivity, and divided the waters of the Red Sea; and I have made known thy will to the sons of men. I dwelt beneath the throne of thy glory, my tent was under the pillar of fire, and I have spoken with thee face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend. Are not these, O Lord, enough for me? Receive me, therefore; for now I come to thee."

'The breath of the Most High touched the lips of Moses, and his soul departed at the touch. So Moses died in the face of God, who himself buried him; and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.'

The royal Psalmist, the sweet singer of Israel, David the son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, the inspired poet and prophet, the heroic monarch of his people, could not fail to be a favourite with the Hebrew writers of every age. Those of the ages to which this inquiry is directed, are full of the mighty deeds and of the divine poetry of the Shepherd of Bethlehem. Music in the night has peculiar charms; the silence, quietude, and loveliness of nature in a fine night, has been the theme of every poet, and the charm of every age. Job thanks 'God his maker' who giveth songs in the night,' and among the most pleasing of the Talmûdic allegories is that entitled—

'THE SONGS OF THE NIGHT.

'AS DAVID, in his youthful days, was tending his flocks on Beth-

* Job xxxv. 10.

lehem's fertile plains, the spirit of the Lord descended upon him, and his senses were opened and his understanding enlightened, so that he could understand the songs of the night. The heavens proclaimed the glory of God, the glittering stars formed one general chorus, their harmonious melody resounded upon earth, and the sweet fulness of their voices vibrated to its utmost bounds.

"LIGHT is the countenance of the Eternal," sung the setting sun. "I am the hem of his garment," responded the soft and rosy twilight. The clouds gathered themselves together, and said, "We are his nocturnal tent." And the waters in the clouds and the hollow voices of the thunders joined in the lofty chorus, "The voice of the Eternal is upon the waters, the God of glory thundereth in the heavens, the Lord is upon many waters."

"He flieth upon my wings," whispered the wind; and the gentle air added, "I am the breath of God, the aspirations of his benign presence." "We hear the songs of praise," said the parched earth; "all around is praise: I alone am sad and silent." Then the falling dew replied, "I will nourish thee, so that thou shalt be refreshed and rejoice, and thy infants shall bloom like the young rose." "Joyfully we bloom," sang the refreshed meads; the full ears of corn waved as they sang, "We are the blessing of God, the hosts of God against famine."

"We bless thee from above," said the gentle moon: "We, too, bless thee," responded the stars; and the lightsome grasshopper chirped, "Me, too, he blesses in the pearly dew-drop." "He quenched my thirst," said the roe; "and refreshed me," continued the stag; "and grants us our food," said the beasts of the forest; "and clothes my lambs," gratefully added the sheep.

"He heard me," croaked the raven, "when I was forsaken and alone;" "He heard me," said the wild goat of the rocks, "when my time came and I brought forth." And the turtle-dove cooed, and the swallow and other birds joined the song, "We have found our nests, our houses, we dwell upon the altar of the Lord, and sleep under the shadow of his wing in tranquillity and peace." "And peace," replied the night, and echo prolonged the sound, when chanticleer awoke the dawn, and crowed with joy, "Open the portals, set wide the gates of the world! the King of Glory approaches. Awake! arise! ye sons of men, give praises and thanks unto the Lord, for the King of Glory approaches."

The sun arose, and David awoke from his melodious rapture. But as long as he lived, the strains of creation's harmony remained in his soul, and daily he recalled them from the strings of his harp.

A continuation of this melodious subject is given by the poet in—

THE DAWN.

'HAST thou seen the beauteous dawn, the rosy harbinger of day?
Its brilliancy proceeds from the dwellings of God; a ray of the eternal
imperishable light, a consolation to man.

'As David, pursued by his foes, passed a dreadful night of agony in a dreary cleft of Hermon's rock, he sang the most plaintive^m of his golden Psalms: "My soul is among lions," he exclaimed, in the anguish of his heart; "I lie among the sons of men whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword. Awake up, my glory; awake, lute and harp, I myself will awake right early."

'Behold! the dawn then broke, heaviness endured for a night, but joy came in the morning. With sparkling eyes "the hind of the morning"ⁿ sprang forth, skimmed over hill and dale, and, like a messenger of the Deity, addressed the solitary fugitive on the sterile rock: "Why dost thou complain that help is not near? I emerge from the obscurity of the night, and the terrors of darkness yield before the genial ray of the cheerful light."

'The poet's eye continued fixed upon the purple hue of the dawn, and he felt consoled. He saw it arise, followed by the sun in all its matutinal splendour, pouring blessings and happiness over the earth. Confidence and hope returned to his soul; his plaintive lament furnished subjects for that one golden gem, and he entitled his song in the cave of Adullam "The Roe of the Morning," the song of the rosy dawn.

'Often in after-times David repeated this Psalm, to thank his God for those perils of his younger days that he had overcome, and amidst the sorrows of his declining years it ever cheered his desponding soul.'

The author of this Biblical legend concludes with the following aspiration:—

'Daughter of the Creator, holy dawn! thou who dost every returning morning look down and inaugurate heaven and earth, look, too, on me, and inaugurate my heart that it may be pure, an altar devoted to my Maker.'

Another legend founded on the same divine poet and prophet, is of his more joyous odes, his songs of praise, with a censure upon self-praise, and called—

'THE ROYAL SINGER.

'The royal singer had sung one of his most beautiful compositions to the glory and praise of Him who had been his supporter in every need. The last notes still vibrated on the strings of his harp, when Satan stood beside him and tempted the heart of the king to be proud of his song. Exultingly he exclaimed, "Hast thou, O Lord! among all thy creatures one who praises thee more melodiously than I do?"

'Through the open window, before which he had spread his hands in prayer, a grasshopper flew into the royal pavilion, and seated herself upon the hem of his robe. She began her clear matin-song, and a number of her race surrounded her. A nightingale also came,

^m Ps. lvii., a *Michtam* (golden psalm) of David.

ⁿ הַיְּחַד עַל-אֵילָת (e-shahar al-jeleth), 'the hind of the morning,' title to Ps. xxii.

^o 1 Sam. xxii. 1.

and, with a choir of her melodious family, sang the praises of their Creator.

'The ear of the king was opened, and he heard the concert of all animated nature—the splashing of the brook, the rustling of the woods, the voice of the morning-star, the enraptured song of the rising sun.

'Lost in the high-toned harmony of the voices which unceasingly and unweariedly sung, the king remained silent. He thought his song was excelled even by the grasshopper that still chirped upon the hem of his robe. Humility again entered his soul; he took his harp and gave vent to his feelings, as the well-tuned strings resounded with his admiration, as he sung: "Praise the Lord, O my soul; while I live will I praise the Lord: yea, as long as I have my being, I will sing praises unto my God." "Keep thy servant from presumptuous sins, lest they get the dominion over me. Praise the Lord, all ye his creatures, let everything that hath breath praise the Lord.'"

From the royal bard to his wisdom-loving son is a just transition, and the teachers of wisdom delighted much in his sayings. The youthful sage, the son of Bathsheba, furnished apologues of instruction from the aged Rabbis to their young disciples, to whom they depicted the king of wisdom in his youth and in his age, and first of

'THE YOUTHFUL SOLOMON.

'A beneficent monarch once spoke to his favourite, and said, "Ask a boon of me, and it shall be granted." And the youthful favourite said within himself, "What shall I demand, that I may not hereafter repent of my request? Honour and distinction I already possess; gold and silver are the meanest as well as the most faithless gifts of fortune. These are not worthy of demand: no! I will pray that the king's daughter be given unto me; for she loves me as I love her, and with her I shall receive perfect happiness. The granting of this request will also secure to me the affection of my illustrious benefactor, who will thus become my father."

'The favourite made his request, and it was readily granted.'

This little tale is the proemium, and the moral is thus deduced by the teacher:—

'When the Lord first appeared to the youthful Solomon in a vision of the night, he said unto him, "Ask what I shall give thee." And the youth prayed not for silver or for gold, or for long life. He prayed for wisdom, for an understanding heart; and the answer pleased the Lord, and he granted him not only wisdom, so that no one was like him, before or after, so also he granted him what he had not prayed for, both riches and honour, surpassing all other kings of the earth; if he would walk in his ways and keep his statutes and commandments as his father David had done, he would also add length of life.

Ps. cxlvi. 1.

Ps. xix. 13.

Ps. cl. 6.

2 Kings iii. 5.

With

'With Wisdom, the daughter of the Most High, he received every felicity for which he could have prayed. To this¹ given-of-God the King of Wisdom dedicated his most beautiful songs. He recommends her to the sons of men, in his wise maxims for the regulation of their lives, as the only true source of happiness; and as long as he continued faithful to her, he rejoiced in the blessing of God, and in the love and admiration of man. It is only through her that his fame survives and has been preserved from oblivion.'

As a contrast to the wisdom and happiness of the early part of this wise and peaceful² King of Israel, the Rabbis exhibited to their disciples the fallen state of

'THE AGED SOLOMON.

'LUXURY, ambition and riches perverted the ripened manhood of Solomon. He forgot Wisdom, the pride of his youth, and the object of his first demand from his Almighty Protector, and his heart became corrupt in the vortex of frivolous dissipation and wicked folly.

'On one occasion, when he was walking in splendid gardens of delight, he heard the conversation of the numerous creatures that were around him, for to him was given the understanding of the languages of beast and bird, of tree, of stone and shrub. He turned his ear to their discourse and listened with profound attention.

"Behold," said the lily, "there is the king! he passes me in his pride, and yet I, in all my humility, am robed more splendidly than he in all his glory." The palm-tree waved its graceful boughs, and said, "See! the oppressor of his country; yet his vile parasites flatter him in their fulsome songs, and dare to compare him with me! but where are his branches? and where the fruit with which he gladdens the hearts of men?"

'The monarch proceeded in his walk, and heard the nightingale sing to her beloved, "As we love each other Solomon loveth not: not one of his sultanas holds him in love, as I do thee, my dearest." The turtle-dove cooed to her mate, "Not one of his thousand wives would grieve for his death as I should for thine, my only love."

'The enraged monarch hastened his pace, and he came to the nest where the stork was teaching her young to launch forth on the adventurous flight—"What I do for you, my children," said the careful bird to its brood, "King Solomon does not for his son Rehoboam. He does not teach and exhort him, as his father David did to his wisely-cherished heir. Therefore the young prince will not prosper: strangers will hereafter lord it over his father's vast dominions."

'The king retired to his secret chamber; musing he sat there in silent grief. As he there sat, the bride of his younger days, the discarded Wisdom, stood invisible before him, and touched his downcast eyelids. He fell into a deep sleep, and beheld a mournful vision. He saw a deputation of the princes of the tribes of Israel as they stood

¹ 'The Lord giveth wisdom' (Prov. ii. 6).

² His name in Hebrew, שלמה (*Salomeh*), is derived from שלום (*salom*), peace. before

before his imperious son, and saw his peaceful empire divided through the haughty answer of the foolish and misguided boy. He saw ten of the oppressed tribes rebel, and place a stranger as their king over them. He saw his splendid palaces reduced to ruins, his gardens rooted up, the city destroyed, and the Temple of the Lord laid in ashes. Suddenly the conscience-stricken monarch awoke from his sleep, and terror seized upon his terrified soul.

‘When, lo! once more the bride of his youth, the guardian and director of his early career, stood visibly before him. Tears flowed from her eyes as she spoke: “Thou hast seen what is hereafter to come to pass. Thou alone art the first cause of all these calamities; but it is not in thy power to recall or alter the past. Thou canst not cause the river to flow back to its source, nor the years of thy youth to return. Thy soul is wearied, thy heart is exhausted, and I, the forsaken of thy youth, can be no more thy companion in the land of terrestrial life.”

‘With pity in her looks, she vanished; and Solomon, who had crowned his youthful days with roses, took upon him in his old age the sage’s chaplet, and wrote a book on the vanity of human affairs.

““Vanity of vanities,” said the royal preacher, “all is vanity.””

The miraculous apotheosis of the bold and ardent Tishbite afforded an admirable subject for an instructive apologue. The bold defier of the tyrant Ahab, the undaunted denouncer of that profligate woman, who has given her name¹ to the very refuse of her sex, the destroyer of Phœnician idolatry in Israel could not fail to be a favourite prophet with the Israelites of every age. The apologue and its moral is called by his name:—

‘ELIJAH.

‘ELIJAH was of a fiery temperament, and with a fiery spirit he performed the awful duties of his prophetic office. He called flames from heaven, and consumed his own life in his zeal² for the God of Israel, the Almighty Creator of all.

‘Wearied and exhausted with his mighty labours, and his life threatened by the infamous Sidonian princess, who disgraced the throne of Israel, he withdrew from the haunts of men. In the dreary wilderness to which he had retired, he threw himself beneath the friendly shade³ of a juniper-tree, and prayed for himself that he might die, saying, “It is enough; now, O LORD, take away my life.”

‘And an angel of the Lord comforted and strengthened him until he reached Horeb, the mount of God, and sojourned in a cave, where he received the divine command to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu, the son of Nimshi, to be king over Israel, and Elisha, the son of Shaphat, to be prophet in his place. Thus was the venerable servant of the Most High entrusted with a mighty commission wherewith to conclude his embassy to the people of Israel, and to

¹ Eccles. i. 2.

² Jezebel.

³ 1 Kings xix. 4.

⁴ Ib. xix. 10.
remove

remove the burden from his wearied shoulders to that of a younger man.

‘ So he departed, performed his holy mission, and found his appointed successor the earth-tiller of Abelmeholah at his pastoral avocation, and he cast his mantle upon him, and appointed him to be his coadjutor and successor in his holy office. The mighty master of the prophets pronounced the destinies of Ahab and of Jezebel, called down fire from heaven upon the idolatrous messengers of Ahaziah, departed with his anointed successor, divided the river Jordan with his mantle, and they crossed over to wait the holy will of the Lord. And as they conversed, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, which separated them, and Elijah ascended unto the throne that had been prepared for him in heaven.

‘ The first who appeared to him in these regions of bliss was Moses his prototype. He reached Elijah his right hand through the purifying flames of the fiery chariot, and said unto him, “ Thou hast been very zealous, my brother, thy zeal has been ardent, and thou hast suffered much from thy brethren. I, too, have suffered in like manner; yet I prayed for their preservation, and offered my soul as a ransom for theirs. Therefore, approach thou the throne of the righteous Judge, the ALL-MERCIFUL.” With tremulous steps the glorified prophet advanced towards the cloud before the throne.

“ What^b dost thou here, Elijah?” demanded a voice from the throne; and he answered,^c “ I have been very zealous for the LORD God of Hosts; because the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even only I, was left, and they sought my life to take it away.”

‘ And a fire went out from the cloud, but the Lord was not in the fire; and a mighty wind, which rent the mountains and brake in pieces the rocks of the earth, but the Lord was not in the wind, nor in the earthquake which followed. But when the wind and the fire had passed, he heard a still small voice.

‘ A sensation never before felt came over the prophet, and the fire of his spirit became like as the radiance of the dawn is subdued by the brightness of the sun. “ Rest thou here,” spake the melodious voice; “ repose and gain new vigour after thy toils; for the Lord is merciful and benevolent. Thou shalt often again be sent to the sons of men to teach them with mild benignity. With mercy and loving kindness shalt thou console and aid them in their troubles, and no longer punish them for their iniquities, for the Lord is gracious, and his mercy endureth for ever.”

‘ Often since then hath Elijah visited mankind; but in a different spirit from that which animated him during his first embassy to the iniquitous kings and idolatrous people of Israel. What was then ardent zeal and jealousy for the LORD God of Hosts was afterwards subdued to loving kindness; what was fiery and destructive of sinners,

^b 1 Kings xix. 13.

^c Ib. xix. 14.

became

became mildness and benevolence. Invisibly or in assumed forms the spirit of the man of God turns the hearts of disobedient children to their parents; of unfeeling parents towards their children; and guides the conversation of all who seek true wisdom to her abodes, and unites their souls in love and harmony.

‘Harbinger of good, he aids the righteous in the hour of danger, and is ever present to solace and strengthen those who pray. His office is to proclaim to mankind the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord.’

That eminent writer and truly original thinker, Sir Thomas Browne, in his treatise on *Vulgar Errors*, in reference to the species of literature to which this article applies, says that ‘An apologue of Æsop is [to many] beyond a syllogism, and proverbs more powerful than demonstrations.’ Apologues, fables, and parables are indeed among the most ancient, most agreeable, and most effective modes of instruction. The fable of the Belly and Members, and its effect upon a Roman mob, is well known to every reader of Shakspeare and of the Roman history. That apologue, and its aptitude to the occasion, was, in that instance, beyond all the syllogisms that the wise and politic consul could have produced. In this case Menenius Agrippa found Æsop more powerful than Aristotle.

In like manner did the learned Rabbis in the middle ages, who flourished in Spain, in Africa, and in Asia, communicate knowledge and instruction to their disciples, giving them pleasing apologues, entertaining allegories, and heart-stirring poetry, mostly founded on Holy Writ, and sometimes heightened by apophthegms of wisdom, authoritative sayings, or maxims, compressed into brevity without obscurity, preferring proverbs to demonstrations; which, with all the logic of the schools, they left to the disputants and traditionists, seeking principally to deliver wise counsels in a pleasing manner, and, in the language of the wisest of their teachers,^d ‘to give subtlety to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion. To understand a proverb and the interpretation, the words of the wise and their dark sayings.’

That the Israelites of the present day have not lost all their feeling for poetry, or of the taste necessary for its cultivation, is proved by the sacred ode^e or hymn that was performed after the service of the consecration of the Great Synagogue in Duke’s Place, Aldgate, on the 24th of the month Elul, A.M. 5595 (18th September, A.D. 1835); also a translation, in ten-syllable iambs,^f

^d Prov. i. 4 and 6.

^e See the Hebrew original and the English paraphrase in the *Hebrew Review*, vol. ii. p. 394.

^f *Ib.*, vol. ii. p. 43.

of an episode on the Passage of the Red Sea, from an epic poem by Rabbi Naphtali Hirts Wesseley, called שירי תפארת (*Shiri Tepereth*), songs of exaltation. One specimen, descriptive of the passage prepared by Almighty power across the bottom of the sea, may suffice to give an idea of the style in which this miracle is treated :—

‘ Their path is clear. The lowest inmost depth
Of the Red Sea no longer to their sight
Presents a rude, chaotic mass unform’d;
But as when, erst, unto the new-born earth
The fiat of creation’s LORD went forth,
“ Let herbs and fruits thy naked plains adorn ! ”
When vegetation’s treasures all at once
Over the varied surface spread their charms :
E’en so at his behest a meadow rich
Arose ; and when the rising sun had seen
The briny flood with nought but sea-weed crown’d,
There did the ev’ning star, surprised, behold
The herbs and shrubs that clothed the new-form’d path.
With easy step and front erect, the tribes
Rejoicing onward move. In every eye
Beam gratitude and love and high delight.
The liquid walls, illumined with the rays
Of glorious light that shines above their head,
Stood firm and strong, by the command of God ;
Like marble solid or the pyramids,
Which still defy the gnawing-tooth of Time.’

Other passages and other poets might be cited, which the limits of this dissertation will not admit.

- Let the truly Biblical Hebraic compositions, written for the English Synagogues, for the service of their congregations on appointed public days of thanksgiving, prayer, fasting, and humiliation, by the learned Chief-Rabbi, Dr. Adler, be remembered by all who have read them.

E F

CHRONOLOGICAL HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS,

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

THE TRUE MEANING OF THE WORD Παρσκευή.

Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien. Ein Beitrag zur Apologie der Evangelien und evangelischen Geschichte vom Standpunkt der Voraussetzungslosigkeit. VON KARL WIESELER, Licentiat und Privatdocent [now Professor] in Göttingen. Hamburg, Perthes, 1843. 8vo.

§ 1. WHOEVER will cast a discerning glance at the literature which, since the early times of Christianity, the important problem of harmonizing the Gospels has called into existence, must find that, however greatly individual opinions vary upon various points, they all agree in opposing the so-called synoptical narratives, as a unity, to that of St. John; thus reflecting a kind of dualism within the Sacred Volume itself. Whether this dualism, asserted or supposed, admitted or denied, but as yet never satisfactorily disproved, be real or merely apparent, is the momentous and all-absorbing question, on the ultimate and positive solution of which the future history of our religion must necessarily in a great measure depend. In Germany the conviction that such a dualism *does*, and *undeniably* does, exist, has of late years gained rapid ground: not only among those whom we are, perhaps, somewhat too apt to call infidels, but also among men alike distinguished for their genuine piety and their eminent learning.

§ 2. The most important work of an orthodox tendency which the modern press of Germany has produced on this subject, is the volume, whose title ('A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels') we have placed at the head of this article. Its author, Professor Wieseler, is generally looked upon as a successful champion of the Faith. The more sincere is, therefore, our regret that we cannot bestow on his work as high a praise as we could have wished to do. Its merits, certainly, are considerable, and there are facts adduced and views developed in it which to many may appear both new and striking; yet in reviewing the Synopsis as a whole, we can hardly pronounce it to be much more than a valuable, though at the same time somewhat superficial, compilation, the original matter mixed up in it forming a series of those wild and untenable hypotheses, to which the German *savants*, notwithstanding their usually profound and solid acquirements, are so peculiarly given; and which never fail to injure the good

good cause, which they are intended to support, in the exact proportion of their extravagance, and the amount of learning and ingenuity wasted upon them.

§ 3. It is not, however, our intention to lay before our readers a general criticism of Professor Wieseler's work. We prefer selecting from among the numerous questions on which it treats a single subject, and, making his views on this subject the basis of our own remarks, to investigate it as thoroughly as the compass of an article and the limited extent of our powers will permit us. That we should have chosen for such a purpose the simple expression *παρασκευή* may, at first sight, excite some surprise; but it will be seen from the sequel that the correct translation of this term vitally affects—of all the apparent contradictions in our Gospels from which the theory of a dualism has sprung, the most important, because the most positive one—the asserted contradiction between St. John and the synoptical writers as to the day on which our Blessed Lord partook of his last supper with his disciples. Our measured space will not permit us to allude here to the various hypotheses by which it has been attempted to meet and explain this generally acknowledged difficulty; but we may venture to state that, without an exception, their united effect thus far has been but further to embarrass the already in itself embarrassing question.

§ 4. The New-Testament term *παρασκευή* is in our version of the Bible rendered sometimes '*the day of preparation*,' sometimes simply '*the preparation*.' Luther has invariably translated it '*Rüsttag*.' The Vulgate has '*parasceve*' for it.

'It admits of no doubt,' Professor Wieseler writes, page 336, 'but that *παρασκευή*, without the adjunctive words *τοῦ σαββάτου*, was by the Jews, when expressing themselves in the Greek language, used as a common term for our Friday: e. g., St. Luke, xxiii. 54; St. Mark, xv. 42; St. Matthew, xxvii. 62; St. John, xix. 31, 42; and Josephus, *Antiq.*, xvi. 6, 2 (even in an imperial decree). Compare also, in reference to St. Mark, xv. 42, the passage Judith, viii. 6, important as to the names and the character of the Jewish feasts. The ecclesiastical writers, likewise, express our Friday usually by *παρασκευή*.'

The latter fact does not apply to the question at issue (see § 12); and as the learned Professor, when stating that *παρασκευή* without the adjunctive words *τοῦ σαββάτου*, signifies the sixth day of the week, thereby acknowledges that the term (which, in connection with those words, nowhere occurs) admits at least of a different explanation, he must have derived his reasons for the opinion he has adopted from the Scriptural and other passages to which he refers. Let us examine these passages.

§ 5. The imperial decree of Augustus, mentioned by Josephus, *Antiq.*,

Antiq., xvi. 6, 2,^a releases the Jews from the duty of appearing in the public courts of justice on Sabbath days (which included not only the Sabbath proper, but also the Jewish high-feasts of sabbatical rank, comp. § 26) and τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης. But it is evident that παρασκευή does not, in this place, stand for either 'Friday' or 'the day of preparation;' firstly, on account of its construction with πρὸ ταύτης, the high-feasts of the Jews at that period falling, as it might happen, on any of the week-days (*Mishna, Pesach*, vii. 10; *Menach*, x. 3; *Chagiga*, ii. 4, etc.); and secondly, because, contrary to the unequivocal mode of expression in use among the Romans, the words ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης would leave it uncertain whether the ninth (Jewish) hour of the night (about three o'clock in the morning) or of the day (about three o'clock in the afternoon) be meant. Undoubtedly the words of our text must be rendered 'neither on sabbath-days, nor during the preceding preparation-time, after the ninth hour;' for no other translation would impart to them a concise meaning (comp. § 25).

§ 6. A still clearer proof against Professor Wieseler's interpretation is furnished us by St. Luke, xxiii. 54.^b Whether we adopt the common reading of this passage, καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευή, or the decidedly better reading καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς, and translate 'and the day was Friday;' or, 'and it was the day of Friday;' or, 'and it was the day of the preparation-day,' who would charge St. Luke with expressions like these for 'and it was the day of the preparation [time],' i. e. the day on which the preparation-time fell? The English version, 'and that day was the preparation,' is evidently erroneous; whilst both the German 'und es war Rüsttag,' and the Latin 'et dies erat parasceves,' are, in this instance, as evidently correct; but, it must be well observed, correct only because in our text the word ἡμέρα is expressly combined with παρασκευή: a combination sufficient in itself to prove that the latter term, in the times of the Apostles, distinctly excluded the meaning of 'day,' whether embodied in the expression 'Friday' or 'preparation-day.'

§ 7. St. Mark, xv. 42,^c is the next passage quoted by Professor Wieseler. He says, p. 344, in reference to it, 'Here also the day of our Lord's crucifixion is called παρασκευή (Friday), which term is explained by the generally intelligible words ὃ ἐστὶ προσάββατον.' He would consequently translate, 'and now as

^a . . . Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς, ἀρχιερεὺς, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας λέγει. . . . ἔδοξε μοι . . . τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίαις θεομοῖς. . . . ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββατον, ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης.

^b Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε.

^c Καὶ ἡδη ὀψίας γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή (ὃ ἐστὶ [προσάββατον] πρὸς σάββατον), ἦλθεν Ἰωσήφ, κ. τ. λ.

the afternoon [the evening] was advancing;' (we must bear in mind that the *first* Jewish evening, which is here meant, commenced at about 12½ o'clock) 'because it was Friday, that is, the day before the Sabbath,' etc. But at once we feel perplexed by two serious scruples: the evening is said to have been advancing *because* it was Friday, a phrase void of all sense; and the Friday is precisely the Friday—a matter of course. Our English version 'and now when the evening was come, *because* it was the preparation, that is, the *day* before the Sabbath;' and Luther's translation, 'Und am Abend, *die weil* es *Rüsttag* war, welcher ist der Vorsabbat,' are but little better than Professor Wieseler's. The Spanish rendering, 'Y quando se hizo ya tarde (pues era la Paresceve, que es la *vispera* del sábado), as well as the Latin, 'Et cum jam sero esset factum, quia erat parasceve, quod est ante sabbatum,' convey a more correct meaning; yet they also are far from expressing the true sense of the text. Who, when reading 'et cum jam sero esset factum,' would suppose that a time of the day were spoken of, corresponding to about 3 or 3½ o'clock, on a summer's afternoon? But to return to the more immediate object of our inquiry.

Unless we assume the *ἑσπέρη* of St. Mark to have no aim whatever, it furnishes another incontestable proof that in the above passage, too, *παρασκευή* stands neither for 'Friday' nor for 'preparation-day,' but evidently for 'preparation-time;' because, if we render the words of our text, 'And now as the afternoon was advancing, for it was (during) preparation-time,' etc., we obtain at once—the latter embracing a determined period (see § 25)—a sound sense; and even the preparation-time, being thus explained by 'the fore Sabbath,' might pass. Still an *explanation*, which would exactly correspond to that of our 'Saturday evening' by 'Sunday eve,' must always remain a critical obstacle; and we therefore unhesitatingly adopt, as Lachmann and Tischendorf have done before us, instead of *παρασκευή* the reading *πρὸς σάββατον*. Then, taking *δ* in the sense of *δ* *τι* (as in the passages St. Luke, viii. 13; St. John, xiv. 27, etc.), we translate, 'And now as the afternoon was advancing, for it was (during) preparation-time (namely, the time of preparation for the *Sabbath*),' and our scruples are solved. To understand, however, the motive which induced the Evangelist to add to his narrative the latter remark, we must bear in mind: firstly, that on the Jewish high-feasts of merely a sabbatical character, like the Passover, certain occupations were not as strictly prohibited as on the Sabbath proper (Exod. xii. 16; Mishna, *Megilla*. i. 8; Jerus. Gem. *Jevam*. viii. 4, etc.); secondly, that yet those high-feasts, like the Sabbath, were preceded by a preparation-time (see § 26); and thirdly,

thirdly, that in the year of our Lord's crucifixion, the Passover falling on a Friday, two great feast-days at that time immediately followed one another. Under such circumstances the simple expression 'during preparation-time' might, by Gentile Christians, at least (comp. § 27), have been interpreted of either the Passover or the Sabbath; and, with the view to obviate a misunderstanding of this kind, the evangelist adds in parenthesis (ὅ ἐστι πρὸς σάββατον), thereby imparting to the whole sentence that degree of conciseness which it is his evident aim to give to it.

§ 8. 'Remarkable,' Professor Wieseler writes, p. 417,—

'are the words of St. Matthew, xxvii. 62, τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν; because the less important παρασκευή is here used to denote the more important Sabbath; whilst generally the reverse, and properly so, is the case, the παρασκευή, in its relation to the Sabbath, assuming the name of προσάββατον. Why has our text not simply ἥτις ἐστὶ προσάββατον, instead of ἥτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν? In my opinion the term προσάββατον was here avoided, because it was liable to being misinterpreted: inasmuch as, according to Leviticus, xxiii. 11, 15, also the preceding day, the 15th Nizan, was called Sabbath.'

Independently of the incorrectness of the latter view (see § 24), the learned Professor rests his argument on the gratuitous supposition of 'Friday' being the exclusive meaning of παρασκευή; of παρασκευή being identical with προσάββατον; and consequently, of the former term not being applicable to the other high-feasts of the Jews. He, moreover, states this, p. 337, in the following words:—

'Provided my interpretation of παρασκευή be correct, it is evident that this term cannot be used to denote any fore feast-day [we shall prove the contrary § 26]; and, which is highly improbable also, from the character of the sixth week-day materially differing from that of a fore feast-day. Thus, the former bears in the passage, Judith, viii. 6, the peculiar appellation of προσάββατον; according to St. Mark, xv. 42, equivalent to παρασκευή [that this is erroneous, see § 7 and § 27] whilst the name of a fore feast-day, construed by analogy, would form προεόρτιος, or προέορτος, and which terms actually occur in Philo.'

Now, Professor's Wieseler's interpretation of παρασκευή to which he alludes certainly is correct; for he renders the word 'Rüstung, Zubereitung' (preparation); but when he immediately adds, = 'Friday,' and then continues, 'it signifies consequently the day on which the Jews prepared their repast for the following Sabbath, in order not to disturb its rest,' etc., surely he will not expect his conclusion to be regarded in any other light than that of a naked assertion, as erroneous—for such, we venture to think, we have already shown it to be—as it is arbitrary.

The

The explanation of our passage offered by him is, therefore, wholly inadmissible. True, our translation, 'Now the next day' (namely, the one after *the* preparation-time), may, chronologically considered, appear no less unsatisfactory; yet the object of St. Matthew's remark is withal readily accounted for. He being the only evangelist who, in relating the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour, does *not* mention that they took place during the preparation time on the Friday, it is more than probable that, not wishing altogether to leave the circumstance unnoticed, he made good his omission in the manner stated—a manner, *apparently*, of a somewhat ambiguous nature. But, in the first place, the account of the evangelist does not permit us to think of any other than *the* preparation time, namely the preparation-time during which *the* crucifixion of Christ took place; secondly, St. Matthew obviates the possibility of the *day* being mistaken, by observing a chronological order in his narrative, which, if we follow it retrogradingly from the Sunday morning, leaves not the slightest doubt but that the preparation-time of the *Friday* is meant; and, lastly, *παρασκευή*, when standing by itself, signifies *exclusively* the time of preparation for the *Sabbath* (see § 27). The parenthetical character of the words (*ἥτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν*) is evident.

§ 9. Another decided proof in favour of our interpretation of *παρασκευή*, and against that of Professor Wieseler, we possess in the passage St. John, xix. 14,^d 'And it was the Friday of the passover [-day].' We need but transcribe the words to point out the glaring error of such a translation. But our English version, 'and it was the preparation of the passover,' is no less objectionable; inasmuch as, particularly with reference to the previously quoted passages, it positively states the day here named to have been the day *preceding* the Jewish Passover, and which, if true, would constitute the asserted contradiction between the evangelists to be an incontrovertible fact. Luther's rendering, 'Es war aber der Rüsttag in Ostern,' is nothing but a vain attempt to evade the difficulty by an incorrect translation. That the true meaning of our passage is ('for about the sixth hour the preparation-time of [on] passover-day commenced'), we shall endeavour to establish in the sequel.

§ 10. In the two next Scriptural passages, St. John xix. 31 and 42,^e in which the word *παρασκευή* occurs, it certainly admits of being translated, 'the *day* of preparation;' yet here also it is more

^d . . . (ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ὥρα δὲ ὥσει ἔκτῃ).

^e Οἱ οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἵνα μὴ μείνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ, ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν, (ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη τοῦ σαββάτου), ᾗρώτησαν τὸν Πιλάτον, ἵνα κατεργάσῃν αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη, καὶ ἀρθῶσιν . . . ἐκεῖ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

properly rendered 'preparation-time,' and in no wise do these passages support the theory of Professor Wieseler identifying our term with 'the Friday.'

§ 11. This identity is further disproved by the last passage Judith viii. 6', cited by the learned Professor himself; for *προσάββατον* and *προνουμηνία* bearing here a perfectly analogous sense in their respective relation to the Sabbath and the feast of the new-moon. The *προσάββατον*, according to Professor Wieseler, being identical with *παρασκευή*, and *παρασκευή* again with our Friday, it would follow that *προνουμηνία* be identical with the Friday of the feast of the new moon, and that this is an error we need not state.

§ 12. Thus the positive result of the passages examined is, that the true meaning of the New-Testament term *παρασκευή* is neither 'Friday' nor 'preparation-day,' but undoubtedly 'preparation-time.' On the other hand, Professor Wieseler, p. 336, still urges, in favour of his view, that mention is made of 'a Sabbath of the feast of passover' by Ignatius (Æ. 108) Epist. ad Philipp. c. 13; of 'a Sabbath of the festive season' by Socrates (Æ. 450), Hist. Ecc. v. 22; and of Christian Easter-Sundays by Hippolyte (Æ. 258), in his Paschal Canon. But the epistle of Ignatius to the Philippians is generally acknowledged to be a supposititious document; composed in the fifth century, and in which the words τοῦ πάσχα, moreover, are, in all probability, a still later interpolation. It consequently has as little claim to being adduced as a proof in regard to our question as have the two remaining passages, quoted by Professor Wieseler; because it concerns us not here to know what were the grammatical peculiarities, in the fourth and fifth centuries, of a Roman bishop and a Constantinopolitan lawyer, but, what were those of the Evangelists and the Jewish rabbis at the times of the Apostles. We are fully aware that, at a later period, the Christians, when writing in the Greek language, made use of the word *παρασκευή* to express our Friday (e. g. Clemens Alex., *Strom.* vii. 12, 75; Tertull. contr. Marc. iv. 12); and we also know that about the same time the rabbinical term עֲרִיבְתָּא (a distended form of עֶרֶב) supplanted, among the Jews, the more ancient construction עֶרֶב שַׁבָּת; and that the expression עֲרִיבְתָּא was likewise adopted by the Syrians and the Arabs, as is proved by the حَسْبُ of the former, and the عَرَبَة of the latter. But the meaning of a word is, in the course of time, subject to so many influences and

¹ Καὶ ἐνήστευε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας χηρεύσας αὐτῆς, χωρὶς προσάββáτων καὶ νουμηνιῶν, καὶ ἑορτῶν, καὶ χαρμοσυγῶν οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ.

changes, that, whenever such a meaning in the writings of a particular author is doubtful, it can only properly be determined by the usages of his language in his own age.

§ 13. Thus far then, we venture to look upon our interpretation of παρασκευή as firmly established. It will now be necessary to compare the term with its Hebrew prototype (supposing the latter to exist), and to fix the exact duration of the preparation-time. Professor Wieseler, pp. 336-7, writes thus :—

‘The term παρασκευή would seem to have been formed with reference to the word הכנין, Exod. xvi. 5 (see note 7), which passage, connected with the following verses 22 seq., is to be considered as one of the fundamental provisions of the Mosaic law, determining the peculiar character of the sixth week-day.’

The view, here expressed, may *possibly* be correct; we make bold, however, to throw our decided doubt upon it. True, the Hiph. of the Hebrew verb כִּן answers to the Greek παρασκευάζειν; but there exists no Hebrew *noun* of that root (which would have formed מכינה), corresponding to the Greek παρασκευή, and we cannot, therefore, bring ourselves to imagine that, after a lapse of many centuries, a passage from the Pentateuch should have been consulted to find the Greek expression for a Hebrew word, which itself bears no reference to that passage (see § 14.), and for which the living language of the Greeks already possessed the term, actually adopted. The LXX. translate כִּן, *loc. cit.*, not παρασκευάζειν, but ἐτοιμάζειν, and thereby clearly show, that they also did not perceive that close relation, which Professor Wieseler supposes to exist between the two former words. In our opinion, it can admit of little doubt but that παρασκευή at first served to express the mere *act* of the Jews’ preparation for the sabbath, but that it was very soon transferred, and subsequently exclusively applied to the *time* fixed for that preparation (comp. § 28).

§ 14. Παρασκευή has, therefore, grammatically considered, no Hebrew prototype. The more ancient Jewish term for it was ערב (evening, eve), connected with the following sabbath or feast-day. This is readily explained. The Mosaic ערב comprised the time of evening-twilight, which, in the latitude of Palestine, is of short duration; but probably in consequence of the chronological difficulty, which the passage Levit. xxiii. 5-6, presents, the Jewish rabbis had, at a later period, considerably extended its limits. At the commencement of our era, the ערב embraced the interval between the end of midday (whose duration was one hour) and the beginning of night, and was subdivided into the *first* evening, reaching from midday until sunset; and the *second* evening reaching from sunset until night (Exod. xii. 6; xxix. 38-39; comp. Mishna, *Pesach*. v. 1; Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4, 3; Wars,

Wars, vi. 9, 3; *St. Luke* xxiv. 29 etc.). The preparation-time, answering to the Hebrew ערב, consequently comprised the *first* evening, the *second* evening being excluded from its limits as a matter of course, because at sunset the Jews commenced their civil day.

Now, although the Mosaic law allows the entire sixth week-day, from the morning, for the preparing for the sabbath, (*Exod.* xvi. 5, 21-22,^a) yet we have every reason to assume, that the common interests of the different classes of society soon rendered a more distinct limitation of that period desirable, and that ultimately, the second half of the sixth week-day was definitely and generally adopted for the purpose in question. When, therefore, this same division of time was subsequently comprised by the term ערב, it followed as a natural consequence, that in its character of fore-sabbath or fore-feast-day, it received the appellation of ערב פסח etc.—expressions, which in a sense, perfectly identical with παρασκευὴ πρὸς σαββάτον etc., occur in the *Talmud* in numerous places. Whether in the Apostolic age, the rabbinical ערובתא was already in use? We have the strongest possible grounds to believe not; for the Evangelists and Josephus are evidently unacquainted with the term, and even at the time of Isidorus (*F.* 440.) *Etym.* 5, 30,^b it would seem not to have been generally known. Under any circumstances, the identity of παρασκευὴ with ערב, when preceding שבת, etc., is beyond doubt.

§ 15. But such being the case, it follows also, that the preparation-time commenced at the 6½th Jewish hour (about 12½ o'clock), and lasted until sun-set. The latter epoch, for the reason already stated (see § 14.), is a matter of course. The former is hardly less so; but we have, moreover, the distinct testimony of *St. John* to that effect. At least in this sense we interpret the passage, xix. 13-14.ⁱ In the preceding verses the

והיה ביום הששי והכינו את אשר יביאו והיה משנה על אשר ילקטו יום יום... וילקטו אותו בבקר בבקר איש כפי אכלו וחם השמש ונמס ויהי ביום הששי לקטו לחם משנה שני העמר. לאחר:

^a Apud Hebræos dies prima una sabbati dicitur, quæ apud nos dies dominicus est, quem gentiles soli dicaverunt. Secunda sabbati secunda feria, quem sæculares diem lunæ vocant. Tertia sabbati tertia feria, quem illi Martis vocant. Quarta sabbati quarta feria, qui Mercurii dies dicitur a paganis. Quinta sabbati quinta feria est, qui apud gentiles Jovis vocatur. Sexta sabbati sexta feria est, quæ apud eosdem paganos Veneris nuncupatur. Sabbatum autem septimus a dominico die est, quem gentiles Saturno dicaverunt et Saturni nominaverunt.

ⁱ Ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος ἀκούσας τούτων τὸν λόγον, ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκδήσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθᾶ (ἣν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ὠρα δὲ ὥσπερ ἔκρη), καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, Ἴδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν.—The common reading is: . . . Γαββαθᾶ. Ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, ὠρα δὲ ὥσπερ ἔκρη. Καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, κ. τ. λ., from which the editions of Lachmann and Tischendorf only differ in having ὠρα ἣν ὡς ἔκρη instead of ὠρα δὲ ὥσπερ ἔκρη. The codices D*, L, X, read τριτὴν instead of ἔκρη.

Evangelist describes the unwillingness of Pilate to yield to the importunities of the Jews, who pertinaciously demand the death of our Lord; and when the resistance, they thus encounter, only tends still more to excite their blind fanaticism, and they go so far as to threaten the Roman procurator himself: he finds that, persuasion being unavailing, he can no longer delay his decision, ('for about the sixth hour the preparation-time of passover-day commenced,') and that he must either condemn the innocent, or incur the danger and responsibility of protecting him against the popular fury. He sits down in his judgment-seat, and, after a last fruitless attempt to save the life of our blessed Lord, he finally determines to sacrifice it to the interests of his sovereign.

In this light we view St. John's narrative of Christ's condemnation, and more especially the relation of the 14th verse to the same. The reading of the latter fluctuates, without being at the same time difficult; and, therefore, leads us to infer, either that a defect existed here in the material or the writing of the authentic Gospel; or that our sentence was differently interpreted by later copyists. Under such circumstances we can hardly fall into error, if, in endeavouring to determine the correct reading, we suffer ourselves to be guided, rather by historical considerations and the natural connection of our narrative, than by critical rules of a more artificial character. We hope § 28, seq. convincingly to show, that, as regards the *day* of our Saviour's death, St. John and the synoptical writers perfectly agree. So they do in their respective accounts of the examination, the crucifixion, and the burial of Christ. We have, therefore, every reason to hold also a difference in the hours, which they name, in the highest degree improbable; as, however, such a difference *appears* to exist, to submit it to a careful examination.

§ 16. According to St. Luke xxiii. 33—44, and St. Matthew xxvii. 35—45; Jesus, when at about the sixth hour the darkness commenced, had for some considerable time previously been suspended on the cross; according to St. Mark xv. 25, the crucifixion took place at the third hour; according to the common translation of St. John xix. 13-14, it was not until about the sixth hour, that Pilate prepared to pass his final sentence upon our Lord. Between the two latter epochs an interval of not less than two hours must have elapsed. There would, consequently, seem to exist a difference of about five hours, as to the time of Christ's condemnation, between the dates, given by St. John and St. Mark, the latter Evangelist supported by St. Luke and St. Matthew.

Some of the most learned and orthodox theologians have freely admitted this difference; whilst by far the greater majority of
Biblical

Biblical expositors have attempted to account for it by the hypothesis, that the hours of St. John are reckoned from midnight. The passage, St. John i. 40, has been adduced in support of this view, but without even a show of reason; for all it proves is, that the two disciples there mentioned, remained with our Lord for upwards of two hours. The hypothesis itself is nothing but a poor makeshift, and wholly untenable, because equally opposed to the general custom of both Jews and Romans. Professor Wieseler states in reference to the above passage: 'It follows of necessity only that by *ἡμέρα* the Roman and not the Jewish *day* is meant;' but we confess, we are unable to discover the remotest ground for such a conclusion, and when he adds: 'there (St. John i. 40) the Roman, here (St. John xi. 9) the natural day is indicated,' we conceive the supposition of the Evangelist reckoning his days alternately, according to Jewish and Roman custom, exactly as it suits the theory of his commentators, to be so preposterous, as to be best left to condemn itself.

§ 17. In order to convince our readers of the utter fallacy of the hypothesis alluded to, we will state it here in Professor Wieseler's own words. He writes, pp. 413, 4, thus:—

'The reason, why even those nations, who dated their civil day from midnight, yet reckoned their hours from sunrise and sunset, is undoubtedly connected with the imperfect construction of their time-pieces, which were only calculated to indicate the variable hours, the *ὥραι κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες*, and which, in their turn, were determined by the duration of the natural day, or the period intervening between the rising and the setting of the sun; furthermore with the fact, that, as a substitute for those time-pieces, the people at large knew many contrivances; but which were also based on the natural duration of the day. The use of the variable hours has only more generally been discontinued since the invention, in the twelfth century, of the more perfect mechanism of our clocks. Already before the time of Christ, however (Ideler, *Handb.* I. p. 86.), the equal hours, each measuring 1-24th part of the civil day, were known. But exclusively at the time of the *equinoxes*, consequently also at about the 15th *Nisan*, they perfectly coincided with the variable hours. At such periods, therefore, the *hours* too might be reckoned from midnight, without the use of the time-pieces and the contrivances of every-day life being interfered with. Thus St. John xix. 14, must have reckoned his hours. Indeed, he had a further inducement for so doing, because the feast-day also, which he was to describe, the 15th *Nisan*, as distinguished from the passover of the preceding evening, commenced *exactly* at midnight, Exod. xii. 29. Then, at midnight, the remains of the paschal lamb became *חֶסֶד*, tract. *Pesach.* c. 10. § 9. Whether still other historical grounds(!) existed, we know not.'

In his note to this passage the learned Professor says:—

'Is

'Is it not probable, that the stated mode of reckoning the hours on the 15th Nisan, may have been even *stereotype* with the Jews in those days, and that St. John, by following it, betrayed his Jewish birth, as much as he did by the use of the word *Συχάρι*, according to my explanation? Our knowledge of the Jewish customs in those times being still very imperfect, we cannot deny the possibility of my supposition, although its adoption is not indispensable for the removal of the difficulty in question.'

§ 18. Unless we are greatly led into error, it is Professor Wieseler's opinion, that certainly both Jews and Romans, as a general custom, reckoned their hours from sunrise; yet that the former (or if not they, at all events St. John) deviated from that general custom *on the 15th Nisan* (if not in every year, most assuredly in the particular year in question, whichever it be), reckoning them not from sun-rise, but from midnight; firstly, because at the commencement of our era, the division of the day into equal hours was already known and in practical use; secondly, because at the time of the equinoxes, and consequently of the 15th Nisan, the equal hours perfectly coincided with the variable hours; and, thirdly, because the feast-day proper of the 15th Nisan commenced exactly at mid-night.

As regards the former of these reasons, Ideler, to whose testimony Professor Wieseler refers, says distinctly: 'The equal hours, it is true, were known to the ancients, but were made use of *exclusively for astronomical purposes*, which indispensably demand an equal division of time.' With reference to the second ground it has escaped the Professor's attention, that the 15th Nisan probably never fell *on* the day of the equinox, and but seldom in its immediate vicinity. Supposing it to have fallen on some day in the middle of April, when the sun rose for Jerusalem at about 5½ o'clock, the variable hours, so far from coinciding with the equal hours, then diverged from them greatly. Independently of this, however, can we assume with but the shadow of reason, that the Jews should have assigned

	A duration of	
To the night of the 14th Nisan (as usual from sunset until sunrise)	12 hours	} consequently to the civil day of the 14th Nisan a duration of 80 hours,
To the day of the 14th Nisan (from sunrise until midnight)	18 "	
To the night of the 15th Nisan (from midnight until sunrise)	6 "	} and to the day of the 15th Nisan a duration of 18 hours:
To the day of the 15th Nisan (again as usual from sunrise until sunset)	12 "	

to the week-day, therefore, six hours too much, and to the feast-day six hours too little? We must be easily led away in our judgment, to reconcile ourselves to such a supposition, on the convenient but sorry plea of 'our imperfect knowledge of the Jewish customs

customs in those times ;' more particularly, as with regard to the last of Professor Wieseler's reasons, we know from the Mosaic law, that the feast of the Passover commenced at sunset, simultaneously with the 15th day of Nisan. The circumstance, therefore, of the Jews looking, after midnight, upon the remains of the paschal lamb as unclean, certainly constitutes no *difference* between 'the feast-day of the 15th Nisan and the passover of the preceding evening,' as the learned Professor very equivocally expresses himself. His 'historical grounds' would thus seem to us but ill-calculated to lend even the slightest consistency to his hypothetical extravagancies.

§ 19. Let us, instead of indulging in similarly vain speculations, in the first place inquire, whether, reckoned as usual from sunrise, the sixth hour, mentioned by St. John, really does or is likely to refer, as is generally taken for granted, to the passing of the sentence upon our Lord by the Roman procurator. If so, the time stated answering to about mid-day, the crucifixion could hardly have taken place before 2 or 2½ o'clock in the afternoon. Between the death of Christ and his burial, which, as a matter of course (comp. also St. John xix. 42), was completed before sunset (about 6½ o'clock), at least 1½ or 2 hours must have intervened. But such being the case, the death of our Saviour, and the descent from the cross, ought to have followed the crucifixion within about two hours,—a supposition, *in the very highest degree improbable.*

Jesus, after having been examined, during the night, by the assembled synedrists, was *early* on the following morning (John xviii. 28^k) taken before Pilate. In all probability this was at about six o'clock, certainly not much later. Is the *Roman* examination then *to have lasted six hours*? Impossible: altogether, we should say, at the utmost one hour, for Pilate's answer to the Pharisees, '*quod scripsi, scriptum*' (St. John xix. 22) proves him to have been a true Roman—brief and decisive. That the 'sixth hour' of St. John can, therefore, not indicate the time, at which our Lord was condemned, is most clearly evident from the Evangelist's own account.

§ 20. In submitting the latter to a closer examination, we cannot help perceiving at the first glance, that the words *ἡν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ὡς δὲ ὡσεὶ ἑκτὴ* form a parenthesis. Did they, according to the common interpunctuation, constitute an independent phrase, St. John could not have immediately proceeded: *καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*, but ought to, and doubtless would, have written:

^k Ἄγουσιν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ἦν δὲ πρῶτα καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα.

Λέγει δὲ ὁ Πιλάτος, etc. The verses 13 and 14 form but one sentence, which reads thus :—

‘When Pilate, therefore, heard that saying [if thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar’s friend], he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat, in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha (ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ὡρα δὲ ὥσει ἔκρη), and said unto the Jews,’ etc.

The syntactical interruption of this period by the words in question, without a relative conjunction, the characteristics of the *true* parenthesis (Winer, *Gram.* p. 609) is evident. But as a general rule, a period is only interrupted, to make room for an accidental illustration, which is either held of too little importance to deserve a special sentence, or for which the narrative does not offer a more suitable place; and Winer (*Gram.* p. 610) remarks very truly :—

‘In the historical books of the New Testament, we frequently meet with an illustration or a remark of the speaker, parenthetically interwoven with his direct narrative. They generally are *historical illustrations*, interrupting the latter, in the shape of explanatory remarks.’

The first conjunction of such a parenthesis must of necessity, therefore, have a causal signification: so, in our case, the conjunction δὲ, whether we render it ‘for,’ or ‘namely.’

§ 21. If we take the different readings: ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, ὡρα (δὲ) [ἦν] (ὥσει) ὡς ἔκρη, their meaning is, that Pilate sat down in the judgment-seat at about the sixth hour. That such, however, cannot be the *true* meaning, is evident for the following reasons. Firstly, it would imply not only on the part of the Jewish mob, but also on that of the Synedrists and elders, a *public transgression of the law*, by their attending and taking part in the accusation, condemnation, and, finally, the crucifixion of our Lord, during the festive time of the preparation, on passover-day, for a high sabbath (comp. § 24)—a supposition which cannot for one moment be entertained. Secondly, the sixth hour, referred to the time of Christ’s condemnation, is irreconcilable with both the preceding and the following narrative of St. John himself; inasmuch as it would compel us to assume a chronological succession of events, which, though its *impossibility* cannot be proved, is yet opposed to all that is probable or imaginable. (Moreover, it is in contradiction with the dates of the other evangelists.) Thirdly, the parenthesis would not accomplish its *illustrative* object, as it would simply indicate a state of things; and St. John would, therefore, have interrupted the syntactic connection of his narrative without any ground whatever, solely for the purpose of commemorating the time of the event in question, and for doing which so much more appropriate an opportunity presented itself,

itself, both immediately before and after; for instance, in the middle or at the end of the sixteenth verse. Lastly, the words ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, would have to be considered as altogether superfluous; for that, in the first place, at about the sixth hour the preparation-time commenced, every Jew must have known; and that, in the second place, the events alluded to took place during the preparation-time of (*i. e.* on) passover-day, the evangelist states subsequently. On the strength of these united reasons, and considering the state of the codices, we are justified in unhesitatingly rejecting the above readings. The uncritical reading τρίτη, which some manuscripts have instead of ἑκτὴ (see note i), is the less deserving of our attention, as it does not even remove the difficulty to which it owes its origin.

Only the common reading, ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ὥρα δὲ ὥσει ἑκτὴ, as admitting of a different interpretation, is, therefore, left for our consideration. Without regard to its interpunctuation and marks of distinction, both of which belong to a much later period than the text, we must keep solely in view the parenthetical character of our sentence, and the leading feature of St. John's narrative. The immediate action which calls forth the illustrative remark of the evangelist, is, that Pilate, yielding to the threatening urgency of the Jews to pass his sentence of death upon Christ, sits down in the judgment-seat (for about the sixth hour [*was i. e.*] commenced the preparation-time). If we translate thus, we at once obtain, not only the most perfect harmony between St. John and the synoptical writers, but also a proper chronological succession in the former evangelist's own narrative, and a valid motive for his parenthetical remark. The question, therefore, arises, whether our translation be admissible.

§ 22. The sole objection which can be urged against our marking the words of our text as follows, (ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ὥρα δὲ ὥσει ἑκτὴ,) is confined to the subscribed iota, and is, duly considered, altogether untenable. True, we meet with no trace of the latter in the Greek manuscripts; but how does this affect our question? In no manner whatever; for, independently of the probable supposition that the varying reading of our passage is attributable to a defect in the material or the writing of the authentic Gospel, we must bear in mind, on the one hand, that these manuscripts reach, at the very highest, up to the fourth and third centuries of our era; and, on the other hand, that the absence in them of the subscribed iota, proves nowise that our passage was already, in those early times, interpreted in a sense *differing* from ours, and much less *generally* so; but rather that, unmolested by critical doubts and objections, as, with but few exceptions, still a thousand years later, either no special
attention

attention was paid to it, or that in reading the subscribed iota was supplied as a matter of course, whilst in writing it was even at that period still *commonly*, and in earlier times probably *invariably*, omitted.

When saying that the iota subscriptum was, in reading, probably supplied *as a matter of course*, we do so on the ground of our passage, whether grammatically or rationally considered, absolutely admitting, in our opinion, of no other than the interpretation we have given to it. The parenthesis, conformably to its nature, has a *positive* object. This object can only be of a threefold kind. Either St. John meant to express, that when Pilate was preparing to pass his sentence on Jesus, it was *both* preparation-time *and* about the sixth hour; or that it was *preparation-time*, the precise hour being added merely as a secondary remark; or that the preparation-time *commenced* at about the sixth hour—this time, consequently, not having then as yet arrived. To the former interpretation we owe, no doubt, the reading ὥρα ἥν ὡς ἔκριν. In adopting it, and with a view to meet the grammatical exigencies of that sense, the second δὲ of our text was cast aside, and its place supplied by the repeated ἥν; with an utter disregard, however, to the consideration that the latter construction requires, and *indispensably* requires (Winer, *Gram.*, p. 511), the copula καί. It would, therefore, at best admit of the second interpretation. But we have seen (§ 21) that both this and the former must absolutely be rejected upon other decisive evidence; thus leaving us the third as the *only* admissible interpretation of our parenthesis, unless we wish to set at defiance, not only grammar and reason, but moreover the evangelist's own words. In addition to all this, a trace of the subscribed iota may be recognized in the Latin version; for if we interpunctuate the text of the Vulgate thus, 'Pilatus autem . . . sedit pro tribunali in loco, qui dicitur lithostrotos, hebraice autem Gabbatha (erat autem parasceve paschæ hora quasi sexta)'—[i. e. horâ quasi sextâ, for the nominative case would indispensably have required the copula *et*]—'et dicit Judæis,' &c., it most fully bears us out in our interpretation and reading of the passage.

§ 23. Under such circumstances, we consider the subscribed iota, which the illustrative character of our parenthesis authoritatively demands, which, in reading, the grammatical construction of the sentence forces upon us, as conveying the most natural meaning, and against which not one *valid* critical objection can be urged, to be entitled to implicit admission into our text. But, as regards the repeated δὲ of the latter, it is not here expressive of a contrast, but merely of a distinction (Winer, *Gram.*, p. 522), and has evidently been repeated partly for the purpose of indicating

cating that it was not already at the epoch of our Lord's condemnation preparation-time, but rather that the *παρασκευή* was not to commence till later; partly with a view to soften, solely for the sake of harmony, the otherwise intolerable harshness of *ἄρξ ὥσεί ἔκτῃ*.

Nor can we recognize the difficulty which the *ἦν* of our text has been said to present; only we must bear in mind the *festive* character of the preparation-time. Were we to meet, in a historical work of our days, with a sentence like this, 'Preparations were, therefore, made to execute the work in question (for at noon the holy-day commenced),' could we *possibly* mistake its meaning? Yet the words of St. John are even less liable to be mistaken, because not only does he speak of a (half) holy-day, which every Jew knew *regularly* commenced at the time named by him, but he, moreover, *expressly* states that Jesus, whose examination by Pilate can hardly have exceeded an hour, was taken before him '*early in the morning*,' probably soon after six o'clock. Considering, therefore, the general connection of St. John's narrative, and the grammatical construction of our parenthesis in particular, we believe the correctness of our translation of the latter to admit of no reasonable doubt: still less so, as the subsequent words of the evangelist, ver. 31, '*ἐπεὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν*,' further go to prove that when he wrote ver. 14, '*ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα ἄρξ δὲ ὥσεί ἔκτῃ*,' this preparation-time had not *then* as yet arrived. Accordingly, the object of St. John's parenthetical remark would clearly be to indicate, that at the period to which he alludes, the time was so far advanced as to render it imperative on Pilate either to liberate our Saviour, or, in order that his crucifixion might take place previously to the beginning of the preparation-time, to pass his sentence of death upon him.

§ 24. But what particular reason, it will be objected, could the Jews have to *wish* the crucifixion to take place before that period, *the 15th Nisan itself being one of their high feast-days*? This apparent difficulty also admits of a most satisfactory solution. In the first place, however, we must reject the opinion very generally entertained, and already alluded to as erroneous (§ 8); according to which the 15th Nisan, in the passage Leviticus (xxiii. 11, 15), is called *Sabbath*. We know, both from the books of Moses and the Talmud, on the one hand, that the festive character of the 15th Nisan *chiefly* attached to the evening; and, on the other hand, that, with the sole exception of the national expiation-day of the Jews, the 10th Thishri, their high-feasts were regarded as far less hallowed than the simple Sabbath, the day of Jehovah. It appears to us, therefore, utterly improbable that Moses should have used the term *שבת* *מקרא קדש* in a sense identical with that of *שבת*;
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the more so as, had he applied this name to the 15th Nisan, on which, according to his own regulations (Ex. xii. 16), the preparation of every kind of food was permitted, he would not only have materially compromised the sacred character of the Sabbath, but also, in a measure, have *contradicted* his own ordinances regarding the latter. The feast of the passover lasting seven days, included of necessity *a*, but could also include but *one*, Sabbath; and on the day following this Sabbath, the great Jewish legislator, no doubt, intended the feast of the omer to have fallen. We are fully borne out in this view by the interpretation and the practice of the Caraites, although it would appear from Joshua (v. 11), that already, at an early period, the feast of the omer was generally kept on the 16th Nisan.

Now, it is evident from the edict of Augustus (note a), and the Rabbinical rule, 'Whosoever worketh on the eve of the Sabbath, or after the mincha on feast-days, will surely derive no blessing from it' (ap. Scaliger, *de Emend. Temp.*, p. 533); that the Jews, even during the preparation-time, when falling on a common week-day, abstained as much as possible from every unfeastive occupation. But, in our case, this preparation-time fell on a high feast-day, which, after that period, was in all probability, therefore, raised almost to the full rank of the Sabbath proper; more particularly, as with the Sabbath, whose festive eve is here in question, the feast of the omer happened to coincide, thereby rendering it 'a high Sabbath' (comp. § 29). Thus we obtain not only a most satisfactory solution of our question, but, at the same time, a valid motive for the evangelist's remark, that it was the preparation-time of [on] *passover-day* (comp. § 27, 28); for neither, were the crucifixion to have taken place during the preparation-time of a common day, nor were it to have taken place on a simple passover-day, would there have existed the absolute necessity of its being carried into effect previously to the former epoch.

§ 26. St. John thus fully confirms the preparation-time to have commenced at the end of the Jewish mid-day—a fact, however, which, even without his testimony, could not seriously be called into doubt. True, it has been concluded from the Roman decree repeatedly alluded to, that the *ninth* hour was the epoch of the παρασκευῇ, but without the slightest reason. On the contrary, if such had been the case, the words τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ would have perfectly sufficed, and ἀπὸ ὧρας ἐνάτης been a superfluous addition. The latter *restriction* shows plainly that the preparation-time had an earlier epoch, but that the Romans judged three hours a sufficient time for its purposes; and, although respecting the Jewish customs in their essential parts, would yet not suffer them

them to interfere more than was necessary with the due course of public business.

Professor Wieseler, p. 337, further objects: 'The supposition of παρασκευῆ'—he alludes to the opinion of De Wette—'corresponding to the Hebrew ערב, is false; for can we imagine the mere ערב (evening), like παρασκευῆ, to signify our Friday! The equivalent expression for the latter, on the contrary, is the Talmudic ערבתא.' That the latter term denotes the sixth week-day is certainly correct (Gem. Beres. Rabba, xi.); but for its identity with παρασκευῆ, the learned Professor ought to have adduced, if no proofs, at all events reasons; for notes of exclamation and naked assertions have but little weight, more particularly when opposed to an opinion of De Wette.

The result of our investigation would, therefore, appear to us to have been in nowise shaken by those objections, and the unquestionable meaning of παρασκευῆ to be 'preparation-time,' or that festive (Jerus. Gem., Chagiga, iii. 7) time of preparation for the Jewish Sabbaths and high-feasts which preceded them, and, comprising the interval between the end of the Jewish mid-day (their 6½th hour = about 12½ o'clock) and sunset, nearly corresponded in duration to our afternoon. Thus, at all events, in Judea. The Galileans, it would appear, abstained the whole of the day in question from the transaction of business (Mishna, Pesach., iv. 5);^m but whether so already at the time of Christ, we much doubt.

§ 26. Professor Wieseler denies (see § 8) that παρασκευῆ was a term applicable also to the Jewish high-feasts, but he does so exclusively upon the ground of his erroneous interpretation of it. Why should the word not have been used as well in reference to Easter, Pentecost, etc., as it was in reference to the Sabbath? The only reason to the contrary, which appears obvious to us, might possibly have been of a grammatical nature. To determine this, the Greek literature at this period offers us but very limited means. The passages in the New Testament, in which the term occurs, undoubtedly refer to the same day, and this day is precisely a Sabbath. Josephus, however, in the decree of Augustus, cited § 5, introduces the word παρασκευῆ in a connection which appears to us to decide the question. The real meaning of παρασκευῆ is here a matter of indifference. Certain it is, that such a festive eve preceded not only the Sabbaths, but also the high-feasts of the Jews (Judith, viii. 6; Philo, ii., 294; Joseph., loc. cit.; the Talmud in numerous places). Now, if it pleased the emperor to

מ ביהודה היו עושין מלאכה בערבי פסחים עד חצות יבגליל לאהיו עישן כל
עיקר:
release

release the latter from certain duties on the Sabbath, and during part of its preceding preparation-time, it would surely be against all reason to assume that the same privilege should not have been extended to them equally in regard to their high-feasts and *their* preparation-time, both being observed by them in almost the same manner as the Sabbath and its *παρασκευή*. But if the evident truth of this remark be admitted, it must also be admitted that the term *παρασκευή* was used by Josephus in reference to the Jewish high-feasts of Sabbatical rank, as much as to the Sabbath proper.

§ 27. As regards the grammatical relation existing between the Greek and Hebrew terms for the same meaning of 'the preparation-time,' as applied in both languages, it is not difficult to clearly define it. For this purpose, we have already (§ 13) endeavoured to show that the Greek *παρασκευή* has, properly speaking, no Hebrew prototype. True, it is the equivalent of ערב, but only in a civil, not in a grammatical sense. In Hebrew, the word has, as it were, appropriated to itself the meaning; in Greek, the meaning has appropriated to itself the word. Here, it is subject to the general rules of grammar; there, it forms an exception to these rules. Consequently, the constructions ערב שבת and *παρασκευή τοῦ σαββάτου* (which latter, however, as we have already stated, is nowhere met with) would not signify the same day, but two different days: the Hebrew form, *contrary* to the general usage of the language, the evening *preceding* the Sabbath; the Greek, *according* to that general usage, the evening *of* the Sabbath. The causes which gave to the Hebrew expression its grammatical peculiarity, have already been alluded to (§ 14); and we need hardly add that the evangelists could not have forced that peculiarity upon the *Greek* language, even had their Hebrew train of thought invited them so to do, without rendering themselves perfectly unintelligible (comp. also § 28).

These reasons lead us to conclude, that in accordance with the passage St. Mark xv. 42 (see note 3), the plenary Greek form for ערב שבת was *παρασκευή πρὸς σάββατον*. Commonly, however, the words *πρὸς σάββατον* would seem to have been omitted, and *παρασκευή*, standing by itself, signified then *exclusively* the time of preparation for the *Sabbath*. In regard to other feast-days it was necessary to add *πρὸς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ . . .*, but this mode of expression being ambiguous, and the former somewhat equivocal, we judge it more than probable that they were gradually, but soon supplanted by those of *προσάββατον*, etc., that the latter then assumed the meaning of 'Friday,' and that the use of the term *παρασκευή*, except in the same sense, was altogether abandoned.

§ 28. We have, § 15, referred to this place, for a proof of the perfect agreement between St. John and the synoptical writers, as
to

to the *day* of our Lord's crucifixion. The attempt to furnish that proof, independently of every religious supposition, on purely historical and grammatical grounds, we conceive to have been, in part at least, already accomplished; for its greatest difficulty the passage St. John xix. 14 is generally considered to present. Should we, however, have seized the true meaning of the latter, and clearly expounded our argument we believe to have shown: Firstly, that, according to the grammatical usage of the Evangelists and Josephus, *παρασκευή* does not, except when expressly combined with *ἡμέρα*, signify either 'Friday,' or 'the *day* of preparation,' but unquestionably 'preparation-time,' extending from mid-day until sunset; and, secondly, that the Greek form *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα* does not correspond to the Hebrew form *ערב פסח*; but, as the latter, *contrary* to the general rules of the Hebrew Grammar, exceptionally signifies the time of preparation *for* Passover-day, so the former, *conformably* to the general rules of the Greek Grammar, which knows of no such exception, signifies the preparation-time *of* (*i. e.* on) Passover-day, and in its plenary form would have been written, *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα πρὸς σάββατον*, the time of preparation, on Passover-day, 'for the Sabbath.'

Indeed, when we consider that the exception alluded to is an isolated instance of a deviation of its kind from the rules of the Hebrew Grammar; that, in all probability, it owes its existence solely to the controverted meaning of *בין הערבים*, which, when the pharisaic interpretation of it became prevalent, drew, as it were, the first Jewish evening into the sphere of the following day; and that the Greek term has not been moulded after the Hebrew *ערב*, but free from the ungrammatical sense, attaching to the latter when combined with *שבת*, *פסח*, etc., has been taken from the living Greek language, in which it already signified the act to be expressed, and has, subsequently, but been transferred to the time, devoted to that act: it would appear to us that, with an unprejudiced judgment, we cannot possibly interpret the *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα* of St. John in any other sense than that of 'the preparation-time *of*' (*i. e.* on, not the time of preparation *for*) Passover-day.' But if such be the case, the harmony between St. John and the synoptical writers as to the day of Christ's passion, is no longer to be shaken; because all other objections, urged against it, lose at once their entire significance, solely resting, as it in reality does, on the former expression.

§ 29. St. John xix. 31 (see note e), writing thus:—'The Jews, therefore, because it was preparation-time, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath (for that day was a high Sabbath), besought Pilate, etc., it is undeniable that by the

the Sabbath here alluded to, can be meant no other than the seventh day of the week: Firstly, because *παρασκευή*, standing by itself, denotes (and which this very passage still further proves) the time of preparation for the Sabbath proper; secondly, because the definite article *τό* prefixed to *σαββατον*, likewise excludes any other meaning but that of the *שבת*; and, thirdly, because a high-feast of a merely Sabbatical character, can, under no circumstances, be raised to the rank of a *high Sabbath*, the simple Sabbath being the *highest* feast-day, and a high Sabbath occurring only when another feast coincides with the *Sabbath*. According to St. John, therefore, and in perfect harmony with the other Evangelists, the day of our Lord's crucifixion was a *Friday*.

Now the 'high sabbath' of our passage, certainly might with as much propriety be explained by the feast of the Passover, as by that of the omer falling upon it, and the former opinion is, indeed, entertained by many biblical expositors. It rests, however, on *mere* supposition, whilst in favour of the latter view may be assigned a, though perhaps not conclusive, reason: we allude to St. John adding to *παρασκευή* (xix. 14) the words *τοῦ πάσχα*. It is evident from the connection of the narrative, that the purpose of the Evangelist is not to express by those words—and which it would altogether be difficult to decipher from them—that the Passover, whose *παρασκευή* he mentions, then coincided with the Sabbath. Yet the words in question must have a special object; for, if not, *παρασκευή* alone would have answered every purpose. We are, therefore, but left to conclude that, as we have already intimated § 24, St. John wished to indicate, that the preparation-time he alludes to was not one of a common, but of a particularly sacred character; for, as in the opinion of the Jews, the sanctity of the Sabbath was still heightened by the feast-day falling upon it: thus, without doubt, also the afternoon of the feast-day by the preparation-time for the Sabbath coinciding with it. On the other hand, the preparation-time of a common week-day could hardly have gained as to its festive character, though preceding a *high Sabbath*. Such a preparation-time, however, would have been the *παρασκευή*, mentioned St. John xix. 31, if we suppose the *Passover* to have fallen on the Sabbath there spoken of, and the words *τοῦ πάσχα* would then, as far as we can see, have no object whatever; whilst they complete the sense and purport of our parenthesis, if we interpret them, as grammatically they must be interpreted, of the preparation-time (Sabbath-eve) on Passover-day.

§ 30. Professor Wieseler (page 377) profits by St. John likewise stating the Friday to be the day of Christ's passion, and mentioning (xii. 1) that he arrived in Bethany *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα*,

πάσχα, to show that, had the Passover fallen on the Sabbath, our Lord must have set out for Bethany also on a Sabbath—a transgression of the law, punishable with death (Exod. xvi. 29 : comp. verse 31, 44 ; xxxv. 12 seq.), of which Jesus, surely, would not have rendered himself culpable. This would, consequently, further go to prove that St. John must have meant by the Last Supper of our Lord, which he describes (ch. xiii. seq.) the Jewish Passover. The learned Professor, however, not only neglects to secure the *foundation* of his argument, on which everything here depends, but he even destroys it and defeats his own purpose. He writes (page 379), namely, thus :—

‘ It is a decided error to suppose that the word *πρὸ* (St. John xiii. 1) can signify the day *immediately* preceding the Passover. The latter meaning ought to have been expressed as well in the idiom of the New Testament (comp. 2 Macc. xv. 36), as in classical language, by *πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, one day before the Passover.’

Now Jesus ate his Last Supper at the beginning of the 15th Nisan, or on the evening, almost directly after sunset of our Thursday. The day, *immediately* preceding the Passover, was consequently the Thursday. But then, according to Professor Wieseler, the previous Sabbath would precisely correspond to the *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα*, and his argument speak decidedly in favour of those who contend the Passover to have fallen on the *Sabbath*. The learned Professor, however, would seem not to have had a clear notion of the character of the Greek form here in question, for when he takes *πρὸ μιᾶς τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα* for (one incompleting) the *first* day, and *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα* for (seven incompleting) the *seventh* day, he evidently contradicts himself.

Professor Winer also (Gram. p. 641) does not appear to have seized the exact meaning of our sentence, although he rejects the opinion,

‘ that *πρὸ* is, what many consider it to be, an established trajection, influencing even the case, and that with the preposition in its proper place, our sentence ought to have been construed *ἑξ ἡμέραις πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα*.’

Indeed the difference between both constructions is a material one. Their very syntax proves this ; the latter reading literally ‘ six days before the Passover,’ the former ‘ before six days (of) before the Passover,’ and it is an unquestionable error to translate them, as both Professors Winer and Wieseler do, in the same words. The different position of the *πρὸ* evidently commands a different meaning. Here its influence extends over part only, there it extends over the whole of the sentence. Here it

indicates that something occurred six days *before the Passover*; there, that it took place *before six days* (consequently not on the sixth, but positively on the seventh day) before the Passover. The various passages, adduced by Professor Winer, most fully bear us out in this conclusion. *One only seems* to be against us. We will, therefore, submit it to a somewhat closer examination. It is the passage 2 Maccab. xv. 37. ^a

That the feast of Purim is here alluded to by the name of ἡ μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα admits of no doubt. It lasted from the 14th to the 15th Adar, consequently two days (Esther ix. 21), and which is also implied by its name αἱ ἡμέραι φρουραὶ (Esther ix. 26). Ἡ μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα can, as a matter of course, signify but *one* of these days. The question therefore arises, Which? We have every reason to assume the latter, because, except in the peculiar case of the Passover, we have only examples of the concluding day of a Jewish feast lending its name to the feast itself, without, however, losing its specific character of the *last* day in that feast. Thus, for instance, the concluding day of the feast of Tabernacles תרצו (Levit. xxiii. 36) served at a subsequent period, as a general name for the feast itself (Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 6, 10), yet so as to indicate, not its beginning, but its end. It is probable, therefore, that, in a similar manner, the last day of the feast of purim was named after its real hero and founder Mordecai, and the feast itself again distinguished, in its turn, by the name of that day. But in reference to the 15th Adar, the thirteenth would precisely be πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας. The correctness of the conclusion, drawn by Professor Wieseler from the passage St. John xii. 1, thus admits of no doubt.

§ 31. On the other hand, we cannot, for the reasons stated, assent to his opinion, that the sense of πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, St. John (xiii. 1)^o *excludes* the day immediately preceding the Passover, although it is neither *restricted* to it. Under any circumstances the passage appears to us to furnish another decisive proof that the δείπνον mentioned by the Evangelist was no other than the repast of the Jewish Passover.

Professor Wieseler also endeavours to show this. In his opinion 'the words πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα evidently point to εἰς τέλος, and

^a Καὶ ἐδογμάτισαν πάντες μετὰ κοινού ψηφίσματος μηδαμῶς ἔσσαι ἀπαρσῆμαντον τῇδε τὴν ἡμέραν ἔχειν δὲ ἐπίσημον τὴν τρισκαίδεκάτην τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός, ἕδαρ λέγεται τῇ συριακῇ φωνῇ, πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας.

^o Πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα ἵνα μεταβῇ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα; ἀγαπήσας τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ—εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς—; καὶ, δείπνου γενομένου, τοῦ διαβόλου ἥδη βεβληκότος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν Ἰούδα Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου ἵνα αὐτὸν παραδῇ;—εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πάντα δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπαγείλ. ἐγίγρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου, καὶ τίθησι τὰ ἱμάτια, κ. τ. λ.

the love of Christ, *before the Passover*, forms the contrast to his love *unto the end*.’—(p. 380).

He then proceeds to say—

‘that the love of Jesus unto the end *excludes* all love *before* the Passover, commencing at the time, opposed to the fore-festal time, consequently at the beginning of the feast.’ (!)

We apprehend, assuming the death of our Lord before the Passover to be a fact, the argument of Professor Wieseler would fail to create in our mind the very slightest doubt against it. Moreover, when in accordance with the above, he translates and comments on our passage thus :—

‘Jesus, when he knew that his hour was come, that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having before the feast of the Passover (namely, the last few days preceding the feast) loved his own, who were to remain in the world, he loved them (from that time, namely, from the feast of the Passover) unto the end,’ &c.

We confess that we hold the mind of St. John so deeply imbued with the purest poetical sentiment, and so familiarly grasping the thought of eternity, wholly incapable of a train of ideas as narrow and prosaic as Professor Wieseler’s translation would imply. Nor can we, consequently, share his opinion regarding the connection between *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα* and *εἰς τέλος*.

On the contrary, it is unquestionable that when two or more participial sentences bear the same relation to a preceding chronological date, its immediate relation to the first sentence may not be arbitrarily passed over and transferred to the second. If *ἀγαπήσας*, therefore, stands in relation to *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, surely such relation can only be traced to it through *εἰδώς*. But it would appear to us to be undoubtedly *restricted* to the last (in order the first) participle; and the apprehension of the Evangelist, lest it *might* be extended to *ἀγαπήσας*, to have chiefly induced him to insert in parenthesis the words, *εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς*, for that such is their character can hardly be mistaken, when the first sentence of the 13th chapter of St. John is attentively considered. True Professor Wieseler translates, ‘Jesus, . . . having loved his own [who were to remain] in the world,’ etc., but the Greek text knows nothing of the words placed between brackets, and so far from admitting of the period being concluded by (the evident parenthesis) *εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς*, whereby but an unmeaning, nay, senseless *form*, would be lent to the latter, it follows up the opening participial sentence, in immediate succession, by two others; it thereupon resumes the leading idea of the former by a repetition of the *εἰδώς ὁ Ἰησοῦς* (comp. 1 St. John i. 1, 3), without the words *πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*, which

belong only to the first εἰδώς, and, therefore, *precede* it; and not until then it completes the whole period by the concluding sentence, comprising the fourth and fifth verses. Indeed no other construction can, in our opinion, impart to the narrative of St. John either a grammatically correct sense, or a clearly defined motive. The Evangelist does not regard the Supper, preceding the death of Christ, in the light of the Jewish Passover, but in that of the last repast of self-sacrificing and redeeming love, which the disciples shared with their Lord and Master. To him therefore its true epoch is the washing of the feet, and with it he opens his narrative of the passion, premising it in the form of participial sentences by a short review of those circumstances, to know which it is indispensable for the proper understanding of the sequel, and a just appreciation of the greatness of our Lord's sacrifice, and the inscrutableness of his love. But who would be able to conceive the greatness of that sacrifice, unless, instead of judging it, perchance, to have been an accidental or a forced one, he knew that it was a *voluntary* and *contemplated* sacrifice? Who would be able to conceive the inscrutable fullness of Christ's love in the mere act of the washing of the feet, unless he were told that Jesus, when kneeling with the towel and basin before Judas Iscariot, instead of imagining, perchance, that he was drying the feet of a faithful and loving disciple, well knew him to be a fallen one, who was on the point of betraying, for vile lucre's sake, the life of his divine master into the hands of his enemies? For this reason St. John could not pass over in silence that Jesus *knew*, and knew *before the feast*, that his hour (consequent upon the betrayal of Judas) was approaching; and under such circumstances it was so natural for him, after the words ἀγαπήσας τοὺς ἰδίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (we take the ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, here as forming the contrast to the preceding ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου), to add parenthetically, εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς. Thus the πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα shows that the δείπνον, which forms the epoch of St. John's narrative, can have been no other repast than that *of the feast*, the repast of the Paschal Lamb, and thus our passage furnishes another decisive proof in favour of the Gospel harmony. We would translate it thus:—

‘Jesus, knowing, but already *before the feast*, that the hour was come for him to depart out of this world unto the Father; he having loved his own in the world—unto the end he loved them—and to betray whom having already during supper been put by the devil into the heart of Judas, the son of Simon of Karioth—Jesus [I say] knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and was again going to God, now rose from supper, laid aside his garment,’ &c.

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We cannot but be aware of the deficiencies of this translation ; but to render the words of the Evangelist literally, and yet without constraint, we judge to be a problem presenting no slight difficulties.

§ 32. According to Professor Wieseler's opinion (p. 381), the passage St. John (xiii. 29) is much more for than against the synoptical account, and, although we cannot adopt his argument, we unhesitatingly adopt his conclusion. True, at a time when all Jerusalem was taken up with the festive enjoyments of the Passover, it appears in the highest degree improbable, that any one should have thought of disturbing his own social circle, or that of his neighbour, for the purpose of untimely purchases, or of distributing alms to the poor : but the disciples of Christ seem to have been of precisely the same opinion. Judas Iscariot leaving their festive board when supper was scarcely over, and apparently at their Master's command, was to them so unexplainable an occurrence, that they in vain sought a reason for it. ' That thou doest, do *quickly*. What could this mean? Could Judas have been sent to make purchases still required for the feast? or to give alms to the poor? Such is the evident sense of our passage, proving decidedly in favour of our view, provided the surmises of the disciples, though in the highest degree improbable, imply not a transgression of the law. And this is not the case. On the contrary, the buying and preparing of every article of food on the 15th Nisan was expressly permitted (Exod. xii. 16 ; Mishna, *Megilla*, i. 8), and alms were given even on the Sabbath (Mishna, *Shabb.* i. 1). Had the δειπνον in question taken place on a common week-day, the surmise of the disciples that Judas should *in the night* have been sent to *quickly* buy what was required for the feast until the commencement of which, nearly a whole day was yet to elapse, would be utterly void of reason.

§ 33. The chief difficulty, and, in Professor Wieseler's opinion, the *root* of the asserted contradiction between St. John and the synoptical writers, which now remains for us to consider, lies in the expression φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα, St. John, xviii. 28 (see note k). The learned Professor (p. 383) asserts the meaning of this expression to comprise the repasts of the lawful offerings during the whole festive week of passover ; and, in support of his opinion, he refers to Deuteronomy xvi. 2 (see the next note 14), where yet the sacrifices of the 15th Nisan are exclusively spoken of. We believe him to be in error ; but as much in error we hold to be those who contend that φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα can only apply to the paschal *lamb*.

Such is the opinion entertained by the antagonists of the Gospel-harmony, who lay a special stress upon the definite article, and assert

assert that, as זבח את החסד can be understood exclusively of the paschal lamb, so φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα must convey the same exclusive sense. But this argument appears to us to be untenable for a two-fold reason. In the first place, there are many things which may be eaten without having been killed, thus, at the very repast of the passover, unleavened bread being eaten, and even wine drank with it (Mishna, *Pesach*. x.); and in the second place, the passage, Deuteronomy xvi. 2,^p proves clearly that the expiatory sacrifice חסד comprised not only lambs, but also oxen (see also Gem., *Menach*. iii. 1; *Zevach*., vii. 2). It would, therefore, seem to us incontestable, that the form חסד אכל = φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα, firstly, refers, in its more limited sense, not alone to the paschal lamb, but to the repast of the passover; and secondly, that, in its more extended sense, its meaning is not restricted to the repast of the paschal lamb on the evening (the beginning) of the 15th Nisan, but comprises also the repasts of the offerings of oxen on the (same Jewish) day of the 15th Nisan. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that Moses instituted the passover proper, not as a festive evening, but as a feast-day, whose most prominent part was certainly the evening; but of which the latter yet formed but a part. St. John could, therefore, although the repast of the paschal lamb had already taken place, still, on the morning of the 15th Nisan, say with all propriety, and without fear of being misunderstood, καὶ αὐτοὶ (the Jews) οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ἵνα μὴ μανθῶσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα; and we fully concur, on this point, in the opinion of Professor Wieseler, though by him somewhat differently argued.

§ 34. Our expression, however, appears to us to admit of another interpretation. The Hebrew verb אכל, it is true, signifies properly 'to eat;' but in certain corresponding constructions, it assumes the meaning of the German 'halten,' and the English 'to keep;' for instance, 'eine Mahlzeit halten' (literally, *to hold a repast*) = אכל לחם (Gen. xxi. 54) = ἄρτον ἐσθίειν (φαγεῖν) (St. John vi. 23); or 'ein Fest halten' = 'to keep a feast' = אכל את המועד (2 Chron. xxx. 22) = ἐσθίειν (φαγεῖν) τὴν ἑορτήν; for instance, τοῦ πάσχα, or simply φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα. Why not? True, the LXX. render the ויאכלו את המועד of the last-quoted passage, καὶ συνετέλεσαν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων; but they also render the ויאלו לחם (Gen. xxi. 54): καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον, and thereby only prove that they avoided the, to Gentile nations, unintelligible or difficult peculiarities of the Hebrew language, and substituted for them generally intelligible expressions. The

פ וזבח חסד אלהיך צאן ובקר במקום אשר יבחר יהוה לשכן שמו

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more important inquiry here, however, is, whether, as for **אכל לחם**, the corresponding Greek form for **אכל את המועד** also, may not be *positively* traced; and we venture to answer it in the affirmative.

Let us, in the first place, compare the passage Matt. xxvi. 17-19,^a with 2 Chron. xxx. 21-22,^r and we shall find that the expressions **עשה את חג המצות** = *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, and **אכל את המועד** (= *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*), are there used in a sense and in a manner so perfectly analogous, as to render their identity, according to the usage of both languages, in the highest degree probable. This probability is still confirmed, on our considering the passage of St. Matthew by itself. When (ver. 17) the disciples ask the Lord *where* he would desire them to make the necessary preparations for him *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, and the evangelist (ver. 19) adds, that they did as they were commanded and prepared *τὸ πάσχα*; it admits of no doubt that, in either passage, the mere killing and preparing of the paschal lamb cannot be, and that, in the latter, the preparing the paschal repast is, meant; but that evidently the words of the former sentence have a still wider meaning. Were this not the case, St. Matthew would, we have every reason to assume from his writing (ver. 19), *καὶ ἡτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα*, have also (ver. 17) said, *ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι τὸ πάσχα*, avoiding the—especially in this connection—superfluous term *φαγεῖν*. Besides, we may naturally infer that on the morning preceding the passover, the disciples of Christ, far from anticipating the approaching death of their master, asked not for his commands merely for the beginning of, but for the entire passover-day. For these reasons, it appears to us, therefore, more than probable that the expression *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* (ver. 17) is to be taken in the sense of ‘to keep the passover.’

The preceding argument, however, is but intended to serve as a support to the positive proof which follows, and which in itself is of a character to exclude every reasonable objection, inasmuch as the meaning of the Greek form *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα* = ‘to keep the passover,’ is subject to not even the shadow of a doubt. *We find, namely, instead of the expression* *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, *St. Matthew*

^a Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁγίων προσήλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες αὐτῷ, Ποῦ θέλεις ἐτοιμάσωμέν σοι φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἔπαγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὸν δέσποτα, καὶ εἰπατε αὐτῷ, Ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει, Ὁ καιρὸς μου ἐγγύς ἐστι πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου. Καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ ὡς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἡτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα.

ויעשו בני ישראל הנמצאים בירושלים את חג המצות שבעת ימים בשמחה גדולה ומהללים ליהוה יום ביום הלויים והכהנים בכלו עו ליהוה וידבר יחזקיהו על לב כל הלויים המשבילים שכל טוב ליהוה ויאכלו את המועד שבעת הימים מובחים ובחי שלמים וסודרים ליהוה אלהי אבותיהם :

xxvi. 18 (see note q), in the parallel passages, St. Mark xiv. 14* and St. Luke xxii. 11, the expression φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα used; the identity of both forms being thereby positively proved.

§ 35. We have, consequently, ample reason for interpreting the φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα (St. John xviii. 28) in the sense just stated. Accordingly the Jews 'went not into the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might keep the Passover;' and every doubt, whether the expression be thus reconcilable with the harmony of the Gospel narrative must disappear. Nor could, as the antagonists of that harmony assert, the exclusive object of the Jews be to keep themselves undefiled for the paschal repast on the evening of the 15th Nisan: the law imposed on them yet many other duties to be discharged on the (same Jewish) day. But, independently of this, would not the mere consideration of the social enjoyments which that day presented, have made them anxiously avoid any transgression of the law, in consequence whereof they would have had to renounce those enjoyments? A Christian father, or any member of his family, would hardly, on Christmas-day, absent himself from his social-board, without the most urgent necessity.

But in our case, such considerations on the part of the Jews could not well exist, except on the morning of the feast itself, because on the preceding morning there was, at all events, the possibility of their again purifying themselves in time for the Passover; the entering a Gentile house we have every reason to believe upon the authority of Maimonides, fully supported by Judith (xii. 1-10), being one of those defilements which lasted only until sunset, and were washed off by a simple bath. Still, on Passover-eve, it certainly could not but be an obstacle of sufficient consequence to be most anxiously avoided.

§ 36. It has further been urged against the synoptical narrative that, because Simon the Cyrenean, who, according to St. Mark (xv. 21) and St. Luke (xxiii. 26) was compelled to bear, part of the way, the cross of our Lord, was just then returning from the fields (or, as some suppose, from labouring in the fields), it is evident the crucifixion must have taken place on a common week-day. Thus it not unfrequently happens; the main point of a case is overlooked, and a secondary incident laid hold of. Simon—was compelled to bear the cross after Jesus. What right had the Jews to compel him? Why was he compelled? Because, tired him-

* Καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἁζύμων, ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθνον, λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, Πού θέλεις ἀπελθόντες ἐτοιμάσωμεν ἵνα φάγῃς τὸ πάσχα . . . καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Ἵπαγετε εἰς τὴν πόλιν . . . καὶ . . . εἰπατε τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ, Ὅτι ὁ διδάσκαλος λέγει, Πού ἐστὶ τὸ κατάλυμα, ὅπου τὸ πάσχα μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου φάγω . . . Καὶ ἐξῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἠτοίμασαν τὸ πάσχα.—Mark iv. 12-16.

self, he had, whether for pleasure's or duty's sake, taken a long walk? or because, on account of the approaching feast, he had worked hard in the fields to finish his task previously to its commencement? Most assuredly not; but because he had done the one or the other *on a feast-day*, thereby rendering himself culpable of a transgression of the law. On a common week-day thousands of Jews, had it but been to hasten the eagerly desired spectacle, would have readily undertaken what on a feast-day even the poorest of them refused to do. Then the crowd, accompanying the Lord, is met by *an already defiled* transgressor of the law, and upon *him* they *force* the further unlawful task. For the rest it is not necessary to assume that Simon had been labouring in the fields: he might only have exceeded the Sabbath-day's journey (Acts i. 12; Gem. *Eruv.* iv. 42). Under all circumstances the incident itself speaks decidedly in favour of the harmonistic view.

§ 37. The last objection against this view, which we shall notice, is, that the Talmud expressly states, firstly, that no judgment was delivered on feast-days; and secondly, that no person assisting at the passing of a sentence of death by the Synedrium, was allowed to take any food whatever during the remainder of the day. We are far from wishing to throw a doubt upon the testimony of the Talmud on such a point; but it ought to be shown, in the first place, that at the time of our Lord's death, the Jewish Synedrim possessed the *power* to pass a sentence of death on Jesus; and in the second place, that it actually *did* pass that sentence.

Independently of other circumstances, it is an undoubted fact, that at the period in question, the provinces of Judea and Samaria were subject to the *immediate* government of the Romans. Jesus, being born in Bethlehem, could, therefore, legally be judged only by *the Roman procurator*. True, when the Jews, in answer to one of Pilate's questions, represented our Lord to be a Galilean, Pilate sent him to Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of the latter province; but the Jewish *prince*, repelling the lie, sent Jesus back to his *lawful* judge.

According to the Evangelists also, our Lord was not even taken before the Jewish Synedrim, probably *because* of the very reason that no sitting took place on Passover-day. On the contrary, he is first drawn to the *private* dwelling of Annas, and thence to the *private* dwelling of the high-priest Caiaphas. Here the synedrists and elders certainly assemble, and thus constitute a kind of tribunal, which, though in the synoptical accounts actually styled *συνέδριον*, was yet, in reality, nothing else than a private tribunal of *synedrists and others*, which neither possessed the power of the publicly and legally assembled Synedrim, nor was subject to its rules.

rules. For this reason too, the same synedrists, who, according to Professor Wieseler (p. 401 seq.), and the prevailing erroneous opinion, had, in their character of Christ's lawful judges, *already passed their sentence of death upon him*, and merely proceeded to the Roman procurator, to submit the same to the latter for his *confirmation*, appear before Pilate, suddenly transformed into *simple accusers*, holding our Lord, certainly according to *their law*, *deserving of death*; but in answer to Pilate's charge—'Take him then, and judge him according to your law!' (he was, consequently, *not* as yet judged according to that law), replying, 'You know we want the power to sentence him to death'—'in order,' St. John adds, 'that the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die;' for the Jewish mode of punishment in the case of Christ was *stoning*, the *Romans* alone crucified. Had Jesus, therefore, been put to death upon a *Jewish* sentence, merely confirmed by the Roman procurator, he ought to have been stoned; and, actually, the Jewish tradition, though in contradiction with other parts of the Talmud, relates that our Lord, after vainly endeavouring for the space of forty days, and by the instrumentality of a public herald, to find a defender, *was* sentenced, and as a matter of course on the *fourteenth* Nisan, sentenced by the Sandedrim, *stoned* and thereupon hanged (Gem. *Sanhed.* vi. 2). Here there is but one way open for us; we must choose between the Gospel and the Talmud—between the contemporary narrative of St. John, simple, clear, and convincing, and fully supported by the testimony of profane history; and the Jewish tradition, collected several hundred years later, in contradiction with itself, and bearing the imprint of fiction upon its very face.

§ 38. The two latter questions do not, strictly speaking, come within the range of our present inquiry (and for which reason we have contented ourselves to point out their most prominent features), inasmuch as our aim was to prove, not the historical credibility, but the *harmony* of the Gospel narratives regarding the day of our Lord's crucifixion, with a view to the immediate object of our investigation, and in order to confirm its result. In how far this result may be calculated to assist in finally solving the great problem alluded to in the introduction to this article, we must leave for the judgment of our learned readers to decide.

G H

RECENT APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

1. *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy*, in three books. I. *On the Covenants*. II. *An Exposition of the Visions of the Prophet Daniel*. III. *An Exposition of the Revelation of St. John, &c.* By SAMUEL LEE, D.D., late Regius Professor of Hebrew, &c. &c. &c., Cambridge, 1849. 8vo. pp. cxxvi. 509.
2. *Lectures on the Revelation*. By the Rev. WILLIAM RAMSAY, Crief. With a Diagram of the scheme of the Prophecy. 8vo. pp. 499. Edinburgh, 1849.
3. *The Apocalypse Interpreted in the light of 'The Day of the Lord.'* By the Rev. JAMES KELLY, M.A., Minister of St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel, Queen's Square, St. James's Park. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 426. London, 1849.
4. *Lectures on Prophecy*. By Rev. JAMES KELLY, M.A., &c. Third edition. London, 1848.
5. *Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial?* By the Rev. DAVID BROWN, A.M., St. James Free Church, Glasgow. Second edition, with large additions. Post 8vo. pp. 499. Edinburgh, 1849.
6. *The Spiritual Reign: An Essay on the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*. By CLEMENS. Second edition. Revised and Enlarged. 12mo. pp. 206. London, 1849.
7. *The Harmony of the Apocalypse with other Prophecies of Holy Scripture, with Notes, &c.* By the Rev. WILLIAM HENRY HOARE, A.M., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Royal 8vo. pp. 227. London, 1848.
8. *The Opening of the Sealed Book in the Apocalypse, shown to be a symbol of a future republication of the Old Testament*. By RICHARD NEWTON ADAMS, D.D., Lady Margaret's Preacher in the University of Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 230. Cambridge, 1838.
9. *Notes forming a Brief Interpretation of the Apocalypse intended to be read in connection with the 'Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Ezra, and St. John.'* By JAMES HATLEY FRERE, Esq., originally communicated by the author, and now published by permission. 8vo. pp. 163. London, 1850.
10. *Die Offenbarung des Heiligen Johannes, für solche die in der Schrift forschen erläutert*. Von E. W. HENGSTENBERG. Erster Band. Berlin, 1849.

PASSING by the minor and less important diversities of interpretation which characterize the different prophetic systems of the present

present day—they may all be classed under three distinct heads. 1, That which advocates the *past*—2, the *continuous*—3, the *future* fulfilment of the prophecies of the Apocalypse. The first class of commentators suppose, that the events foretold in the sixth and following chapters of the Apocalypse received their fulfilment in the first three centuries after Christ, ending with the establishment of Christianity under Constantine. Among these may be named Grotius, Hammond, Bossuet, Professor Lee, and Eichhorn, and many of the German commentators. By some of this class the prophecy is confined to the Jewish war and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Wetstein, Herder, and many of the German school of theology, belong here. Moses Stuart, in his recent elaborate and learned commentary on the Apocalypse, advocates the past accomplishment of the prophecies of the Revelation, in 1st, the fall of Jerusalem; 2, the overthrow of the Pagan empire of Rome. But he thinks the overthrow of Gog and Magog (ch. xx.) still future.

The *second* class, whom we may call the Orthodox Commentators—as comprising, until very recently, the great body of Protestant expositors of prophecy—consists of those who make the seals, trumpets, and vials, as well indeed as the intermediate visions applicable to the whole period, reaching from the time of Christ to the end of the world, and regard the millennium as denoting a thousand years of purity and blessedness yet to come. Mede, Brightman, Sir Isaac Newton, Vitringa, Lowman, Daubuz, Hales, Bishop Newton, Archdeacon Woodhouse, Faber, Cunningham, Townsend, Frere, Bickersteth, Elliott, and a host of other distinguished commentators belong to this class. The Reformers too advocated, as a body, this theory of interpretation.

The third class embraces all who contend that *all* the Apocalypse from chapter six to the end is to be referred to a period still future. These writers are usually styled Futurists. This is the scheme of interpretation advocated by Roman Catholic writers, Tractarians, and singular enough the Plymouth brethren. Burgh, Dr. Todd, Maitland, and Benj. Newton, of Plymouth, are the principal English writers on this side of the question. It is also advocated in *Tracts for the Times*, No. 83.

In the list of works on Apocalyptic literature at the head of this article, are included expositions of all of the diversified theories of prophetic interpretation just adverted to. The elaborate and bulky work of Dr. Lee, the well-known Hebrew lexicographer, first demands our notice. Most of our readers are aware that the theory of prophecy advocated by the learned Professor differs fundamentally from those generally prevalent in this country. He considers that the prophecies of Daniel, as well as those

those of the Apocalypse, received their accomplishment during the first three centuries after Christ. Even the period of a thousand years of millennial purity and bliss predicted in chapter **xx.** of the Revelations is not excepted.

When we took up Dr. Lee's work, we knew something of the theory advocated by the Professor, and were very curious to know in what particular events in the early Christian age he placed the accomplishment of the Apocalyptic visions. The predictions of that sublime book are so extraordinary—so various—so precise, and, in several instances, so awful, that we confess we were altogether at a loss to imagine what occurrences in the ante-Nicene age could possibly fulfil, in any tolerable manner, the required conditions. Great indeed was our disappointment on perusing, for this purpose, the pages of Dr. Lee's volume. Instead of finding—as is usual in the works of commentators who regard the book as already, for the most part, accomplished—certain specific events pointed out as the fulfilment of each seal, trumpet, and vial :—in this bulky volume, all is vague and indistinct. He states generally that the visions of the Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, refer to the judgments inflicted on the Jews and in part the Gentiles, soon after the death of Christ ; but beyond this we find little or nothing stated. He has formed too the strange opinion, that the seven seals, the seven trumpets, and the seven vials—widely different as ordinary readers would regard them—refer to the same subjects, the same periods, and, in short, denote the same judgments. We thought this a most unwarranted plan of interpretation—narrowing as it does, to a degree altogether unprecedented, the import of the Apocalyptic visions—and confounding together the most contrary symbols. But still worse remained behind. Even seven different events are too many it would seem to be denoted by the seals, trumpets, and vials. Accordingly, the learned Professor—when he is at a loss for *another* event to which to point as the accomplishment of either of these symbols—does not scruple to represent a succeeding seal, trumpet, or vial, as simply a continuation of the judgment foretold in the preceding one. By this unpardonable licence we have the whole of the seals, trumpets, and vials, with all their widely diversified and marvellous imagery—frittered away so as to signify nothing more than—certain periods of famine, war, and pestilence !

Such of our readers as have not perused the work itself will naturally wonder how Dr. Lee could extend it to some hundreds of pages, without entering somewhat minutely into the particulars of its accomplishment. But this is easily explained. It is the practice of the learned author, when he enunciates a fresh clause of a prophecy, to quote almost every passage in the Scripture in which any of the principal words of the passage in question happen
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to occur, with, frequently, the context also. Now, to say nothing of the excessive tediousness of this plan, the effect of it is twofold. *First*, it enables the author to write a vast deal on almost any statement of the Apostle, without saying anything to the purpose. And, *secondly*, it so bewilders the reader's mind—this incessant citation of Scripture passages—many lengthy, and having no connection whatever with the subject, except a verbal one—that all knowledge of the original topic of investigation speedily vanishes away.

After what we have said in reference to the peculiar theory of Professor Lee, we need scarcely add, that the book abounds with unnatural and far-fetched interpretations. To enumerate these would be to quote a large portion of the volume. But there are some so palpably absurd, that to mention them is sufficient we conceive to satisfy any impartial reader of the incorrectness of the theory of Dr. Lee. The strange hypothesis that Domitian, the Roman emperor, was the wilful king of Daniel, forces him to interpret the language, 'and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour,' &c. (Dan. xi. 38), as denoting that he would cause his own images to be placed in the temples for worship, as though it were possible for a man to *worship himself*! In another passage of that prophet's writings, when interpreting the prophecy of the 'King of the South' and the 'King of the North' (ch. xi. 40), not finding it suit his theory to make them, as every other commentator does, two different individuals, he very complacently cuts the knot and represents them as one and the same. Once more, Daniel in chapter xii. 1, says, 'At that time shall Michael . . . stand up,' &c., i. e. clearly at, or about, the same period of time, as the events related in the foregoing verse, viz. the destruction of anti-Christ. This did not, however, suit the Professor's theory, and he therefore understands by the words '*at that time*,' a period two hundred and fifty years before!

But the most monstrous and glaring absurdities of this learned commentator are those which relate to the great prophetic periods. These, which may be termed the *landmarks* of prophecy, are disposed of in the most summary manner, just as the author thinks fit. For example, in discussing Daniel's vision of the He-Goat, in which in answer to the inquiry—'How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation,' &c., it is replied, 'Unto two thousand three hundred days, then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.' Dr. Lee simply says, 'These two thousand three hundred days denote an *indefinite* period of considerable length.' Still worse is the author's notion about the thousand years of millennial purity and blessedness mentioned in Rev. xx. 1-4. This period also denotes, according to Dr. Lee,

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'an indefinite period which cannot exceed the end of Daniel's last week'—by which he means the period of the destruction of Jerusalem! Surely one who can understand the language 'a thousand years,' as denoting the insignificant period reaching from the time of Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem—about half a century—is utterly unworthy of the office he has taken upon himself—to expound the prophecies of the Word of God.

Mr. Ramsay of Crieff, in his 'Lectures on the Revelation,' adopts the theory of the accomplishment of the Apocalyptic visions in the rise and prevalence of the Papal apostacy—but, like Mr. Jones and some others, is unwilling to restrict the import of '*The Beast*' to Rome. As this is the distinguishing characteristic of Mr. Ramsay's book, and lies at the bottom of most of the peculiar interpretations which it contains, we give the following extract as illustrating the author's theory:—

'But there is one mistake common to almost all preceding commentators, a mistake under which some intelligent expositors labour in the present day, viz. restricting the anti-Christian system to the Church of Rome, or the Papal kingdom. True indeed, it was in that kingdom, that anti-Christ arose, and that he arrived at the height of his power; and perhaps it is still there that the greater portion of the carcass of the *beast* is still to be found. But there is abundance of convincing evidence that his monstrous size has outgrown the boundaries of the Romish Church. These writhings and quiverings, sent to his very extremities by the burning contents of the vials of God's wrath, which are being poured out upon his carcass, are discovering where his limbs are, and are plainly showing that they have been stretched out into churches and societies where our forefathers little expected. Even in the occasional ostentation and external display of *dissenting churches*, there may be heard the echo of that voice which proceeds from the "mouth speaking great things;" and in the attempts sometimes made to dictate and to lord it over God's heritage, there may be seen the side glances of that "look that is more stout than his fellows." Restricting the anti-Christian system to the Papal kingdom is a mistake which has embarrassed the minds of the most intelligent commentators.'—*Pref.* p. vii.

Such is the theory advocated in this—the most recent of the Commentaries on the Apocalypse which have come under our notice—if we except those which are in course of publication. Accordingly, when he comes to chapter xiii., which details the origin and history of the two *beasts* our author puts forth the strange notion, that the first *beast* is 'The Romish Ecclesiastical Establishment'—the second 'The Protestant Ecclesiastical Establishments of Europe!'

Whilst fully admitting the truth of Mr. Ramsay's statements respecting the existence of many of the attributes of anti-Christ in
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other communities than that of Rome, we think that there can be no doubt that the Apocalyptic symbol, *Babylon the great*, or, as she is elsewhere styled, *the false prophet*; and in chapter xiii. *the beast with two horns like a lamb*, denotes some one individual organized society, and, as we believe, the Church of Rome.

The Apocalypse itself supplies us with so many convincing proofs of the absurdity of the theory advocated by Mr. Ramsay, that we apprehend but few who read the work will give it their adherence. Indeed, were it not for the sacredness of the subject, it would be quite amusing to see the odd shifts to which the author is put in order to explain, in any tolerable manner, the language of prophecy. The palpable inconsistency of the theory is strikingly discernible in the interpretation of chap. xiii. 12—‘And (the second beast) causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast.’ Now this prediction is plain enough according to the generally received opinion—that the first *beast* is the secular Roman empire, and the second the Popish hierarchy—for who does not know how close and constant is the alliance between civil and spiritual despotism? All history indeed teaches that the Church, from almost the first ages, has uniformly encouraged and defended the Crown in its usurpations and oppressions!

But where shall we search for the accomplishment of this prophecy—according to Mr. Ramsay’s theory? To what period in the past history of Europe shall we look for the fact that Protestantism has exerted its influence in order to persuade mankind to regard with veneration its rival, Romanism? On the contrary, has not the one ever proved the bitter enemy of the other? Here then we find the theory of Mr. Ramsay wholly at variance with actual fact.

Another monstrous absurdity into which the peculiar theory of Mr. Ramsay has led him, occurs in connection with the vision related in chap. xvii. of the Apocalypse. The reader will remember, that in this graphic picture the apostate Church is, with wondrous skill, represented as seated upon the *beast*—the symbol of the temporal power; and whatever diversity of opinion may exist on this subject, all must allow that on this hypothesis the vision admits of an easy and natural interpretation—the State, throughout the kingdoms of Europe, for many centuries upheld the Papacy; and thus enabled that monstrous power eventually to ‘exalt himself and magnify himself above every god.’

In no part of his Commentary does Mr. Ramsay betray a more lamentable confusion of ideas than in attempting to explain this vision in accordance with his own theory.

‘A difficulty,’ he observes, ‘seems to occur here regarding this
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beast and the woman sitting on it. If the ten-horned beast of the sea is the figure of *the establishment of Popery*, it may be asked, how is it represented here as the beast that carries the woman, who is the symbol of *State Churches*? In order to understand this it is necessary to attend to the following things. In chap. xiii. we have a view of the different parts of the system of the civil establishment of the church, or of that monstrous and tyrannical power that was produced by the Church and State connection. In the one beast we had the symbol of the civil establishment of Christianity in the form of Popery; in the other we had the same thing in the form of Protestantism; but here we have also the woman, the Church herself as established, sitting upon this monstrous power. Formerly we had the *civil establishment* of the Church, or that civil and ecclesiastical power blended together, which forms *the beast*; but here we have, along with this, the Church herself, corrupted, bloated, and drunken, by having her seat there.'—p. 389.

A more confused jumble of ideas we never read. *The beast* upon which the woman sits is 'the *civil and ecclesiastical* power,' and the woman herself is 'the Church herself,' i. e., the ecclesiastical power: in other words, the *civil and ecclesiastical* power uphold jointly a perfectly distinct power (for such the power manifestly is) which after all turns out to be one of the two identical powers by which she is upheld! Such are the absurdities to which any false theory of interpretation will betray a commentator as he proceeds in his interpretation of this remarkable book!

Mr. Ramsay appears to have become so deeply impressed with the evils arising from the connection of Church and State, that he can think of nothing else. On all occasions he sees this form of evil predicted in the symbols of the Apocalypse; even the 'war in heaven,' in which Michael and his angels contended with the Devil and his angels, is by this commentator tortured into a prophecy of the great controversy agitated in the present day under the auspices of the Anti-State Church Society. Fortunately, however, the immediate context supplies us with the best answer to this crude hypothesis. The 'war in heaven' takes place *before* the 'woman' flies into the wilderness: vers. 13, 14. But, as Mr. Ramsay himself admits, this flight took place many centuries ago. It is plain then, the *present* controversy about Church and State cannot be denoted by the war which is said to have occurred *previous* to this flight.

We might point out many similar absurdities, but our limits will not allow us to enlarge on this subject. It is abundantly evident, from the most cursory inspection of the book, that its distinguishing peculiarity—the excessive prominence given to Anti-State-Church principles—is the source of the monstrous absurdities and ridiculous incongruities which disfigure this, in other respects, sensible and well-written book. The most conclusive proof, per-

haps, that can be adduced in opposition to the peculiar notion of Mr. Ramsay, viz., that the Anti-Christian power termed the beast, the false prophet, the whore, etc., does not signify *exclusively* the Romish Church, is a passage in chap. xvii.: 'And upon her forehead was a name written, "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth;"' (ver. 5). The fact that the 'whore' is here styled the *mother* of harlots, shows that she has *daughters*, who resemble herself; and where can we look for these but to the corrupt hierarchies of Europe? We cannot therefore consent that the *mother* of harlots should be confounded with the younger and less corrupt *daughters* which have sprung from her, since the Spirit obviously distinguishes *these* from 'Babylon the Great' herself.

The work entitled 'The Apocalypse interpreted in the Light of the Day of the Lord,' is the first volume of a Commentary at present publishing in monthly numbers, by the Rev. T. Kelly, A.M., minister of St. Peter's Episcopal Chapel: London. The theory on which Mr. Kelly's novel exposition of this mysterious book proceeds is, that the phrase '*The Lord's Day*,' i. e., the first day of the week, ought to be translated 'the day of the Lord;' i. e., the day in which the Lord will hereafter manifest himself in judgment. Hence Mr. Kelly infers that the passage where it occurs, Rev. i. 9, 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,' ought to be translated thus, 'I was (present) in spirit in the day of the Lord,' or 'carried forward in vision to that great period when the Lord shall be revealed from heaven.' It naturally follows that the whole of the Apocalypse is as yet unfulfilled, and that its accomplishment is reserved for that period in which a *personal* Antichrist shall stand up, when the whole book will receive its fulfilment in a period of three and a half literal years.

Now we presume every Greek scholar will at once admit that the very foundation of this extravagant theory is an egregious blunder. Were the meaning as Mr. Kelly pretends—'the day of the Lord,'—the Greek would be ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου. (See 1 Cor. i. 8, and v. 5; 2 Cor. i. 14.) But the phrase here employed is—ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ—which does not occur elsewhere in Scripture; but the Greek Fathers, who, we presume, understood their native tongue better than Mr. Kelly, use this phrase, and always in the same sense as our translators understood it—*The Lord's Day*—the first day of the week. The Latin Fathers also use a precisely equivalent expression, with the same meaning—*Dies Dominicus*—'the Lord's Day.'

It is thus apparent that ignorance of the original language has led Mr. Kelly into a grievous mistake at the very outset; and, what is worse, upon this mistake his whole theory is founded. Another

Another equally gross blunder occurs in his remarks upon chap. i. 9—‘I was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.’

‘The popular view derived from this,’ says Mr. Kelly, ‘is that John was banished to Patmos on account of his preaching “the word of God,” etc. But, on a comparison of this with the second verse, an entirely different proposition is represented to us. For there the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ consist of the things which John saw; and how could he be banished to Patmos because of the things which he saw in Patmos? The simple truth is that he was in Patmos *in order to receive* “the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ,”—even this very REVELATION.’—p. 30.

Doubtless all this sounds very fine to mere English readers; but this gentleman at least ought to know that the Greek cannot possibly bear the meaning here put upon it. The preposition *δια* never has the prospective sense which it is made to take in Mr. Kelly’s translation. It never bears the signification ‘*in order to*.’

We are aware that there are two or three instances in which our translators have so rendered it, but—as a moment’s examination will satisfy any Greek scholar—incorrectly. For instance, ‘The Sabbath was made *for* man, and not man *for* the Sabbath,’ where the word occurs twice (*δια τον ανθρωπον, δια το Σάββατον*). But here the exact force of the word has not been given by our translators. It evidently means ‘in consequence of;’—‘the sabbath was made *in consequence of* man, not man *in consequence of* the sabbath.’ We refer to Winer’s and Kuhner’s Greek grammars in proof of what we have said as to the meaning of the preposition. Moses Stuart also says—‘There is not a passage in the New Testament which will fairly maintain the other sense of *δια*;’ i. e., the prospective sense. (Moses Stuart’s *Greek Grammar of New Testament*.) We repeat then, that the Apostle could not mean that he was in the isle of Patmos *in order to receive* a revelation from the Lord; but that, on the contrary, the language means precisely what it does in chap. vi. 9: ‘Slain *for the word of God and for the testimony* which they held;’ i. e., the testimony of Jesus; and chap. xx. 4, ‘Beheaded *for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God*.’

As a necessary consequence of his peculiar theory, Mr. Kelly, incredible as it may appear, believes that the Seven Churches of Asia, to which John was commanded to send seven several epistles, have not yet come into existence, but will be found on the earth at the future period styled ‘the day of the Lord!’ How the Apostle, after having been dead about two thousand years, will then send these epistles to the churches, he does not condescend to inform us. Strange to say, our author again rests his peculiar hypothesis

about these seven churches on a blunder. In the expression—‘To the seven churches which *are* in Asia,’ the substantive verb is wanting in the original; and Mr. Kelly absurdly argues from this, that these churches were not in existence when the Apostle wrote. The ignorance of the Greek idiom which he here displays, a schoolboy might well be ashamed of.

So extravagant a theory as that advocated by Mr. Kelly can scarcely require further notice. It is indeed a painful thing to see a really devout and earnest man, like him, wasting his energies in attempting to prove the absurd and ridiculous notions with which the work abounds. Among other wild fancies we are gravely told, that Babylon is to be rebuilt, in order that chap. xviii. of the Apocalypse may be literally fulfilled. That Satan too will hereafter be actually cast out of heaven, according to chap. xii. 9. For although Peter says that ‘God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment’ (2 Pet. ii. 4)—that statement ‘refers to another band of wicked spirits that were cast out,’ since ‘Satan is still in heaven’!

The next work on our list introduces to us a subject which in the present day commands a very large and increasing share of attention—*Christ’s Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial?* By the Rev. David Brown, M.A. This book is, beyond all comparison, the best book which has yet been written on the post-millennarian side of the question. It is clear, well arranged, able and comprehensive. This second edition too is much enlarged and greatly improved. Indeed it leaves nothing to be desired, we think, by those who agree in the opinion advocated by the author: That Christ will not personally return to this earth—until after the thousand years of Millennial blessedness are expired.

We took up Mr. Brown’s work with the sincere desire to get at the truth on this deeply interesting and important subject. Living as the church confessedly now does—at least not far from the ‘time of the end,’ it is indeed a stirring inquiry to the believer:—will the Lord—in the course of a few years, come again and raise my sleeping body from the grave—or must a period of ten or eleven hundred years intervene? We were indeed very solicitous to hear what a work of which we had heard such high opinions expressed, could urge against the pre-millennial argument. The result has been to confirm us in the opinion which we had previously been led to adopt, in opposition to all our pre-conceived notions—that the Lord will come again *before* the Millennium and reign in person on the earth with his risen saints over the nations—though entirely separated from them—during a period of one thousand years.

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We will now attempt to give the reader some account of the work of Mr. Brown—and point out how entirely in our opinion he has failed in the attempt to disprove the evidence usually adduced in favour of this opinion.

The book is divided into two parts—the first of which treats of the advent of Christ; the second, the Millennium. In the former, occur two or three chapters of introductory matter, in the course of which much excellent matter is brought before the reader—on the subject of the duty, privilege, and importance of looking, waiting and watching for Christ's advent.—Having brought his preliminary inquiry to a close,—the author in chap. iv. commences the strictly argumentative part of the subject. The particular points to be proved are separately stated in the form of distinct propositions—and by attempting successively to establish their truth, the author labours to develop a strong cumulative argument against the doctrine that Christ will come again to this earth before the commencement of the Millennial period.

The first proposition advanced by Mr. Brown is as follows:—*'The Church will be absolutely complete at Christ's coming.'* There can certainly be no doubt that the Scriptures do speak as if such would be the case, in many places; but we think, without doing violence to such passages, they may be understood as referring to that part of the Church which will be pre-millennial. Even supposing that the vast majority of mankind, during the thousand years, will be righteous—the mighty changes which will precede that era, and the vastly different character of the coming dispensation fully justify, in our opinion, the practice of the Apostles, in speaking of believers down to the second advent, as *'the Church,'* although far greater multitudes will believe in Christ subsequently.

Mr. Brown's second proposition that *'Christ's second coming will exhaust the object of the Scriptures,'* is we think quite a gratuitous assumption. The Pentateuch holds much the same relation to the Church in the present day, that the Scriptures, as a whole, will to Millennial saints. There is, confessedly, a vast deal in the books of Moses which was of temporary and local obligation, yet how much that is instructive and edifying do we find in those divine records of the past. In the same way it is manifest to us, that the whole Scriptures will to the inhabitants of the Millennial world prove the source of most valuable instruction; and be one of the principal means of leading onward in the divine life, those who may be nevertheless incapable of actually *experiencing* much of which the Word of God makes mention. Whilst we fully grant, then, to Mr. Brown, the entire inapplicability of the texts which he has quoted to the time of the Millennium, we think
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that the vast amount of revealed truth still left is sufficient wholly to nullify the proposition, that 'the second advent will exhaust the object of the Scriptures.'

As to the third proposition advanced in the present work,—*'That the sealing ordinances of the New Testament will disappear at Christ's second coming,'* we are strongly disposed to admit its truth; but altogether deny the inference sought to be deduced from it. We really do not think the abolition of mere outward ordinances at a time of such great spiritual advantages as the Millennium, a question of much importance. Indeed we regard it as no improbable opinion that other means of grace will be granted to the Millennial saints. In such case, who can tell whether these may not take the place of some which at present exist in the Church. The 22nd chapter of the Apocalypse may be referred to, in confirmation of such a sentiment:—*'He showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations'* (1, 2). Here are, evidently, certain new means of grace symbolically set forth; though of what kind, it is of course impossible to say. It has been supposed by the generality of commentators that this, and the previous chapter, form a description—not of Millennial—but of heavenly and eternal blessedness. Were this true we should not read of *'nations'* nor of *'kings of the earth'* (xxi. 24). Still less could these nations require *healing*.

The next proof urged by the author is,—*'That the intercession of Christ and the work of the Spirit for saving purposes will cease at the second advent.'* Mr. Brown seems here to confound two very different things. The necessity of Christ's *entering* heaven, in order to the outpouring of the Spirit—and the necessity of his *continuing* there in order to the same result. It is fully granted that it was absolutely essential, that our Lord should enter heaven, in order that the Spirit might be poured out upon men. But surely it does not hence follow—that if he leaves it—the work of the Spirit must cease. There is nothing to hinder the Redeemer from interceding on earth as well as heaven—the mere locality in which this blessed work is performed is a non-essential. If this be true, and Mr. Brown allows this to be to his opponents, although himself of a different opinion—then there is not a shadow of proof in either of the two passages which he has adduced in favour of his proposition—that 'the intercession of Christ, and the work of the Spirit, for saving purposes, will cease at the second advent.' The passages are Heb. ix. 12, 24–28; and vii. 25.

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The fifth proposition of Mr. Brown is as follows:—‘*Christ’s proper kingdom is already in being ; commencing formally on his ascension to the right hand of God, and continuing unchanged, both in character and form till the final judgment.*’

After attentively weighing what is urged under this head, we still feel that the doctrine of Scripture is on the pre-millennarian side. There is undoubtedly *a sense* in which Christ at present reigns. ‘Him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance unto Israel and the remission of sins.’ ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,’ and many other passages to the same purport may be quoted. But it is no less true that in the strict and proper sense of the words—Christ has not yet received the kingdom.—Satan is now termed ‘the god of this world :’ and the period in which our Lord will assume the sovereignty of the earth is plainly spoken of in Scripture as still future. In the xith chapter of the Revelation—at the sounding of the seventh trumpet, great voices are heard in heaven, saying, ‘The sovereignty of the world hath become our Lord’s, and his Christ’s ; and he shall reign for ever and ever,’^a clearly implying that *before* the sovereignty of the world was not His. Still more decisive is a passage in Daniel,—‘I saw in the night visions,’ says that prophet, ‘and behold one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him,’ &c. (Dan. vii. 13, 14.) The period when the kingdom is here said to be given to Christ is immediately after the destruction of the beast (11, 12), a period evidently future. We cannot, therefore, conceive how the Lord Jesus can be said in the full and proper sense of the words to be at present reigning as a king upon his throne, if at a period confessedly future this identical kingdom is to be given to him.

The sixth proposition is, that ‘*When Christ comes, the whole Church of God will be made alive at once,—the dead by resurrection, the living by transformation.*’ The chief force of this argument arises from the total silence of Scripture as to what will become of the righteous inhabitants of the earth, at the end of time, when ‘Christ shall deliver up the kingdom that God may be all in all.’ It by no means follows, however, that because God has not seen fit to reveal to us in what manner Millennial saints will exchange time for eternity, they are therefore included in the saints referred to in the passage quoted by Mr. Brown:—‘Christ the first fruits ; afterwards they that are Christ’s at his coming.’

^a So the best MSS. read. The English is that of Tregelles.

The seventh proposition—‘*All the wicked will rise from the dead at the coming of Christ,*’—brings up the important question of the *first resurrection*. Mr. Brown here notices the celebrated passage in the Philippians, ‘If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead,’ and in reply to the question naturally suggested by this text, ‘Why should the Apostle be so anxious to attain unto a general resurrection, alike certain to the righteous and the wicked?’ says—‘the simple answer is, It was not the *general* resurrection he was striving to attain unto—It was a resurrection peculiar to believers—a resurrection exclusively theirs—exclusive however, not in the *time* of it, but in its *nature*, its *accompaniments*, and its *issue*,’ p. 195. The language of the Apostle, however, cannot possibly bear this meaning. He never would have used the general expression *the resurrection*—a word which is equally applicable to that of the wicked. The absurdity of Mr. Brown’s reasoning will perhaps best appear from putting a parallel case,—Suppose, that, by command of the sovereign, all the inhabitants of an island were compelled to leave it in vessels, to be provided by the governor at some distant but fixed period;—and that all whose characters were irreproachable were to be conveyed to Great Britain, and there comfortably provided for:—whilst the bad members of society should *at the same time* be transported to some penal settlement for life—Would it not be ridiculous for one of the inhabitants when expressing his ardent hope that he might attain to the destiny of the former class—to say, ‘If I can by any means secure the departure from this island.’ The departure from the island, by the supposition, is a general thing—common to bad and good. He would only expose himself to ridicule by the use of such language. Precisely similar is the Apostles’ language; the resurrection from the dead is an event which will occur to all mankind who die before the coming of Christ, irrespective of character. It is therefore quite impossible to suppose that by the expression, ‘If by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead,’ Paul meant—*not* a resurrection which should precede the general resurrection, by more than a thousand years; but simply a peculiar kind of resurrection *at the same period* as that of the wicked.

We have here argued on the supposition that our English version gives the true force of the original; but it is well known that the Greek—as the latest critical editions give it—is somewhat peculiar. Εἴ πως καταντήσω εἰς τὴν ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν—which may be thus literally rendered:—‘If, by any means, I could obtain *that resurrection which will be from amongst the dead,*’ referring to what is elsewhere called ‘the *first* resurrection.’ (Rev. xx. 5).

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The consideration of the above passage from the Philippians leads us to notice Mr. Brown's strictures on the statements of pre-millennial writers, respecting the force of the preposition in the phrase ἀνάστασις ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. He says we find this phrase 'resurrection of the dead' (ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν) not only applied expressly to the resurrection of *both classes*; but specifically to that resurrection which is *peculiar to believers*.' This is certainly true; but the argument of pre-millennialists still remains in all its force. The resurrection of the saints is, in common with the wicked, an ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν—a resurrection of *dead ones*, and therefore the phrase is used in reference to both classes. But it is only the resurrection of the righteous that will be a resurrection FROM OUT OF the *dead ones*—and therefore the expression ἀνάστασις ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, is never used in reference to the wicked. What does Mr. Brown mean then, when he says—That the alleged distinction 'will not bear an hour's critical examination of the Greek Testament?'

Mr. Brown then notices a passage of Scripture, which appears to us the only one which has any weight on the post-millennial side of the question.—It is Dan. xii. 2. 'And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake; *some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.*' In reference to this passage we remark, 1, That unless some licence be allowed in interpreting this passage, it is as fatal to the theory of the post-millennarians as to that of the pre-millennarians. The period to which it refers is unquestionably before the millennium, for it is *at the time* that Michael stands up for the Jewish nation, and they are 'delivered every one that shall be found written in the book.' v. 1. But no post-millennarian believes that the righteous and the wicked—though, in his opinion, they rise *together*—will rise before the millennium. Some licence, then, must be allowed, or the passage is opposed to the unanimous doctrine of Scripture as understood by either party. 2. Mr. Brown's translation, '*The multitude of those,*' &c., cannot for a moment be maintained. The Hebrew is, וְרַבִּים מִיֵּשְׁרָאֵל *i. e.* 'many from amongst those that sleep.' It is impossible, therefore, that this can denote a general resurrection. 3 The whole difficulty may be, we submit, easily removed by supposing that the Angel, in conveying prophetic truth respecting so very distant an event, mentions both resurrections—that of the righteous and that of the wicked—without noticing the comparatively unimportant fact, for such it then was, that a great interval would separate the two. The all-important doctrine, that both the good and the evil would awake from the long sleep of ages, and with widely opposite and irreversible destinies, as we conceive, is here revealed by the angelic messenger. But the
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circumstance of their not rising from the dead *together* is not considered of sufficient importance to be referred to at this period. This further revelation was reserved for Him to make who is 'the resurrection and the life,' and is expressly said to have 'brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel.'

The much contested passage, Rev. xx. 4-6, is next quoted by Mr. Brown, and its strong evidence in favour of a literal resurrection of the saints before the millennium denied. After stating some 'presumptions' against its literal sense, which we do not think require our notice, he brings forward 'nine internal evidences that the millennial resurrection is not literal but figurative.' The great importance of this passage demands that we should, at least, briefly mention these.

1. 'If the "first resurrection" mean rising from the grave in *immortal* and *glorified* bodies, we do not need the assurance that "on such the second death hath no power;" or, in other words, that they shall not perish everlastingly.' To this we reply, that nothing is more common in Scripture than the repetition of the same idea in a different form.

2. 'There are but two alternatives in this prophecy—either to "have part in the first resurrection," or to be under the power of "the second death." Into which of these classes are we to put the myriads of men who are to people the earth in flesh and blood during the millennium?' The answer is obvious. It does not follow, because the raised saints are represented as possessing an immunity from 'the second death,' that, therefore, all besides are exposed to its power. Nothing can be more illogical than the reasoning of Mr. Brown in this instance.

3. 'To say that the *risen* and *glorified* Church is to live and reign with Christ for a period of a thousand years, is totally unlike the language of Scripture in every other place.' Unfortunately for Mr. Brown's argument the very same reign is, in another passage of Scripture, said to be for *ever and ever*. 'These great beasts, which are four, are four kings which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever.' Dan. vii. 17, 18. It is thus manifest, that whilst in one sense it has a limit, in its proper sense the kingdom is without end. It is *circumstantially* limited, but *essentially* eternal. Mr. Brown's objection, therefore, falls to the ground.

4. The objection here urged, viz., that whilst it is said 'the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years are finished'—instead of this taking place, it does not happen till at the end of the 'little season' which succeeds the millennium—is, in our opinion, exceedingly feeble. Who can tell but that a very
few

few years may be denoted by the 'little season'? For the mere work itself, a twelvemonth would, as appears to us, be amply sufficient. As for the *one or two centuries* which Mr. Brown considers probable, such a period is altogether ridiculous. Besides, it should be remembered, that the resurrection of the wicked is nowhere said to take place *at the conclusion of the thousand years*. All that is said is, that it does not happen till *after* the expiration of that period. The argument of post-millennarians on this point appears to us altogether futile and groundless.

The passage next adduced under this head by Mr. Brown is, 'The hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.' John v. 28, 29. This passage is very similar to the last from Daniel, but, as we conceive, of much less force. It should be remembered that it is part of our Lord's discourse with the Jews; and it is hardly likely that he would, in stating the general doctrine of a future resurrection of all men with different destinies, reveal to such persons the fact—as yet known only to the Most High—that there would be a separate period for the resurrection of each class, the righteous and the wicked. The use of the word *hour* has led many to suppose that the simultaneous resurrection of both classes is implied; but it should be remembered that the same word is used a few verses before to denote a period of about two thousand years. 'Verily, verily I say unto you, the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live.' (v. 25). Nothing then, it is evident, can be inferred from this expression. Compare also 1 John ii. 12.

Another passage—one, too, upon which very great stress is laid by Mr. Brown—is Rev. xx. 11-15, in which 'all the dead, small and great, are seen to stand before the throne.'^b Now, upon the supposition that the righteous dead are already raised—a thousand years before, as pre-millennarians believe—there is no inconsistency in the language of this text; for in that case, 'all the dead, small and great,' would obviously mean, *all the rest* of the dead. It is, indeed, argued by Mr. Brown, that the production of the book of life on this occasion proves that both righteous and wicked are present at this scene. But the negative manner in which this book is introduced renders void, in our opinion, any argument from that circumstance. The book of life is, we submit, introduced on this great occasion to confirm the decision made from the other books, by the fact of the absence of the names of the wicked

^b So the best MSS. have. See Tischendorf's *Nov. Test. Gr.* Editio secunda. Lips. 1849.

from that blessed volume. 'And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.'

5. 'The "opening of the book of life" appears to signify the manifestation of those who are written in it.' This argument we have already noticed in commenting upon the passage in which the event is recorded—Rev. xx. 12.

6. 'The omission of any declaration as to "the *sea*, *death*, and the *grave giving up the dead*" at the first resurrection, and the making such a declaration respecting the dead in verse 13, convinces me both that "the first resurrection" is *not that of the saints*, and also that "the dead," in verses 12, 13, *include all mankind*, both the saints and the ungodly.' On the contrary, we decidedly think, that the enumeration of the various places where mankind have met their death is far less important in reference to the saints, than the wicked; for, in the latter case, it teaches most strikingly the great fact, that, wherever the ungodly rest in their graves—whether in the peaceful churchyard or at the bottom of the deep—the trump of the Archangel will summon all alike to the bar of God. It is to us altogether unaccountable, supposing this to represent, as Mr. Brown argues, a general judgment of both classes, that no mention occurs either of the righteous or of the reward bestowed on such. Throughout the description, punishment is the only thing which is said to attend the judgment.

7. 'As exemption from the power of the second death is, in Rev. ii. 10, 11, made to rest upon a certain *character*; and in Rev. xx. 6, it is made to rest upon *participation in the first resurrection*, is it not reasonable to conclude that this "first resurrection" signifies a *certain character in this life*, and not the possession of bodily resurrection and glory?' We really cannot see that the inference of Mr. Brown at all follows. The language, 'Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power,' appears to us simply the natural expression of congratulation, on the part of the angel, in reference to the blessedness of these favoured individuals; together with the mention of the *ground* on which they are congratulated, they are freed from exposure to the last and greatest of all evils, THE SECOND DEATH. If the first resurrection simply means, as Mr. Brown says, a certain character in this life, then the statement of the angel amounts to this, 'Blessed and holy is he *who is among the blessed and holy*!'

8. 'It is a fatal objection to the literal sense of this prophecy, as announcing the bodily resurrection of all dead and the change of all living saints, that it is exclusively a *martyr scene*, the prophet beholding simply a *resurrection of THE SLAIN*.' We cannot
for

for a moment admit this. The prophet sees, 1. 'The souls of those who were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God.' And 2. 'Such as had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon the forehead and on the hand.' Now, if we refer to the xiiith chapter of this book we shall find that this language is expressive of all the people of God. 'And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him (*i. e.* the beast) whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb.' Hence it evidently follows that the phrase, 'Such as had not worshipped the beast,' &c., is simply one form of expression for all real believers during the times of Antichrist. Surely, then, if these rise and reign at the period of the first resurrection—and this is distinctly stated—we may naturally infer that all other saints up to that time rise with them; although John does not specifically refer to these.

9. 'The literal sense can offer no consistent explanation of the "*judgment* that was given unto" the slain martyrs.' The argument of Mr. Brown here is, that, as in Rev. vi., the souls of the martyrs are heard invoking God to '*judge and avenge* their blood on them that dwell on the earth;' therefore, *here the judgment* of it is not identical with the avenging spoken of *there*; at least takes place at the same time. But we apprehend Mr. Brown is here entirely at fault. The word '*judgment*' (κρίμα) is best explained by the corresponding passage in Dan. vii. 22: 'And judgment was given to them.' The word translated judgment here (דִּין) Gesenius renders 'the supreme tribunal.' The LXX. translate it by the word κρίμα; and there is, we think, no question that it denotes *the power of judging*. The language, 'And judgment was given to them,' therefore, instead of bearing the sense Mr. Brown endeavours to fasten upon it, evidently means both in Daniel and in the Apocalypse, 'and the power of exercising rule or judgment was bestowed upon them.'

We have dwelt at some length on Mr. Brown's internal objections to the literal sense of Rev. xx. 4, because of the great importance of this passage in the controversy; we must now very briefly notice his two remaining positive proofs of the post-millennial advent of Christ.

His 8th proposition is

'The righteous and the wicked will be judged *together*, and both at the coming of Christ.'

Several passages are here quoted in support of this assertion. The principal of these have been already noticed, with the exception of the parable of the Virgins, and of the tares and the wheat, and the judgment of all nations described in Matt. xxv. The whole of these passages, as we conceive, refer to the same period and

and describe the same events. The last cited passage, Matt. xxv., explains the rest. We fully agree with Mr. Elliott, in his *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, in regarding this as a judgment of *living* individuals. This is evident, from the expression '*all nations*.' 'Before Him shall be gathered *all nations*.' We regard it as a sublime figurative description of the great fact of a final division of mankind into two great classes at the coming of the Lord; and also of the opposite states of mind in which the righteous will receive the reward of eternal life, and the wicked the sentence of everlasting death.

The last proposition advanced by Mr. Brown is

9. '*The heavens and the earth will be dissolved by fire at the coming of Christ.*'

It is altogether impossible to enter upon this difficult question here; suffice it to say, that it is a difficulty felt not only by pre-millennialists but by their opponents. We certainly think the plain doctrine of Scripture is, that the earth and heavens will be purified by fire at the coming of Christ. (2 Pet. iii.; Is. lxxv.) We also believe that the inhabitants of the earth still in the flesh will be found here afterwards; but to state the mode by which God will effect this, is wholly impossible.

We have thus examined the first and principal part of Mr. Brown's book: the second part is devoted to the millennium. The ground of almost all the author's objections here are his unscriptural notions of the millennial state of the earth. He represents it as differing from its present state in a very much less degree than writers of the opposite side do. He explains away the vision of the binding of Satan, and thinks he will continue to tempt *individuals* during the millennium, but not *nations*!

In opposition to Mr. Brown's representations of this blessed era, we must refer to Rev. xxi. and xxii. We are aware that our author, with many other expositors, regards these chapters as referring to the final and heavenly rather than the millennial state. There are however, we conceive, insuperable objections to this view. Nothing can be plainer than the fact that there are *two distinct classes* of individuals referred to throughout these chapters.

(1.) Our first proof is as follows:—On the descent of the Holy City from Heaven a voice is heard, 'Behold the tabernacle of God is with men.' The tabernacle of God, then, is clearly identical with the Holy City. It denotes that in which God dwells. It is synonymous with 'the temple of God are ye' (2 Cor. vi. 16). This tabernacle comes down *amongst* men (ver. 3). Hence they are not the tabernacle itself. The term 'men' of itself, too, proves that they are still in the flesh.

(2.) '*The glory of God and the Lamb*' are the '*light of the city*'
itself,

itself, *i. e.* of the glorified saints (ver. 23); but the nations of the earth walk in the light of the city, *i. e.* the light which it diffuses. The one class enjoys the glory of God, the other that of the city.

(3.) The inhabitants of the earth are clearly in a state of subjection to the city. Their very *kings bring glory and honour into it* (ver. 24); compare also ver. 26. We think this language evidently expressive of homage and obedience; and since these are rendered by 'kings of the earth,' the residents in the city must be far above *these*. They are, in fact, 'kings unto God and unto Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.' Compare Ps. lxxii. 10; Isa. lx. 11, and lxvi. 12.

(4.) Similar to this is the proof arising from xxii. 3-5. 'His servants shall serve Him, . . . and they shall see His face, . . . and they shall reign for ever and ever.' How can this language apply to the nations who are said to 'bring their glory and honour to the city'? (xxi. 26). Surely these do not reign. If so, where are their subjects?

(5.) The tree of life bears *twelve manner of fruit*—in allusion probably to the *twelve gates* and the *twelve tribes* in xxi. 12. This *fruit* would therefore seem to be for the inhabitants of the city; but the leaves of the tree are expressly said to be 'for the healing of the nations,' or, as it is expressed in Ezek. xlvii. 12, '*for medicine*.' We thus see the distinction between men in the flesh and glorified saints—preserved to the very end of this sublime and glorious vision.

If these reasons be conclusive—and we have never met with any reply to them—the argument against the pre-millennial coming of Christ, which Mr. Brown, in the second part of his work, derives from the very imperfect state of millennial blessedness and purity, falls to the ground.

We will conclude our remarks on this able work, which have extended very far beyond our first intention, by simply stating that Mr. Brown has mixed up with the subject matters which we consider altogether irrelevant. For instance, the question as to the 'revival of Jewish peculiarities,' in chap. iv., in our opinion has no necessary connection with the inquiry into the period of the coming of Christ; nor does the supposed 'mixture of faith and sight during the millennium.' As a proof of this, we ourselves utterly repudiate both these notions: we believe that as 'in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek,' the necessary consequence is, that no future privileges belong to the Jews as such. Neither do we think there exists any ground for a heavenly Jerusalem hovering in the air, and an earthly Jerusalem situated under it—although these are, we know, generally believed by pre-millennarians; and we moreover are decidedly of opinion that the separation

ration between the 'beloved city' and the world without, will be such as to render any association of men in the flesh and glorified spirits no more frequent than in the time of the patriarchs, when 'some entertained angels unawares.' The passages which speak of 'bringing glory and honour *into* the city' may be translated with equal propriety '*to* the city.'

We have not space to enter upon the question of the binding of Satan during the millennium. Chapter vii., in which Mr. Brown discusses this subject, at great length, is really worthy of any German rationalist.

'*The Spiritual Reign, an Essay on the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*,' by Clemens, is an able work on the same side as Mr. Brown's, by a layman of the Church of England. Having considered the latter work at such length, it is unnecessary to occupy the reader's attention with this, especially as the arguments employed are substantially the same as those of Mr. Brown. The book is written in a very interesting style, and will well repay perusal by those who are desirous to ascertain the arguments of post-millennarians in favour of a *spiritual* reign of principles, rather than a *personal* reign of the Lord, together with his risen saints, during the thousand years.

'*The Harmony of the Apocalypse with other Portions of Holy Scripture*' is an attempt to exhibit the close analogy between that and other prophecies of Holy Scripture. 'All commentators,' says Bishop Jebb, in a passage quoted in the preface of this work, 'have observed the striking resemblance between portions of the Apocalypse, considerable both in number and extent, and the prophetic books of the Old Testament.' Mr. Hoare then adds, 'It seemed to the author that it might be of material service to the better understanding of the more difficult parts, if the resemblance here spoken of by the Bishop could be literally exhibited to the eye of the student, by introducing into the actual text such other passages of Scripture as might seem to have been in the eye of the Apostle when he wrote.' Such is the object of the compiler of this volume, and the mode in which he has sought to accomplish it is by placing in one column the text of the Apocalypse, and in another a combination of passages from various parts of Scripture, agreeing with it, in his opinion, both in form and matter, so as to constitute a kind of Scripture paraphrase to the book.

Whatever value might belong to such a work, if rightly executed, the book before us possesses so many faults, perhaps inseparable from the plan, as to be altogether useless. The knowledge and judgment required to paraphrase the Revelation, we may safely say, no man but the Apostle himself has ever possessed. To write an *Exposition* of the Apocalypse is a widely different thing.

thing. The views contained in such a work, after being well considered, can be received or rejected at pleasure; but the paraphrase before us is intended to aid the student in *forming his opinions* of this mysterious book. Any error here, therefore, must be of incalculable mischief; and as nothing short of inspiration could guard the author from mistakes, we need not say such a book is far more calculated to mislead than to assist the mind whilst attempting to discover the mysteries of the Apocalyptic visions.

The work of Dr. Adams brings before us a novel and singular interpretation of the opening of the 'book sealed with seven seals' (Rev. v. 1). He thinks that this book is the Old Testament; that it is represented as sealed, to intimate that its contents are in some way hidden from mankind; and that its unsealing will be equivalent to a new revelation. It is further the opinion of Dr. Adams, that at the destruction of Jerusalem the sacred oracles of the Jews were carried to Rome, according to the testimony of Josephus; that this constituted the sealing up of the sacred books; that they still remain sealed, being probably in the Vatican Library of Rome, in some hidden corner; that at the coming of Christ, at the commencement of the millennium, this authentic copy of the Hebrew Scriptures will be reproduced, and the most glorious effects be the natural consequence.

This most extravagant and absurd notion the author has attempted to support by a number of striking testimonies from the very ancient commentators on the Apocalypse, all of whom appear to have considered the 'sealed book' to be the Old Testament Scriptures. Still any attempt to show that this opinion is altogether untenable would be an insult to the understandings of our readers.

Mr. Hatley Frere's new work differs in many respects from the Commentaries on the Apocalypse already published. One of the most striking features of this difference is the novel opinion that the seals denote judgments upon the *Western*, the trumpets judgments upon the *Eastern* Empire. We altogether dissent from this theory, for which indeed no reasons are assigned. In fact, we think it evident that some of these symbols are not judgments at all. The first seal is so obviously a representation of the progress of the gospel in the early ages, that we marvel how such intelligent commentators as Elliott, Frere, and a host of others, can interpret it of a Roman Emperor!

Mr. Frere's interpretation of the first beast, as the civil power of Rome, and of the second as the ecclesiastical power, is, we think, the only view which suits the vision.

We cannot say the same of his exposition of chapter xiv., which we consider as very objectionable. The heading to the inter-

pretation of this sublime vision is '*Works of the Protestant Nation (i. e. Britain) during the Period of Infidelity*'! The characteristics of the saints of God in the 4th and 5th verses—'These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth; these were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits unto God and to the Lamb; and in their mouth was found no guile, for they are without fault before the throne of God'—are, strange to say, applied to the British people! although nothing can be plainer than that the individuals referred to are at the very period seen standing 'with the Lamb' 'before the throne of God.' We greatly regret that so able and pious a commentator should be so far misled as to apply such exalted language to a nation so corrupt as ours.

In expounding the vials, Mr. Frere considers them as already past, except the seventh, which began to be accomplished at the French Revolution in 1848, but it is not yet at an end. The millennial scene (xx. 4) he interprets literally; and looks forward to a personal reign of our Lord with his risen saints during a thousand years.

The '*Commentary on the Apocalypse*' by the justly celebrated Hengstenberg, as yet only reaches to chapter xii. of that book; and there is, we understand, no immediate prospect of the remainder. We shall therefore at present give only a brief outline of Hengstenberg's interpretation of the Apocalypse, reserving the discussion of his theory till we have the whole work in our hands. In the early part of this first volume we have the period of the composition of the book discussed at some length. The result is in favour of the later date. Hengstenberg decidedly thinks that it must have been written in the time of the Emperor Domitian, and at a period of persecution. There is no express reference to the destruction of Jerusalem as impending, therefore it was written subsequently to that event.

This learned commentator divides the Apocalypse into a certain number of *groups*. The first is the *group* of the seven churches. The second is the *group* of the seven seals. The third is the *group* of the seven trumpets. The fourth is the *group* of the 'three enemies of the kingdom of God,' viz., the dragon, the ten-horned beast from the sea, and the two-horned beast from the earth. The first beast he considers a symbolic representation of the mass of mankind—the God-hostile power of the world. The second beast he thinks a figurative emblem of philosophy, falsely so called.

We now come to the fifth group, which is that of the vials. The sixth is that of the special judgment of the *beasts*. All these groups are, according to Hengstenberg, not *successive*, but *complementary*, as he terms them. The one fills up what was wanting in the other,

other, but each reaches down to the end of time. The learned author does not think, as is usual with other commentators, that each vision of this mysterious book received its accomplishment in any specific event. They are rather to be interpreted *generally*, as denoting certain agencies in operation at different periods of the Church's history.

Between several of these groups, Hengstenberg places episodes, or intermediate scenes—as, for instance, that of the 7th chapter, and that of the 10th also. The group of the vials he regards as a sort of prelude to the next group—that of the 'special judgment of the enemies of God's kingdom.' Such is a brief outline of this valuable contribution to Apocalyptic literature. We look forward with no ordinary interest to the remainder of the book, on receiving which we shall be better able to give a view of the whole theory of the gifted author in reference to the book of the Revelation.—

I K

ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN SYRIA.*

THE East has been called the cradle of medical science. Under the patronage and protection of the Khalifehs of Baghdad and Egypt, various departments of knowledge were pursued with eagerness, and many arts were carried to a good degree of perfection; but particular precedence was ever given to the science of medicine, and its votaries often received the highest honours and emoluments. This high respect paid to the healing art must have arisen not only from the nature of its primary object, the relief of the various ills to which flesh is heir, but also from its intrinsic difficulties, and from the fact of its involving, to a great degree, an acquaintance with the whole circle of the sciences. Physicians were generally at the same time naturalists, metaphy-

* It has often occurred to us to want a good account of the diseases and medical practice of Syria, without which it is not easy to understand the allusions to those subjects which we find in the Scriptures. Especially as contributing to the identification of the diseases named in the Bible would such an account be of importance. It is therefore with much gratification that we found in the last Number of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1849) a valuable and interesting communication on this subject from the Rev. C. V. A. Van Dyck, M.D., missionary in Syria of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who has had such very peculiar advantages in investigating this matter as could scarcely be found combined in any other person. As the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* appears to be but little known in this country, unless to a few Oriental scholars, we are induced to render this valuable information accessible here, by giving it a place in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*. The interest of the article is much enhanced by the indications of Oriental customs and ideas which it affords.—EDITOR, J. S. L.

sicians, astrologers, and alchemists, a fact which accounts for their being called *Hukema*, wise men, their proper designation being *Tibba*, healers. Both titles continue in use, although the present 'incumbents' deserve neither the one nor the other.

The names of Avicenna, Abulcasis, Avenzoar, Averroes, and Rhazes are familiar to every medical man. The works of the latter are very rare, and are not so much valued by the present Arab physicians as those of Avicenna, whose elaborate treatises upon pathology, materia medica, theory and practice, and natural science, form the basis of oriental practice at the present day. The work of Razi, in which he notices some of the exanthemata, and prescribes treatment much the same as that now employed by our own practitioners, is thrown aside; and the most decided preference is given to the treatment based upon the theory of morbid humours as advanced by Avicenna, who drew most of his information from the works of Galen, Dioscorides, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and other ancient Greek authors.

Much has been said about Arab science in general, and high praises have been bestowed upon Arab philosophers; but I imagine that a full development of facts would show that by far the greater part of Arab science has been derived from Greek sources. The questions, how, and when, and by whom, Greek literature was introduced into the Arabic language would afford abundant matter for research to the Arabic scholar. Something may be learned on this subject from the following brief accounts of a few eminent Arab physicians, drawn mostly from Ibn Khallikan's 'Memoirs of the eminent Men of Islamism.'^b

1. Abu Hashim Ibn Yezid Ibn Mu'aweh Ibn Abi Sofyan El-Amawi. He was one of the most learned men of the Koreish, particularly in medicine and alchemy, subjects upon which he wrote several tracts. He obtained most of his information from a monk called Merjanus the Greek, and one of his tracts is devoted to an account of his transactions with this monk, mingled with snatches of poetry, some of which are in praise of his teacher. His grandfather, Abu Sofyan, was the conductor of the caravan of the Koreish which caused the battle of Bedr. He died in the 85th year of the Hegira.

2. Abu 'Abdalla Ja'far Es-Sadiq Ibn Mohammed El-Bakir Ibn 'Ali Zein El-'Abidin Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, who was born in the 80th year of the Hegira, and was surnamed Es-Sadiq in consequence of the uprightness of his character. He wrote a work on alchemy and magic, which was commented upon and enlarged in a work of 2000 pages by his disciple Abu Musa Jabir Ibn

^b A manuscript copy of this work was offered for sale at Aleppo a few years since, for sixty dollars, and was considered cheap.

Hayyan Eş-Sufi Et-Tartusi. He died in the 148th year of the Hegira, and was buried at Medina in the sepulchre of his ancestors. His mother was a descendant of Abu Bekr Eş-Siddik.

3. Abu Zeid Hunain Ibn Ishak El-'Abadi, who was one of the most distinguished physicians of his day, and familiar with the Greek language. He was the principal translator of Greek works into Arabic under the Khalifeh Harun Er-Reshid, who, in connection with his Wezir Ja'far El-Barmaki, made great exertions towards introducing the literature of Greece among the Arabs. His translation of Euclid alone would give him a deserved celebrity. He also wrote several works on medicine. His death occurred in the 260th year of the Hegira.

4. Abu Ya'kub Ishak Ibn Hunain Ibn Ishak El-'Abadi, son of Abu Zeid above mentioned. He was taught medicine and Greek by his father, whom he was in the habit of accompanying in his professional visits. He also made several translations from Greek into Arabic, and among others some of selections from Aristotle. His death was caused by a paralytic attack in the 298th or 299th year of the Hegira. The family name 'Abadi is derived from 'Abad El-Hira, a title given to several families, originally Christian, who settled in the province of El-Hira, in consequence of their allegiance to the kings of Persia. In the 17th year of the Hegira, Sa'ad Ibn Abi Wakkas destroyed El-Hira by order of 'Omar Ibn El-Kattab, and built El-Kufa in its stead.

5. Abu-l-Hasan Thabit Ibn Kurra Ibn Zehrūn Ibn Marinus Ibn Malajerius El-Harrani, the arithmetician and physician. He was born in the 221st year of the Hegira at Harran in Mesopotamia, which is said by Jarir Et-Tabari, in his history, to have been built by Harran the father of Lot. He wrote several works on medicine and philosophy, besides correcting and enlarging Euclid as left by Hunain Ibn Ishak El-'Abadi. His son Ibrahim followed in the footsteps of his father, and became one of the eminent men of his time. One of his descendants, Abu-l-Hasan Thabit, also became a noted physician and Greek scholar. He was well versed in the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, and had some reputation as a mathematician.

6. Er-Rais Abu 'Ali El-Husein Ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Sina, familiarly known as Avicenna. His father was originally from Balkh in the southern part of Grand Bokhara, whence he afterwards removed to Kharmeithen, near Bokhara the capital, where he held the office of a government agent. The subject of this notice was born at Karmeithen in the month of Šafar of the 370th year of the Hegira. His parents afterwards removed to Bokhara the capital, and the son commenced his literary career by picking up
knowledge

knowledge from various sources as he best could. At the age of ten years he had become familiar with the Koran, had acquired some knowledge of the belles-lettres of the day, and had made a laudable proficiency in casuistry, arithmetic, and algebra. About this time his father received as a guest a learned man and physician, named Abu 'Abdallah En-Nateli, under whose tuition Abu 'Ali read 'Kitab el-Eisagoge' on logic, Euclid, and the *Almagest*,^a in which he soon so far surpassed his teacher as to point out many things either unknown to him, or previously unobserved by him. En-Nateli being afterwards called to the prince Khuwarezm Shah Mamun Ibn Mohammed, Abu 'Ali continued the pursuit of physics, theology, and medicine. As a physician he soon surpassed the best practitioners of his own and former ages, so that, by the time he arrived at the age of sixteen, he learned from all parts sought his acquaintance and instruction. It is said of him, that, during this period, he rarely allowed himself the amount of sleep necessary to nature; and, whenever a difficult question presented itself, it was his custom to perform his ablutions and then proceed to the mosque and ask assistance from God. The Emir Nuḥ Ibn Naṣr Es-Samani, prince of Khorasan, being taken ill, Abu 'Ali was called to prescribe for him, and succeeded in effecting a cure. This circumstance attached him to the prince, at whose court he remained, having free access to the library, which is said to have been the most choice collection of the age. Here Abu 'Ali pursued his studies with the utmost assiduity, until he had made his own all that was valuable in the collection of books just mentioned, which, being soon after burnt, he remained sole possessor of its treasures of knowledge. It has been hinted that he was himself privy to its destruction with a view to securing the superiority he had acquired from an acquaintance with its contents.

When Abu 'Ali had arrived at the age of twenty-two, his father died, and, the Samani dynasty falling into decline, he left Bokhara, and went to Kurkanj, the capital of Khuwarezm, and entered the service of Khuwarezm Shah 'Ali Ibn Mamun Ibn Mohammed, who gave him a salary adequate to his support. He afterwards remained for a time in the service of the Emir Shems El-Mu'ali Qabus Ibn Weshemkir, prince of Tabaristan; but, upon the breaking out of the revolution by which that prince was overthrown and imprisoned, Abu 'Ali went to Dahistan, where he suffered a severe illness. He then returned to Jurjan,^c and while

^a The *Ἐισαγωγή* of Porphyry.

^d In Arabic *المعجم*; Gr., *ἡ μεγίστη*, i. e. the *Μεγὰλὴ σύνταξις* of Ptolemy.

^c The Arabic form of the name Kurkanj.

there

there wrote his work entitled '*Kitab el-Awsat El-Jurjani.*' After several removals he at last became Wezir to Shems ed-Dôlet, prince of Hamadan; but the troops of that prince becoming enraged against him, plundered his dwelling, seized his person, and demanded of the prince permission to put him to death. To avoid this he was dismissed from the service; but Shems ed-Dôlet, being soon after seized with a violent fit of colic, recalled Abu 'Ali, apologised for his former conduct, and restored him to the dignity of Wezir. Shems ed-Dôlet soon after died, and was succeeded by his son Taj ed-Dôlet. The latter dismissed Abu 'Ali, who came to Ispahan, where he received many favours from the prince 'Ala ed-Dôlet Ibn Ja'far Ibn Kakweh. During his residence at Ispahan, he was seized with a fit of colic, and treated his own case, making use of enemata as the principal means of relief, using them, it is said, to the number of eighty every day. Dysentery succeeded, by which he was very much reduced. After recovering from this attack he accompanied 'Ala ed-Dôlet on a journey, and was again seized with colic while on the road. He again resorted to enemata, and ordered his attendant to add to each one-third of a drachm of parsley.¹ By mistake, or intentionally, five drachms were added, which aggravated the disease. Some of his servants also added opium to his medicines in order to cause his death, because, having fallen under his displeasure, they feared the consequences in case of his recovery. The disease continued upon him for a considerable time, with occasional relapses and recoveries, until he accompanied Shems ed-Dôlet on a journey from Ispahan to Hamadan. He was again seized with colic on the way, and arrived at Hamadan in a state of complete exhaustion. Despairing of recovery he purified himself, gave alms, freed his Mamelukes, read the Koran through every three days, and died on a Friday during the month of Ramadhan, in the 428th year of the Hegira.

Abu 'Ali is said to have written works on various subjects, to the number of a hundred, of which I have been able to obtain only his '*Canon of Medicine,*' a tract on logic, one on physics, one on metaphysics, and a medical work in verse, in the composition of which last he has followed the desperate propensity which Arabs seem to have had for putting all their sciences into rhyme. His '*Canon of Medicine*' was printed at Rome in the year 1593, probably for the use of the medical schools of Europe. The following general outline will convey some idea of the subjects of which he treats:—

¹ The word *karafs*, or *kurfus*, is used indiscriminately for parsley, celery, and water-cress. See *Avicenna Opera*. Romæ: 1593, pp. 195.

BOOK I.

Chapter 1. Introduction—Objects of medical science—Elementary bodies—Temperaments—Humours—Anatomy of the bones—Muscles, nerves, arteries, veins—Functions, animal and mental.

Chapter 2. Nosology—Physical agents, and changes of the seasons—Etiology—Symptomatology—On the pulse—On the excrementitious secretions, and their value in diagnosis and prognosis.

Chapter 3. On the management and education of children—Their diseases and treatment—Exercise, its necessity and varieties—On shampooing—On the use of hot and cold bathing—On diet and regimen—On fatigue—On old age, and preservation of health at that time of life—Diet and exercise proper for old persons—On maintaining the equilibrium of the system—On the change of habits required by the change of the seasons—On preventives of disease, and precautions against it, particularly as regards travelling by sea or land.

Chapter 4. On the use of evacuants—Emetics—Cathartics—Hyperemesis and hypercatharsis—On enemata—Liniments and embrocations—Douches—Venesection, cupping, leeching—On tumours and opening them—On the actual cautery and means of allaying pain.

BOOK II.

Chapter 1. On the combination of medicines—Classification of remedies—Pharmaceutical preparations—Collection and preservation of medicines.

Chapter 2. Articles of the materia medica described, and their uses pointed out, arranged alphabetically.

BOOK III.

Chapter 1. Diseases of the various organs, beginning with the head, preceded by an anatomical account of each organ as treated of.

BOOK IV.

Chapter 1. On fevers and exanthemata.

Chapter 2. On crises and critical days.

Chapter 3. On phlegmonous and other tumours.

Chapter 4. Wounds—Concussions, contusions—Ulcers—Diseases of the bones.

Chapter 5. Dislocations—Fractures, simple and compound.

Chapter 6. On poisons, mineral and vegetable, and their antidotes—Stings of serpents—Hydrophobia.

Chapter 7. On the hair—Causes of baldness—Diseases of the scalp—On grey hairs and the prevention of them—On colouring the hair—On dandruff and scurf—On the complexion, what beautifies and what injures it—Cicatrices—Freckles—On the bohak, and white and black leprosy—Scurvy, itch, and other cutaneous diseases—Excrescences—Chaps—Marasmus—Obesity.

BOOK V.

Chapter 1. Pharmacy—Conserves, electuaries, ointments, &c.

Chapter 2. Tried remedies—Specifics and recipes.

The above, together with a tract on logic, one on physics, and one

one on metaphysics, form a folio volume of 1036 pages, closely printed in small type.

Others might be added to our list of eminent Arab physicians, but I fear too much has been said already which is foreign to the proper subject of this paper. Although great praise may justly be given to the Arab nation as the preservers of science, they deserve none as discoverers. Even their claims as the originators of chemistry, so long conceded, have proved unfounded, and the most that can be said in their favour is, that they made some improvements in what they derived from extraneous sources, and, by their conquests in the north of Africa and in Spain, became the means of awakening Europe from its lethargy, and of introducing into its seminaries of learning branches of science for which they were themselves indebted to Greece and India.^s Few individuals, even of the most learned and enlightened nations of the earth, cultivate science for its own sake. Honour and emolument have ever been the great stimuli to exertion and study; and the Arab race differs not from the rest of mankind in this respect. As long as such men as Harun Er-Reshid and his immediate successors continued to be the patrons of literature and honoured and rewarded its votaries, so long the Arabs continued its pursuit, and no longer. The neglect into which literary accomplishments had fallen even in the time of El-Hariri is beautifully hinted at in his forty-third *Makameh*. Besides this, Islamism in itself considered must be regarded as a desolating superstition. The same principle which led the Kalifeh 'Omar to order the burning of the Alexandrian library has since then worked the ruin of many a fair structure, and given the death-blow to many a worthy enterprise. Improvement among the Osmanli Turks began when their religion began to lose its hold upon their minds. That the science of medicine, under these pernicious influences, has not altogether shared the fate of its kindred, and been buried deep under the same wave which swept away the writings of astronomers, chemists, naturalists, and historians, must be attributed in part to its nature and object, which give it high respect even among the most barbarous tribes, and in part to those faint remembrances of the past which dimly shadow forth the celebrity and success of the old Arab physicians. Faith in the power of the medical art is thus maintained, notwithstanding ignorance and want of success on the part of its practitioners; and this faith has been strengthened by the occasional visits of educated European physicians, whose dexterity in operation and skill in managing disease have shown the capability of the science when rightly understood and applied.

^s But see Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Sabine's transl., ii. pp. 201 and ff.

It may at first sight seem inconsistent that those who believe in irrevocable fate should place confidence in preventive or remedial means. The two things are partly reconcilable by falling back upon human ignorance of what may be the fated decree in any particular case; and partly by a retreat upon the creed itself. If Zeno's slave was fated to steal, he was also fated to be whipped; and so Mohammed, when some one said, 'O prophet of God! inform me respecting charms, and the medicines which I swallow, and the shields which I make use of for protection, whether they prevent any of the orders of God,' replied, 'These are also by the order of God.'^h

Small as is the amount of medical knowledge among the Arabs, at the present day, the means of obtaining it are still more limited. Medical works, like all others, exist only in manuscript; and there are few persons who have the means of gathering around them more than two or three of the minor ones. Besides this the West has plundered the East of a large part of its literature. Many valuable works which cannot now be found at all among the Arabs, are preserved in the libraries of Europe. I have never seen or heard of a manuscript copy of Avicenna's works, and copies of the edition printed at Rome are rare and costly. A later work on materia medica and therapeutics, by Dawud El-Basir El-Anṭaki, is more common, and much esteemed; though it is little more extensive than Avicenna's work in those departments, and is founded upon it. Ibn Beitar's botanical dictionary is scarcely to be found. Minor works, apparently borrowed in part from it, are quite common, such as 'The book of what the physician may not be ignorant of,' and a *Materia Medica*, animal, mineral, and vegetable, by Mesih Ibn Yehya of Damascus. Translations from Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Paracelsus, and others, are comparatively abundant, and the possession of any one of them is sufficient to give to a man the title of Doctor.

The efforts of Mohammed 'Ali in Egypt have secured the establishment of medical institutions and hospitals, where numbers of Egyptian youth are instructed according to the principles of the French school, and European works upon the various departments of medicine, and other sciences, have been translated into Arabic and printed. It is, however, an objection to these works, that, in the process of translation, sufficient care has not been taken to search out the proper Arabic technical terms, particularly as regards the names of medicines. It is true that, in consequence of the advancement of science, many new words must necessarily be introduced into the language. But in the works alluded to

^h For a full account of this matter, see Lane's translation of the *Thousand and one Nights*, chap. i. note 5.

new words have been coined for things which have pure Arabic names; and where this is not the case, the terms are not only not rendered into Arabic, but are so much changed as not to be recognizable even to one familiar with the languages from which they are drawn, so that they remain like the olive-tree mentioned in the Koran, neither oriental nor occidental.¹ Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the profession in Egypt is far in advance of what it is any other part of the East. A very few individuals in Syria have profited by the Egyptian books, and by associating with the physicians of the army during the continuance of Mohammed 'Ali's dominion in that province. The old Emir Beshir sent several promising Syrian youth to be educated in the Egyptian schools and hospitals, some of whom are still pursuing their studies there. Those who have returned have not fulfilled the expectations formed with regard to them, except in the single instance of a young man now practising in Beirut.

Though, as has been stated, the means of acquiring an adequate knowledge of modern medical science are altogether wanting in Syria, and the ancient authors are accessible to few, yet this does not prevent any individual, high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, from setting up as a practitioner at any moment. Almost innumerable are the instances in which poor tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers, suddenly conceiving the idea of practising medicine, leave their several employments, buy a lancet, or grind an old knife-blade into the shape of one, and give themselves out as Doctors; and, strange to say, all these individuals find more or less encouragement. Incapacity to read and write forms no impediment to becoming a physician, and we find many of these vain pretenders going about, bleeding, and administering medicines, from simple coloured water to the powerful elaterium.² This state of things finds a support in the universal belief in specifics, which exists both among Mohammedans and Christians. Tradition informs us that Mohammed said, 'There is a medicine for every pain; then, when the medicine reaches the pain, it is cured by the order of God;' consequently, the poorest and most illiterate vagabond may have a specific for certain cases, and the case to which he is called may be one of those to which his remedy is adapted. The injury which may result, should not such a fortunate coincidence occur, is not taken into the account. An effort was made by an intelligent man residing in Damascus to remedy this state of things in that city. Having raised himself above the

¹ Sûrah, xxiv. v. 35.

² The *Momordica elaterium* abounds in nearly all parts of the country, and is usually given in the fresh state, and rather weak. The people are not in the habit of preparing the concentrated extract.

common level by a careful study of the modern Egyptian medical works, and acquired much from the visits of Clot Bey and other practitioners, he succeeded in organizing a Board of the most respectable physicians of Damascus, and obtained a decree from the then existing local authorities, that no man should be allowed to practise medicine in the city without a certificate from that Board, thus excluding from the exercise of the profession all such as were not possessed of some acquaintance with either ancient or modern authors. I have not learned whether this Board is still in existence or not, or whether the decree of the local government has been renewed or nullified.

As the practitioner seldom receives a fee for mere advice, it becomes his interest to do something in every case to which he may be called. Were the means usually employed of such a nature as to do no harm, in case no good resulted, this might be well enough; but in the great majority of cases blood-letting is the resort at all events; and it is oftentimes repeated at each succeeding visit until the patient dies, or gets well in spite of the efforts of his physician to kill him.^m It is common, in cases of chronic disease, for the practitioner to make a contract with the patient for a certain sum, and in case of failure in effecting a cure to receive nothing; but he generally manages to secure at least a part of the compensation in advance, upon pretence of purchasing medicines, or the like, so as to be sure of not coming off entirely empty-handed.

The theory of medicine in the East corresponds, in very nearly all points, with the old humoral pathology, its basis being the four humours, namely, blood, bile, phlegm, and black bile. To these must be added an all pervading agent denominated *rih*, wind; to which a great variety of morbid affections are referred. It acts upon any part of the system, often removes suddenly from one organ to another, and is treated with stimulating remedies. Inflammatory and febrile affections are called *nazal dam*, determination of blood, and are treated by blood-letting. A large majority of practitioners recognize only these two classes, that is, they make all diseases sthenic, or asthenic, and in practice are as good Brunonians as Brown himself could wish to see. But the difficulty is that they have no true idea of the nature of these two classes of

^m The following case occurred in Aleppo. A man came to the shop of a physician with a slightly inflamed eye; after examining it, he sprinkled in a little eye-powder, took his pay, and directed the man to call again the day following; he did so, and the operation was repeated, but the payment was forgotten. This happened several times, until one day the principal was absent from the shop, and the clerk, examining the eye, found in it a little piece of the beard of wheat, which he removed, and the cure was effected. Upon informing his master, he replied: 'O fool! do you suppose I did not know what was in his eye; you have only made us lose our fee.'

disease,

disease, which in reality are not altogether without basis; and consequently the diagnosis between them must be very liable to error. So we often see a poor fellow tossing about with griping flatulent pains in the bowels bled to the extent of a pound or two, while one who cannot bear the slightest pressure upon the abdomen is filled with cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and highly-seasoned animal food. Phlegm is supposed to arise principally from the nature of the water habitually drank, and to it are attributed coughs and diarrhoeas. Bile occasions an infinite number of ailments of various sorts. Black bile is supposed to operate principally by causing low spirits, bad temper, and sometimes mental derangement, and must be treated by travelling, cheerful society, and amusements. From the foregoing statements ignorance of the circulation of the blood will be readily detected, and the fancies of the old humouralists recognized. Every individual has a more or less perfect idea of this system, which shows itself daily to one engaged in practice among the Arabs, especially in the examination of patients. It is often with the utmost difficulty that an account of the patient's feelings and symptoms can be obtained; instead of which one is annoyed with his ideas and those of his friends, as to the nature of his complaints. One has a cold wind in his stomach; another, superabundance of bile; another, a great deal of black bile; another, phlegm; another, wind in the joints; another, a determination of blood to some part, and so on *ad infinitum*; and it is only by examining and cross-examining, with a severe trial to patience and good-humour, that a satisfactory idea of the nature of the case can be obtained. Moreover, such is the disposition to exaggerate, that liberal discount must often be made, which can be done *ad libitum* when one has gained a little experience, and all statements require to be taken *cum grano salis*. It may be as well here as elsewhere to notice a fanciful complaint to which the Arabs are subject, called **وَتْهَثَاب** *weththab*.^a It is attended with uneasy sensations, especially a feeling of weight about the præcordia, and sometimes difficult respiration, a feeling of languor, and other symptoms of fatigue or of indigestion. The cause is supposed to be a swelling of the deep dorsal muscles, between the scapulæ, and a person is employed to grasp these muscles with the hand and squeeze them to the utmost of his power, which procedure is said to afford immediate relief. So firm is the belief in this, that no confidence is placed in any other remedy, and no arguments can dispel the prejudice.

^a From the root **وَتْهَثَاب** to spring upon, to leap suddenly,—from the suddenness of its attacks.

Although all the physical agents in the production of health or disease are more or less taken into account, yet by far the greatest stress is laid upon water. In removing from one locality to another, nothing is more deprecated than a change of water. In recommending the salubrity of any situation the highest encomium which can be bestowed is to pronounce its water good. Here, as in most other cases, the old adage that 'every crow fancies its own young the whitest,' is fully verified. No man can be induced to acknowledge that the water of his own village is not preferable to that of any other. To condemn a locality with an Arab it needs only to be said that its water is bad ; but what qualities constitute good, and what bad water, is a question difficult to decide ; prejudice, more than anything else, determining opinions upon the subject. It is contended that the water of certain localities has a more powerful digestive quality than that of others ; and it is said of several places, that if a man eats a stuffed sheep, and drinks of the water, the sensation of hunger very soon returns, as if he had eaten nothing ; and that no injury results from any over-loading of the stomach, all bad consequences being prevented by the digestive quality of the water. The ideas of the present Arab physicians with regard to dietetics and hygiene, are a strange mixture of fancies and absurdities. Persons labouring under a febrile affection are scrupulously deprived of all cold drinks ; but animal broths, jellies, sweetmeats, walnuts, hazel-nuts, almonds, and such like articles, are freely allowed. Pomegranates and raw quinces^o are considered as highly beneficial in such cases, and are eagerly sought after, insomuch that in visiting a sick friend no present is considered more in place than a few pomegranates. These would probably do no injury were the seeds rejected, but to avoid swallowing them an Arab considers altogether a work of supererogation, which he is not bound to perform, especially in ill health ; consequently, the stomach is filled with a most irritating, indigestible mass, and the symptoms are almost invariably aggravated. If the patient does not eat it is supposed he must certainly die ; and so various stews, jellies, soups, and mixtures of animal and vegetable food are prepared, in order to induce a loathing stomach to receive something nourishing ; while, at the same time, unirritating articles of diet, such as sago, arrowroot, gruels, and other farinaceous preparations, are entirely unknown. The nearest approach to anything of the kind is a preparation of starch, boiled and sweetened with sugar, and also pounded rice, boiled with milk ; but these are perfectly despicable in Arab eyes, and are

^o Quinces are hawked about the streets with the following cry : 'Cure your sick one—Quinces !'

regarded as by no means sufficient to support the system under disease. Persons labouring under any affection of the lungs, attended with cough, whether fever be present or not, are directed to avoid carefully all acids and acidulated food or drink. *Leben*, coagulated milk, is said to possess great refrigerant qualities, and is consequently unadapted to such constitutions as are liable to 'wind' affections. *Dibs*, the juice of the grape boiled to a syrup, is also considered cooling (what fine cooling wine!) but honey is regarded as heating in the extreme. Wine and spirits (arrack) in small quantities, the latter just before and the former during meals, are considered as good promoters of digestion. Mohammedans of course discard both the wine and the spirits, but all classes unite in condemning the use of cold water until an hour or two after the food has been taken. The principle of abstinence from spirituous liquors is seldom reduced to practice, except by those who are more than ordinarily scrupulous in regard to their habits. The staple article of diet, and that upon which the main reliance is placed, is bread. Next to bread, the principal articles of food in cities are rice and mutton, with vegetables of various sorts, such as the *badenjan*, a variety of the *Solanum melongena*, beans, lettuce, cabbage, beets, turnips, cauliflowers, small squashes, okra, onions, garlic, etc. The tomato, though growing abundantly in all parts of the country, has only within fifteen or twenty years come into general use, and that mostly through its use by the Franks. Potatoes have been cultivated for several years in the neighbourhood of Ehden, and on the mountains above Tripoli; but the cultivation of them is now extending. More common is a species of arum, which, though very acrid, like all of its genus, in the raw state, yet when fully cooked makes a palatable and not unwholesome dish. The food of the peasantry, next to bread, consists almost wholly of olives, coagulated milk, and lentiles cooked with mutton-fat or oil, and mixed with a few chopped onions. In the interior, *burghul*, wheat coarsely ground, forms the staple article of food. It is cooked with mutton-fat, or, in grazing districts, with butter. Meat is rarely tasted; and there is little variation from this coarse fare from one end of the year to the other. In many localities rice is unknown except as an article of diet for the sick, and it is a common form of imprecation to say—'May your house never be clear of rice,' meaning, may you always have sickness in your family so as to render rice necessary as an article of diet. It may here be asked why rice was not mentioned above in speaking of the food for the sick; the reason is that an Arab relishes rice only when cooked with fat or butter, mixed with chopped meat and the seeds of the pine.

Even the above mentioned coarse fare is often beyond the reach
of

of the abject poor, who subsist, much of the time, upon barley-bread, olives, and raw onions. As might be expected, such aliment gives rise to various affections of the digestive organs. The form of disease most frequently encountered is a most distressing and obstinate dyspepsia. The great uneasiness experienced after taking food, compels the sufferer to endure the gnawings of hunger as long as possible ; and when at last he can hold out no longer, the food is swallowed only to cause more intense suffering until it is rejected. This state of things sometimes lasts for years, and sometimes terminates sooner in chronic inflammation or ulceration of the stomach. In other cases, where the irritation is seated in the duodenum, the *gastralgia* occurs some hours after eating and continues until digestion is completed. Cases of the latter class are usually connected with hepatic derangement, and though not so urgent in their symptoms, or so speedy in their termination as the former, are yet quite as obstinate, and usually proceed from bad to worse, until the patient is worn out with suffering or carried off by diarrhœa. These cases, occurring generally among laborious, hard-working people, are perhaps the more unmanageable on that account. All remedial means employed upon them may be considered as thrown away, on account of the utter impossibility of restricting the patient to anything like a simple, unirritating diet. Indeed, as has been remarked before, the Arabs know no such diet. Arab practitioners treat these diseases as 'superabundance of bile,' and follow them up with repeated drastic cathartics, or denominate them 'wind,' and exhibit stimulating, heating remedies ; both of which courses, it is needless to add, only aggravate the disease.

To the prevailing use of uncooked food, animal and vegetable, may perhaps be attributed the great prevalence of worms among the Arabs. Be this the cause or not, it is a fact that scarcely one person in fifty is unaffected by some variety of these parasites, by far the most prevalent of which is the tapeworm. Aside from the annoyance they occasion, the presence of these worms often gives rise to anomalous symptoms, which frequently confuse the practitioner who has not been in the habit of meeting them ; but after a little experience a glance of the eye is usually sufficient to determine the cause of the difficulty. Very little reliance can be placed upon the statements of the patient, for unless he has passed worms within two or three days he will strenuously deny their presence, and is sometimes really ignorant of their existence. The Arab physicians are very deficient in their knowledge of the proper treatment of these complaints. The bark of the pomegranate-root, soap, and some few other trifling articles, are all the remedies they use. Of the use of mercurial preparations, tin,

tin, oil of turpentine, and such like vermifuges, they are entirely ignorant.

A great majority of the present Arab physicians have not the slightest idea of the true anatomical structure of the human frame. Even those very few who have studied the descriptions of Avicenna, have no clear conception of the arrangement, or relative position, or functions of the different organs of the body. One of the most respectable physicians of Tripoli, a man tolerably well read in Arabic medical literature, maintained very strenuously that the liver occupied the left side of the abdominal cavity. Another, who was prescribing for a patient dying from ulceration of the bowels, declared the disease to be an 'opening of the lungs.' Another declared a case of bloody urine to be caused by 'wind in the bladder.' The pain in the back and loins which always accompanies fever, is often treated by a local abstraction of blood. Pain in the stomach is universally denominated 'pain in the heart.' Cynanche tonsillaris is supposed to be caused by the tonsils, called 'daughters of the ears,' falling down upon the pharynx, and relief is to be obtained by 'lifting them up,' which is done by gentle pressure upon the tonsillar region, accompanied by friction with the thumbs along the under margin of the jaw, over its angle, towards the ears. The only difference known between arteries and veins is that the former pulsate and the latter do not. Hernia and hydrocele are denominated 'wind of the scrotum;' and hemorrhoids, 'wind of the rectum.' This entire ignorance of anatomy must continue as long as the present superstitious horror of mutilating the dead prevails. Autopsic examinations could not be obtained in one out of a thousand cases, and dissections are out of the question.

The most implicit reliance is placed upon the state of the pulse, as an indication of health or disease, and a knowledge of its varieties is supposed to enable a person to distinguish all morbid affections, without any inquiry into other symptoms. The patient comes to the physician, and holds out his hand; the pulse is felt in each wrist successively, and if by previous knowledge of his habits, or by catching some complaint which he may have dropped to the bystanders, the practitioner can make out the case within any reasonable degree of probability, he is content; if not, he draws out in a random conversation enough to enable him to prescribe upon some sort of foundation, but at the same time conveying the idea that his whole dependence is upon the pulse, and his knowledge of the disease derived altogether from that source. So far is this confidence carried, that women in doubt as to their situation present themselves before a physician that he may decide from the pulse whether they are pregnant or otherwise, and whether the

the fœtus be a male or a female ; all of which the physician determines with the utmost gravity and assurance, and a thousand failures cannot destroy the confidence built upon a single successful 'guess.' Neither is it by any means necessary that the physician should see his patient before deciding upon his case and prescribing for it. It is amply sufficient if the latter should send a verbal or written message, naming his complaint, which it is taken for granted he knows, or describing some of the most prominent symptoms, since the pulse cannot well be examined at a distance. Such a message calls forth an order for bleeding, purging, or whatever other treatment may suggest itself to the mind of the practitioner at the moment. One individual in particular, residing in a village near the foot of Mount Lebanon, having acquired some celebrity, at present does little beside prescribing for patients at a distance after this manner ; and in nine cases out of ten blood-letting and purging are the remedial means directed to be employed.

In many villages of Mount Lebanon the priest, who usually knows as much about medicine as a 'green goose,' acts in the capacity of physician. But some notorious cases of mismanagement having hence occurred, the lower clergy have latterly been forbidden by their superiors to meddle with physic, except so far as to draw blood when no other person can be obtained to perform the operation, and this only upon the advice of a physician previously consulted by a verbal or written message. Credulity and a fondness for the miraculous still form as prominent traits in the Arab character as in former times. The story of the king Yuman and the sage Duban, which is familiar to every reader of the 'Thousand and one Nights,' is only akin to many others of a similar character still current in the East.

The confidence in charms and amulets, so implicit in former days, is not at all diminished in the present age. Females and children have usually a blue bead or other ornament suspended over the forehead, just at the parting of the hair, or a string of blue beads about the neck, in order to ward off the effects of the 'evil eye.' Horses, cows, and other animals, have frequently a blue bead, or a small piece of notched wood, suspended from the neck ; and fruit-trees and vines are often daubed with a streak of red or blue for protection against the same evil influence. This is generally supposed to be exercised by old women, sometimes by others, and often unintentionally. If the beauty of a child or of an animal is remarked upon, it is supposed that it is intended to give the 'evil eye,' unless at the same time the words 'in the name of God' are uttered, which act as a preventive against any detriment which might otherwise occur. Among other ridiculous notions

notions of this kind is the idea that the *patella* or the *trachea* of a wolf will invariably cure the mumps, if suspended from the neck of the patient. As a means of evil influence *khat*, writing, holds a conspicuous place, particularly among Mohammedans and Druzes. It is supposed that some individuals have the power of bringing disease upon others by merely writing certain words upon a slip of paper. Maladies thus caused do not properly fall within the province of the physician; but he may pronounce whether a case be one of *khat* or not. There is another class of practitioners, principally from the Barbary States, who pretend to have the power of releasing those so affected by means of a counter-writing, which is to be worn by the patient under the head-dress, and which takes effect after a longer or shorter time. A great majority of all classes and ages have usually some paper, or image, or relic, about the person, which confers many imaginary benefits; and during illness various charms of this nature are employed both by patient and physician in order to enhance the effect of the remedies used.

It is a principle strenuously inculcated by the Arab physicians, and implicitly received by all classes, that catarrhal affections and pulmonary complaints are highly contagious. No one will smoke from the same pipe, or drink from the same vessel, with one labouring under a cold, for fear of catching it; and for the same reason cases of phthisis are avoided as much as is practicable, inasmuch that the clothes and bedding of consumptives are destroyed, and the room in which one has died of this disease is left unoccupied for a long time, lest the contagion should be communicated from the walls. Small-pox is supposed to be communicated merely by a glance of the eye, and consequently variolous cases are excluded from view as carefully as possible. Within a few years confidence in vaccination has been greatly diminished by the fact that many vaccinated persons have latterly suffered from small-pox. But this is easily accounted for by another fact, namely, that the majority of those who have gone about the country vaccinating have not been able to distinguish a genuine pustule from a spurious one, supposing that the larger the sore chanced to be, the more effectual would be the vaccination; while others, regardless of all principle, have, for the sake of gain, vaccinated many of the poor, ignorant mountaineers, with the juice of the green fig, which, from its producing a large sore, has led numbers to think themselves safe from the disease, from which they afterwards suffered, and perhaps died.

Of the science of chemistry the Arabs are entirely ignorant. Although they are acquainted with a goodly number of substances belonging to the mineral kingdom, yet few of these, except the

most common, are used in medicine. Sulphate of soda, sulphate of magnesia, borax, alumen, sulphur, salts of iron, and corrosive sublimate, are the principal articles of this class in general use; but the great majority of remedies are drawn from the vegetable world. The Arabs understand by chemistry what we understand by alchemy, namely, the art of converting the baser metals into gold and silver. They still hold to the theory of four elements—fire, air, earth, and water—and all the metals and precious stones are supposed to be cooked in the bowels of the earth by a natural process, such as the combined influence of the sun, moon, and stars. Gold being therefore accounted a compound substance, it is not deemed futile to search alter its component elements, and the means of uniting them, or of converting other substances into gold. Notwithstanding all the unsuccessful efforts of the past, there are still those who are engaged in this fruitless search. Instances have recently occurred in which persons have wasted large fortunes in gold-making experiments, and notwithstanding the failure of all, still continue firm in the belief that the thing is practicable, and attribute their ill success to ignorance or to want of the necessary materials.

Of botany, as a science, quite as little is known as of chemistry. Although, as has been remarked, most of the articles of the *materia medica* are derived from the vegetable kingdom, yet plants are known only by names, not by descriptions; and, as names vary with localities, inextricable confusion arises from this source. It would be difficult to recognize any of the plants mentioned by Avicenna merely from his descriptions; and different names are often given to the same thing in different places, or the same name is given to widely different things. From the almost total ignorance which prevails, in regard to all generic and specific distinctions or similarities, every plant is considered as existing *per se*, and to bear no relation to others, except perhaps in the case of a few garden vegetables or cultivated flowers. An Arab sees the widest difference, but no similarity, between the egg-plant, tomato, and potato, and knows no difference between the red anemone and wild poppy.

Having previously alluded to the frequency with which abstraction of blood is employed by the present Arab physicians, it may be well to notice here some of the means used for the accomplishment of this. Venesection is by far the most common method, and the bend of the arm, or the back of the hand, is the part usually selected. The old idea of the peculiar connection of the cephalic vein with the head, and of the basilic vein with the body, is still retained; and the selection of this or that for the operation, is determined by the seat of the disease. It is also common to
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draw blood from the feet in diseases of the head and derangements of the menstrual secretion, upon the principle of revulsion. In cases of jaundice, one of the veins under the tongue is always selected. This latter disease is supposed to be recognizable only by a turgid state of the ranine veins, and their being slightly tinged with yellow. Those who have not the means of obtaining a good European lancet use an iron one, manufactured by any smith of ordinary dexterity ; and cases are not unfrequent in which the operation is performed with a penknife, or even with a piece of glass or a sharp flint. It is needless to add that these instruments are often broken in the flesh and produce serious consequences. From the entire ignorance of anatomy which prevails, and to which allusion has been made, it is the custom in the case of fat persons, whose veins are small and not distinguishable by the eye, to feel for the artery at the bend of the arm, and dive down upon it ; but as the vein usually crosses the artery at the point where the pulsations of the latter are most distinctly perceptible, it is pierced first, and the blood, gushing out by the sides of the lancet, informs the operator that he has gone deep enough. To one who is aware of the frequency with which all classes resort to this operation for headaches, stomach-aches, colds, rheumatic pains, and the most trifling affections, it becomes a matter of surprise, not that accidents occur, but that they do not happen a thousand fold more often. Scarification with a razor is very common for all sorts of tumours or swellings, whether inflammatory or oedematous. Cupping is also practised, sometimes dry, and at other times after scarification, as above mentioned. The cups employed have contracted orifices, so that they necessarily become heated by the lighted taper employed to rarify the air, and thus cauterize the patient as well as cup him. The use of leeches has become very common in cities, but they are rarely used in country villages and on the mountains on account of the difficulty of obtaining them at the proper moment.

The actual cautery is resorted to not less frequently than blood-letting. It is performed with a common iron nail or a piece of wire, or a piece of lighted spunk is laid upon the part and suffered to burn out. It is sometimes found difficult to cause the cauterized part to suppurate, and the use of emollient poultices to accomplish this end is not known. The usual application is a green leaf or a piece of paper, and a pea is inserted to keep the issue open after it has been established. Some itinerating oculists carry with them cauterizing irons of various forms adapted to affections of the eye. As is the case with blood-letting the cautery is resorted to for the most trifling complaints, and scarcely an individual can be found who has not a greater or less number of cicatrices

cicatrices from this cause. The common aphtha of children, if at all severe, is denominated *hubbet el-kai*, pimple of cauterization, and is supposed to be curable only by cauterizing the poor little creatures upon the crown of the head. The cautery is also thought to be the only cure in most cases of ulceration of the mouth and fauces in adults. To such an extent is this practice carried that it is related of some poor simple-minded people that, finding their pumpkins decaying rather prematurely, they were told that a bad disease had got among them, which was to be cured by the cautery, and they actually heated an iron and cauterized a pumpkin in order to try the experiment.

Issues and setons are also in common use, but rather upon the principle of diverting morbid humours from important organs than upon the principle of counter-irritation. Vesication by cantharides is practised in a few parts of the country, and in others use is made of such plants as afford an acrid irritating juice, but much antipathy to this class of remedies is everywhere apparent. Sinapisms are not known. Acupuncturation is often resorted to in affections of the joints after blood-letting and the cautery have failed. This operation is performed by striking the part repeatedly with one or more needles, as is done in the tattooing of sailors. Wens, warts, swelled bursæ, etc. are also treated in the same manner. Enemata are common, and are usually made of a decoction of the althea or malva. The place of a syringe (which is usually found only in cities) is supplied by a clyster-bag, formed commonly of a goat-skin, with a small piece of reed in the place of a pipe. Suppositories of soap are often substituted for enemata; but for children they are usually made of a piece of brown paper firmly rolled into a conical form and smeared with *dibs*.

The principal articles of domestic medicine are the flowers of the *Viola odorata*, chamomile, mallows, and the *Althea syriaca*.

Among the most valued articles of the Arab pharmacopeia may be reckoned the Bezoar stone, commonly called *hajar benzehr* (a corruption of *بانهر bazehr*). The Bezoar stone is divided by the Arabs into three classes—artificial, mineral and animal. The artificial is compounded by artificial means, and is always imported; the mineral is supposed to be found in the earth; the animal to be furnished by various domestic or wild animals. The most esteemed is supposed to be a concretion of the tears of the wild ass formed upon the cheek of the animal. This species bears a very high price, and is eagerly sought after. Tumours are occasionally found in that situation on the domestic ass, and are in great demand, though not so highly prized as those obtained from the wild animal. This remedy is administered in very small doses

doses to epileptic and hysterical persons, and also in cases of acute disease, as a dernier resort when recovery is all but hopeless, it being contended that, after the administration of this remedy, if the disease is to prove fatal, it will come to a speedy termination, or, if not, will immediately assume a more favourable aspect.

Recent attempts to introduce modern remedies have succeeded in some instances and failed in others. The sulphate of quinine, for example, in consequence of its price, precludes the possibility of as much profit being made upon it as upon other articles; and notwithstanding its power in intermittents is well known, the physicians have succeeded in spreading the idea that it causes those affections which often appear as the sequelæ of long continued fever and ague, such as enlargement of the spleen, dropsy, and hepatic derangement. The main ground of this objection to it is, that its use is attended with less pecuniary emolument than bleeding and purging. In one village where, during certain seasons, intermittent fever prevailed to a great extent, bleeding and tincture of camphor were the remedies employed by a native physician.

The connection between barbers and surgeons in the East is not yet altogether dissolved; and those 'most worshipful' gentry still bleed, leech, cauterize, draw teeth, and perform sundry other operations connected with the surgical art. The operation of extracting 'disorderly' grinders is performed without any previous division of the gum, sometimes with a hawksbill, and sometimes with a straight forceps, which break the tooth quite as often as they extract it. Physicians, so called, confine themselves to the practice of medicine, but those who pass for surgeons act in either capacity, *pro re natâ*. The Arabs have a superstitious dread of all surgical operations, especially such as mutilate the body, and often prefer death to undergoing them.

Malignant and masked intermittents occur occasionally, and under native treatment usually prove fatal—the paroxysmal character of such cases not being noticed, or, if noticed, not being taken into account in determining the nature of the complaint. Cutaneous diseases, such as erysipelas, urticaria, scabies, and porrigo, are of frequent occurrence, and may be attributed mostly to want of cleanliness. Porrigo especially abounds in all parts of the country, and after baffling the profession is often cured by some old woman, who by dint of scarifying with a razor, pulling, and the use of the tar-cap, succeeds in extracting the bulbs of the hair, or exciting an inflammation in the parts which results in a cure. The Aleppo button is well described in Tweedie's 'Library of Practical Medicine.' Soon after the expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria in 1840, a soldier who had been impressed from one
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of the villages of Lebanon returned to his home from Aleppo affected with the button. In a few months others in the same village seemed to have taken it from that individual, and it spread to several surrounding places. The appearance of the sore was in all respects like that of the real Aleppine disease, but it differed from the latter in that it healed after a few months instead of continuing a whole year.

Diseases of the eye, notwithstanding their frequency, are if possible more improperly treated than any other class of maladies. In ophthalmia no regard is paid to the tissue affected, but coarse irritating powders are sprinkled upon the conjunctiva whatever may be the stage of the disease and without any previous depletion. Nearly every practitioner has a *kohl*, eye-powder, of his own, and few are the cases of severe inflammation in which the individual escapes without some specks upon the cornea, and very often deep ulceration or incurable opacity is the result. It is a common practice to apply the sulphuret of antimony (the *kohl* of the Arabs with which they ornament their eyes) to the roots of the eye-lashes as often as once a week, from an idea that it conduces to clearness of sight, and women constantly use it as adding to their beauty. One cause of the frequency of ophthalmia in the East must be looked for in the universal custom of keeping the head wrapped up in woollen caps, turbans, and handkerchiefs, which must necessarily debilitate the parts and render them exceedingly susceptible to morbid impressions. It is an undeniable fact that twenty cases of ophthalmia occur among the Arabs to one among the Frank residents, after allowing for the greater proportion in number of the former; and yet both are equally exposed to the remote causes of the complaint. Among the females of Mount Lebanon, the 'horn' is a fruitful cause of ophthalmic diseases. This singular appendage, from its height and weight, needs almost as many forestays and backstays to keep it in position as the mainmast of a seventy-four. It is worn night and day, being taken off only once every week or ten days in order that the hair may be combed. Its weight always presses more upon one side than upon the other, and the greatest pressure is usually over one eye, which relaxes the palpebral muscles and causes that eye to appear smaller than its fellow. Those who wear the horn are constantly complaining of headaches and colds, and are exceedingly liable to trichiasis upon the slightest inflammatory action. One of the fastenings of this horn passes under the chin and necessarily limits the motion of the jaw. A case occurred to the writer of a woman who could not open her mouth more than an eighth of an inch, and upon examination it was found that the band alluded to, where it pressed upon the lower jaw just in front of its angle, had formed a groove in

in the bone capable of containing the little finger. After merely laying aside the horn for a few days the woman could open her mouth more than an inch. Ectropion is of very frequent occurrence in the male and very rare in the female. Cases of entropion in the latter occasionally appear, and trichiasis occurs daily. Glaucoma is mistaken by the native physicians for cataract. All opacities of the lens are denominated 'grey water,' and there are a few professed oculists who are in the habit of couching with a plain straight needle after having cut through the sclerotica with a common lancet. It is needless to add that the humours often escape and vision is lost.

Mention is sometimes made of an individual near Tripoli who performs the lateral operation for lithotomy, but with what instruments has not been ascertained.

Phlegmonous tumors are treated with stimulating resinous ointments, which retard instead of promoting suppuration. Emollient poultices are considered as of little value, and, if used at all, are usually applied cold. Ulcers are also treated with resinous salves, and when these fail resort is had to the most vile and irritating applications, such as gunpowder, coarsely-powdered charcoal, and dung; and instead of being duly cleansed, they are scrupulously guarded from water. Most individuals have a great dread lest any one but a physician should see their sores, from a superstitious notion that the eye exerts an evil influence upon them. Pleasant odours are considered as highly injurious to patients affected with ulcers, and still more so in cases of fresh wounds; but disagreeable smells are accounted harmless, and so the patient goes about with an onion under his nose lest an agreeable odour should accidentally meet his nostrils and thereby injury to the sore be occasioned. Sinuous ulcers are plugged up with tents smeared with ointments of various kinds; and these are continued as long as any discharge takes place, it being supposed that the ulcer cannot heal until there remains no more pus to be discharged. These tents are often so enlarged and crammed into the cavity as effectually to keep down granulation, thus defeating the very end intended to be accomplished. Injections of corrosive sublimate are occasionally employed which often succeed by exciting inflammation and effusion of lymph, but the art of laying the cavity open, and allowing it to fill up from the bottom, is entirely unknown.

Inguinal hernia is one of the most common affections of the East; femoral hernia is rarely found. The relaxing influence of the climate doubtless contributes somewhat to the frequency of this complaint, but the most fruitful cause of it must be looked for in the use of the girdle. This universal article of dress, worn
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in numerous folds around the body, is usually drawn so tight as greatly to compress the abdominal viscera and force them to seek an outlet at the inguinal canal as being the weakest part of the abdominal walls. Cases of incipient hernia, where the intestine had just passed the internal inguinal ring, have been checked by instructing the patient to relax his girdle and avoid hard exercise. The Arab physicians call these affections 'wind,' and have no idea how the bowels can protrude from their natural situation without any external wound. The actual cautery is often applied to stop this descent of wind, and it would not be safe to say that this proceeding might not, by the contraction of the cicatrix, result in arresting incipient cases. Trusses are little known and yield little benefit where they are known, because the patient cannot be induced to wear them perseveringly; and, from the same cause, cases of congenital hernia are never cured. Hydrocele and swelled testicle are also denominated 'wind;' the latter is often successfully treated by the actual cautery applied to the nape of the neck just below the hair. How far does this circumstance go to prove the connection between the cerebellum and the genital organs? Lumbago is called 'wind of the kidneys,' and hemorrhoids 'wind of the rectum.' Some few individuals have the art of opening hemorrhoidal tumours, when seated externally, with a pair of scissors. Great detriment is feared from a suppression of the hemorrhoidal discharge where it has been long established.

In the treatment of gunshot wounds, little effort is made to extract foreign bodies or detached pieces of bone; instead of which great reliance is placed upon ointments which have the supposed faculty of 'drawing,' and whatever foreign substance may be present is left to come away with the discharge of pus. The actual cautery and compression are the only means employed to suppress hemorrhage, the efficacy of ligatures and their mode of application not being understood. No precautions are taken to guard against secondary hemorrhage; and often, when the slough comes away, the patient dies from loss of blood, to the astonishment of surgeon and friends, who had supposed all danger from that source to be over because blood did not flow from the first.

Concussions from falls or from blows are treated with blood-letting without waiting for reaction. It is also common in such cases to wrap the patient in a warm sheepskin just stripped from the animal, lest the blood becoming cold should 'settle' in the injured part. Besides this, wherever it is practicable, the patient is made to drink a decoction of the hand or foot, or some other part, of one of the mummies brought from Egypt, and great reliance is placed on the efficacy of this vile stuff in preventing any unpleasant consequences. Fractures and dislocations are treated by

by a class of professed 'bone-setters.' Many times these impostors succeed in convincing a person who has received a slight sprain that it is a bad dislocation, and pull and tug thereat in order to magnify their own skill in the eyes of the beholders, and get a larger fee from the patient. Old women have sometimes acquired great celebrity in this sort of practice, generally by reducing luxations which never occurred, or fractures which never happened. In cases of undisputed fracture, tight bandages are applied without waiting for the occurrence or subsidence of swelling, and no effort is made to secure any degree of counter-extension.

In regard to the leprosy as at present existing in the East, it may be sufficient to remark that, besides the scaly eruption corresponding to the *bohak* of Moses, there are two other varieties, the one called *jedham*, which corresponds to the *Lepa astrachanica* as described in Tweedie's 'Medical Library,' the other called *kurtum*, from a root signifying 'to lop off,' corresponding to the usual descriptions of *Lepa tuberculosa*. Persons labouring under any variety of this disease are for the most part assembled at Damascus, where they live in a separate quarter though they are not excluded from communication with others. They are supported in part by charity, and in part by legacies to their community. There is also a collection of these miserable creatures in Jerusalem.

Insanity is generally attributed to Satanic possession, and no remedies are used for it except confinement, exorcising, or a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint. *Khat*, writing, alluded to previously, is supposed often to be a cause of mental derangement, and 'counter-writing' is the only remedy relied upon.

Gonorrhœa and syphilis are confounded by the generality of practitioners, and are treated alike. The syphilitic ulcer is treated with the vapour of cinnabar; and secondary syphilis with a preparation of mercury, corrosive sublimate, carbonate of ammonia, and sulphur sublimed together and exhibited in the form of pills or powders.

This subject might be pursued almost indefinitely, nor would it be devoid of interest to go somewhat minutely over the Arab materia medica and pharmacopeia. But neither time nor the limits of this paper, which has already exceeded its intended bounds, will allow of any further prosecution of the subject.

LETTER AND SPIRIT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

THERE is a great law in the construction of the Old Testament system which explains the principles of its connection with the New Testament Scriptures. Without the possession of this key, our knowledge alike of the institutions and historical events of the Old Testament will only serve to introduce obscurity and confusion into our views of Divine truth. The grand peculiarity in the old dispensation, to which we refer, consists in the Divine adjustment of its external form to an inner and spiritual reality, with which it agrees in the way of analogy, or in respect of certain principles common to both. These principles, it must be observed, never constitute the essence of the reality represented, but only bear towards it the relation of outlines; so that the former differs from the latter as shadow from substance, as flesh from spirit. These shadowy representations divide themselves under two heads—the *first*, known in the language of theology by the name of *types*; the *second*, a certain modification of the types, but agreeing with them in all their essential characters except one, which we shall, for the sake of convenience, take the liberty of designating by the name of *type-symbols*. We are now, in order to an exact elucidation of our subject, to attempt a particular statement of the rules which govern the formation of these figurative representations of Divine truth, constituting '*the letter*' of Old Testament Scripture. We shall thus, at the same time, have an opportunity of distinguishing them from certain other methods of conveying spiritual truth on the principle of similitude, with which they are liable to be confounded, but which do not belong properly to the letter of Old Testament Scripture, and which, whether occurring in the Old or New Testament, require to be treated on different principles.

I. Type.—1. A type is a thing *earthly* and *real*, representing another thing also real, but *in its nature spiritual*, and *to be revealed in future time*. The serpent lifted up on the pole for the healing of the wounded Israelites, was a type of Jesus lifted up for the salvation of sinners. The redemption of Israel from Egypt by Moses, was a type of the redemption of the true Israel from the bondage of sin by Jesus Christ. These were real and present earthly things, representing future spiritual things. They were '(earthly) shadows of (spiritual) things to come.'

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Since all the spiritual blessings represented by the earthly figures of the law arise out of the advent and death and resurrection of Christ, the 'things to come,' which these figures anticipated, are the blessings procured and made manifest by the finished work of Christ. 'The first tabernacle,' says the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'was a figure for the time then present (*hath been a figure unto the present time*), in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices that could not make him that did the service perfect as pertaining to the conscience; *but Christ being come* an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.'

Farther, since every saving benefit communicated to sinners by Jesus Christ exists primarily in Christ himself, and is possessed by his people in virtue of their union to him, it follows that *Christ himself* is the primary and proper antitype of every Old Testament type representing good things to come. They were 'shadows of things to come, but the body is of Christ.' Thus the sacrifices of the law represent primarily Christ's perfect sacrifice; and secondly, the services of believers united to him, sanctified and rendered acceptable 'through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.' In like manner, Christ, the high priest of our profession, is the proper antitype of the Aaronic priesthood, and he alone possesses a personal right to enter into the holy place not made with hands. The type of the earthly priesthood has its antitype only secondarily in Christ's people, qualified to come near God through their union to their Head, 'an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.'

It must, at the same time, be observed, that as the dispensation of types represents the good things of Christ's kingdom, and as these consist largely in a victory achieved by Christ over the powers of evil, and a deliverance from sin given to sinners by Jesus Christ, typical representations necessarily comprehend numerous figures of sin and sinners, and the evil effects of sin, as well as of Christ, by whom the power of sin is overcome. Accordingly, when we say that a type represents a spiritual thing, we only intend to intimate that its antitype is never an earthly thing like itself, in its own nature neither good nor evil, but a future reality, good or evil, existing in the spiritual sphere. Thus Hagar and Ishmael represent the church of the fleshly Israel carnal and in bondage under the law, and destined to be cast out of the house of God. The leprosy is a type of sin, with its polluting
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and destroying effects. Babylon, in the writings of the prophets, stands for the anti-Christian power which was to bring the Church of Christ under bondage in New Testament times. The things represented by these types are not spiritual in the good sense. On the other hand, they are not simply earthly, and in their nature spiritually indifferent. But they exist and operate in the spiritual sphere, and they are necessarily introduced into the typical system as the evils which the work of Christ is appointed to remedy—as the antagonist influences which it is to overcome. Hagar and Ishmael appear in Abraham's family in connection with Sarah and Isaac, representing the spiritual Church with its children, to give place to whom the bondwoman and her offspring are cast out. The leprosy is introduced only as an occasion for the injunction of an instructive ordinance for the leper's cleansing by 'water and blood.' The Jews' captivity in Babylon, and Babylon's destruction, furnish the ground of the most sublime descriptions of the great deliverance given by God, primarily to his ancient people, and ultimately to his Church in the latter days.

We must distinguish between a type and a *symbol*. A symbol is a general name used to designate one thing employed as the emblem and representative of another thing, but wanting in some one or other of the specific qualities of a type.

The type is always *real*. A symbol may be a thing *only conceived by the mind*. Thus the visions of John in the Book of Revelation, such as that of the dragon persecuting the woman that bore the man child, are symbolical, not typical; because, although present earthly things representing future spiritual things, the matter of these representations was not real, but was only present to the mind of John in vision.

The type represents a thing *spiritual*. A symbol may represent a thing of the same *earthly* nature with itself. Zedekiah, the son of Chenaniah, used a symbol before the kings of Judah and Israel when he made him horns of iron, and said to King Ahab, 'With these shalt thou push Syria until they be consumed.' The representation was here real, but it did not constitute a type, for this among other reasons, that the thing represented was in its nature earthly, not spiritual. The things seen in the prophetic dreams of Joseph and Nebuchadnezzar, and in Daniel's vision of the four beasts, were symbols, not types, because, first, they were not real, but only images presented by God to the mind, and, second, they represented things earthly, not spiritual.

The type represents a thing *future*. A symbol may represent a thing *presently in being and operation*. The burnt-offering in ancient Israel, while fundamentally a type of the accepted sacrifice of

of Christ still future, was, in another view, a symbol of the present spiritual and accepted service of the believing Old Testament worshipper. Upon this latter sense is founded the similitude of the Psalmist, 'Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.' The head of gold on the image, in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, was a symbol, not a type, wanting in all the three distinctive qualities of the type as now specified. It was unreal. It represented a thing earthly, not spiritual. It represented a thing present, not future—'*Thou art this head of gold.*'

According to the explanations given, one earthly thing is in no case the type of another earthly thing. Now, we have many instances in Scripture of a succession of earthly representations of one ultimate spiritual reality. We have the redemption of the first-born of Israel, for instance, on the night on which they left Egypt, in the slaying of the paschal lamb—again, in the substitution for them of the tribe of Levi in the service of the sanctuary, and the payment of five shekels each for the number of first-born Israelites exceeding the number of the Levites—and finally, the same type is repeated in the stated payment of five shekels each for every male that opened the womb in Israel. These things are types, not of one another, but of the redemption of the believing Church from the law's bondage and curse, and the destroying vengeance which it brings. The paschal feast among the Jews, and Israel feeding on manna in the wilderness, have been represented as types of the Lord's Supper. Thus our English translators have headed the tenth chapter of First Corinthians, 'The Jewish sacraments *types* of ours.' Between the Lord's Supper and the eating of the paschal lamb there is confessedly an analogy, as they are severally commemorative of the redemption of either Church, while both represent the great sacrifice and its effects. Again, all the three represent the body of Christ, and the participation of his people in the benefits of his death. The antitype of these Old Testament types, however, is not the outward ordinance of the Lord's Supper, or anything composed of mere earthly elements; but Christ in his reality, at once 'our passover sacrificed for us,' and 'our living bread coming down from heaven.' The provision in the ancient passover, that 'not a bone' of the sacrificed lamb should 'be broken,' the Evangelist shows to have been fulfilled in the fact recorded concerning Christ, that his bones were not broken. This, however, is not the ultimate reality represented in the type, as both circumstances alike are external and earthly. The fact recorded by the Evangelist is only a symbolical reiteration of the truth contained in the ancient type, as it is expressed in another symbolical fact, that

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'his flesh saw no corruption.' In all these figures alike we have presented to us one great spiritual reality, on which the hope of the believer rests, that while Christ really suffered and died, his almighty strength was unbroken in death. He rose essentially safe from the power of the enemy. He could not be destroyed, as he could not be 'holden,' by the power of death. Again, we have the great blessing of union to Christ in his death and resurrection represented in the Christian's baptism, when, being 'baptized into Jesus Christ,' he is 'baptized into his death,' and when, being 'buried with him in baptism,' in it he is also 'risen with him by the faith of the operation of God, who raised him from the dead.' In the Old Testament, the same privilege is typically represented by two great earthly deliverances. First, we see it in the salvation of Noah and his house, when they passed in safety through the waters of the flood, which brought destruction to the world of the ungodly; 'the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us—not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God by *the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.*' Second, we have the same figure repeated in the salvation of Israel from the waters of the Red Sea, when they were all 'under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea,' when God 'saved them for his name's sake,' while 'the waters covered their enemies,' and '*there was not one of them left.*' Now, these two figurative deliverances are not types of the ordinance of baptism; but the reality represented by these, and by the baptismal ordinance itself, is the believer's salvation from death, which brings perdition to the sinner, in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Again, circumcision has been conceived of as a type of Christian baptism, and it is allowed that both ordinances represent substantially the same truths; to wit, the believer's salvation from sin, and that salvation accomplished in a particular way, by the *cutting off* of Jesus Christ in the flesh. But the type of circumcision cannot have its antitype in an outward ordinance like itself, neither in Christ's literal circumcision, nor in the literal baptism of him and his people. Its proper fulfilment is the spiritual circumcision, 'made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision (that is, by *the death*) of Christ.' In the type, this spiritual reality is considered as future. Baptism is the symbol of the same benefit, considered as present and realized. '*As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.*'

The present definition will enable us to discriminate between a type and an 'image' of good things to come. The 'image,' in Scripture

Scripture language, is a real spiritual likeness of the subject represented, or that reality itself. The law had 'a shadow of good things to come, and *not the very image* of the things.' True believers, in every age and in all outward circumstances, present an image of Jesus Christ; their faith of his faith, their meekness and self-denial, and willing suffering in the service of God, of his. Thus, the type being only an earthly shadow of a spiritual reality, Abraham's faith in good things to come, and his holy obedience is not a type or shadow, but properly an image of the faith and holy obedience of Christ and his people. But Abraham's leaving Ur of the Chaldees, and journeying towards Canaan, abstracted from the spiritual views which actuated him, is a type of the separation of Christ and his people from the world.

2. The type contains a *certain* and *specific* resemblance to the spiritual thing which it represents. This is common to the types with many symbols. The resemblance of which we speak, however, is to be distinguished from the *arbitrary* principle of representation belonging to a certain class of symbols. The various acts prescribed to the prophet Ezekiel, chap. i.—xii., in order to represent God's dealings with Judah, present no obvious resemblance to the events which they represent, and could scarcely have suggested these, apart from the intimation of God's intention in prescribing them. In common, indeed, with all Scripture symbols, they do contain a similitude or principles common to the representation with the thing represented. But either these principles are of so general a kind, or, as in some of our Lord's parables, they are so mixed up with other principles in the story, that it would often be difficult or impossible to deduce the truth intended to be conveyed without an accompanying interpretation. The head of gold on the image is an arbitrary representation of the king of Babylon; the symbols of the opposite fortunes of Pharaoh's servants, as seen in their dreams, are more arbitrary still. But the types are not framed arbitrarily, nor are they subject to any such uncertainty of interpretation as these symbols. Accordingly, while many symbols and our Lord's parables generally are interpreted to us, we are left to find the meaning of the types without any accompanying key, except those occasional and specimen interpretations furnished by the New Testament writers.

This certainty in the representation of the types arises partly out of a certain natural and essential resemblance, which is now to be explained. God has established a wonderful analogy between things within and things without that vail which hides the spiritual world from our natural sense. As in the ancient tabernacle,

figures of the mysterious cherubim within were embroidered on the outer surface of the vail, so the natural works of God in this earthly sphere have had impressed on them by their Author a resemblance manifest, though only shadowy, of the great spiritual realities of the invisible world. Certain earthly qualities and influences and relations thus become in their own nature the representatives of corresponding qualities, influences, and relations in the spiritual sphere. Thus, natural light and darkness represent spiritual light and darkness. Natural life and death represent spiritual life and death. Natural strength represents spiritual and divine power, as in Samson overcoming the enemies of Israel. Natural effort and perseverance represent the spiritual violence by which a sinner enters into the kingdom of God, as in Jacob wrestling with the angel. The disease of leprosy stands for the polluting and mortal malady of sin. Christ's lordship over all creatures is represented by man's lordship over the inferior animals. The union of husband and wife represents the union between Christ and His Church. The relation between father and son is a standing figure of the relation between Christ and his people in respect of the origin of their spiritual life. The relation between Adam as a covenant head and his posterity, represents the relation between Christ, the second Adam, and his spiritual seed, in respect of the identification of their interests with his in God's covenant.* The relation between Noah, as a covenant head, and all mankind as his posterity, and again, between Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as covenant heads, and Israel, as their posterity, severally represent the relation between Jesus Christ and his spiritual seed, both in respect of the identification of the interests of the Redeemer and his Church in the covenant of grace, and of their common interest in the blessing which that covenant secures.

Thus again, natural subtlety represents either the craftiness of Satan, as in the natural serpent, or the wisdom which cometh

* It will be seen that the relation between Adam and his posterity strictly falls under the definition of a type only so far as it affects man's earthly condition, and as it has issued in the universal prevalence of temporal death. It is no less true that the *spiritual* relation between Adam and his posterity, issuing in the universal fall of the human race from their state of purity and their subjection to the power of spiritual death, eminently subserves the great design of the typical system, exhibiting the inefficacy of all creature and earthly influences, even in their best form, as the means of securing a blessing to man. In that single instance man had the opportunity afforded him of enjoying *spiritual* life by his *creature* righteousness and strength. Like the typical priests under the law, the first man Adam was of the earth earthy; but, unlike the principle of the typical dispensation, the promise and the penalty were spiritual as well as earthly. Adam's covenant headship, in its spiritual bearings, may be called a type of Christ's, with this explanation, that the entire singularity of the circumstances gives an exceptional character to the constitution of the type.

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from above, as in the natural cunning of Jacob supplanting his brother, and that of the unjust steward in our Lord's parable. Honey, in respect of its sweetness, represents either the pleasures of the knowledge of God, as in Prov. xvi. and xxiv., and in Psalm xix. ; or the pleasures of sin, as in the typical prohibition to use honey in the services of the altar. Leaven, in respect of its self-diffusing quality, represents either the kingdom of God, as in the parable of the leaven hid in the meal, or sin, as in the prohibition to use leaven in the paschal feast or in the meat-offering on God's altar.

Our object at present is not to indicate that such natural resemblances, either in themselves or uniformly even as used by the inspired writers, constitute types. The definition given of a type as the representation of a *future* thing by a *present* reality, together with another great feature of the type yet to be explained, will often exclude even the Scripture use of these natural resemblances from the designation of types. But the illustrations now given serve to show that there does exist an extensive system of natural and essential resemblances between earthly and spiritual things, of which the Scriptures have largely made use. Now, it will be found, by a large induction of the types of Scripture, that they are most generally founded on these natural resemblances ; and that from this arises partly the precision of representation characterizing the types as distinguished from a class of symbols arbitrary in their construction.

While the analogies and resemblances in question are impressed upon God's works in their own nature, Divine revelation has assigned them a certain connection with one another, framing them into a system perfect and consistent in all its parts. There thus arise among these natural resemblances a number of artificial relations, representing corresponding relations in the dispensation of grace and among the spiritual things of which they are severally shadows. The sprinkling of water mixed with the blood of the slain bird, in which the living bird had been dipped, upon the person of the healed leper, to cleanse him from ceremonial defilement, and again, of water mixed with the ashes of the consumed heifer upon him who had been defiled by a dead body, represent the efficacy of Divine grace through the virtue of Christ's death in fitting the believing sinner for the spiritual service of God. These types are artificially framed, yet they are composed entirely of natural and essential resemblances ; and even in their complexity they make up a similitude to the spiritual reality which they represent, obvious and necessary, and wholly different from the arbitrary symbols which we have distinguished from the whole class of types.

There are, indeed, some things about the Levitical institutions

about which we cannot speak so positively. The materials of which the tabernacle was composed, such as its four successive coverings of fine linen embroidered with cherubim, rams' skins dyed red, goats' hair, and badgers' skins; and again, the garments of the priesthood, highly artificial in their construction, undoubtedly contain in them important typical references to Christ and the things of His kingdom, which by ourselves are imperfectly understood. We cannot positively affirm of these that they employ only natural and essential resemblances. But it seems warrantable to infer, from the absence of any accompanying interpretation of their meaning, and from the otherwise uniform principle of the typical system, that they are composed of symbolical representations, either natural, or at least not arbitrary, but established and well understood among the Israelites, which God may yet be pleased, through further investigation, to place in an unambiguous light.

3. The type uniformly exists as parts of the religious system of the Old Testament, *standing directly related to the power, the authority, or the worship and service of the living God*. A symbol, on the other hand, may be presented in relations which are immediately *only earthly*.

We have already seen several marks which go to assign the image seen in Nebuchadnezzar's dream to the general class of symbols, as distinguished from the species of types. It was unreal; it represented partly things present, it represented entirely mere earthly things. A most fundamental distinction, belonging to it as a type, still remains. In the whole representation exhibited to the mind of the King, *God did not appear*. A symbol may be founded on a natural and necessary resemblance, and it may represent a thing spiritual and future; and yet, being unconnected with any direct exhibition of the Divine presence and government, it is wanting in an essential character of the type. The sun in the firmament is used in the 19th Psalm, and by the prophet Malachi, and it is in its own nature, a symbol of Christ, the 'Sun of righteousness,' in respect of his strength, his enlightening, and life-giving and joy-diffusing presence in His Church. So the marriage union among men, as a symbol, has represented from the beginning, agreeably to the use made of it in the Song of Solomon, the mystical union between Christ and his Church. These symbols are real and present earthly things, representing, on a principle of natural resemblance, spiritual things; and in Old Testament times these spiritual things were, in common with the subjects of typical representations, still future, and destined to be manifested in Christ; but neither the one nor the other of the symbols in question was properly a type, because God did not

not present them to mankind in immediate connection with any manifestation of his own authority, or presence, or power. On the other hand, *God's creating* the light and the sun, as recorded in the first chapter of Genesis, was a type of a corresponding grace in the new creation. Thus it is tacitly referred to in the first chapter of John's Gospel, where 'the Word' appears as coming forth *from God*, with whom he was '*in the beginning*,' to be *the light* and life of men. This typical relation is expressed by the Apostle, when he says that 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' Again, the first institution of the marriage union by God is a type of the Father's work of grace in uniting the believing Church indissolubly to its divine Head and Husband; and this in virtue of an influence proceeding from Christ's death corresponding to the derivation of the woman from the sleeping person of the man. 'God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept, and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof: and the rib which the Lord God had taken from man made he woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, this is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.' It is to this typical representation of the mysterious origin and blessed privilege of the saved Church, as it appears in connection with the operation and grace of God the Father, that the Apostle emphatically refers when he says, 'This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.'

The present distinction of the type combines with the natural resemblance to its antitype most generally belonging to it, to give to the typical system its peculiar certainty and precision of signification. Leaven, as a mere symbol, may signify sin or righteousness, or a variety of other things, having a self-diffusing quality. Hence, but for the information accompanying the parable of the leaven that it is there used to represent the kingdom of God, we should have been unable to determine the specific truth which that parable is designed to convey. Honey, as a symbol, may represent wisdom or sinful pleasure, or anything sweet or agreeable to the taste of man. On the other hand, the prohibition in the typical system to use leaven or honey on *God's altar*, necessarily presents *sin* as an object of God's abhorrence; and this in respect of two of its leading characters, as in its nature self-diffusing and agreeable to the carnal mind. Again, water, as a symbol, may represent either a refreshing or a cleansing, or
a fertilizing

a fertilizing influence ; but the water of the brazen laver applied to the bodies of the priests *ere they entered God's sanctuary*, has its sense necessarily determined, and becomes an obvious representation of that spiritual cleansing requisite in order to our communion with a holy God.

Every type then forms part of a system of religion, earthly indeed in its circumstances, in its benefits and inflictions, and manner of exercise, yet in which God himself appears as its grand centre of authority and only object of worship. From this principle in the typical system arises the fact that while every truth in religion has its proper typical representation, and while Christ, in whom all religious truth is embodied, is the substance or 'body' of all the shadows of the law, there is and there can be no typical representation of God the Father. The typical system is a scheme of religious doctrine and service which, while it presents God only as speaking on earth, and performing earthly works, while it deals in earthly motives and terminates in earthly ends, was appointed to be used by the chosen people *with or without* an understanding of its spiritual significance. Under these circumstances, to have extended its figurative representations to the divine object of worship himself, if it would not have given a direct sanction to idolatry, would have destroyed the whole character of that system as designed to maintain a testimony for the true God, and to secure at least an external submission to his authority among a carnal people.

The parable of the prodigal son is, in its principle, symbolical, not typical, belonging, in common with most of the parables, to that class of symbolical representations distinguished in works on rhetoric by the name of allegory—a *symbolical representation by a continued story unreal in its matter*. The exclusion of this and other parables from the class of types follows from their definition as previously laid down—*real* representations of *future* spiritual realities. The present distinction furnishes us with an additional reason for not including it under the category of type. While the prodigal son represents the sinner, the father represents God. But in a typical narrative God always appears in his own character as the Almighty God.

The same principle will enable us to correct some mistaken interpretations which have been given of Old Testament typical narratives. On the memorable occasion of Abraham offering his son Isaac, we are told that *God* tempted Abraham, and directly addressed to him the trying command. It would be incongruous, even were it not contradicted by the principle in question, to suppose that in the same narrative Abraham giving up Isaac represents God the Father giving up his only begotten Son to death.

death. These are 'the shadows of things to come, but *the body is of Christ.*' Christ is the one grand subject of the varied types of Old Testament history and law. If this seems to create incongruity, it arises out of the necessary imperfection of all earthly representations of so transcendent a theme. Abraham's prompt and self-denying and resolute acting, when he proceeded to the appointed sacrifice in the land of Moriah, represents Christ coming into the world to suffer and die, in obedience to the command of the Father, and steadfastly setting his face to go to Jerusalem for the same end. But, as in the tabernacle service, the representation of Christ passes from the offerer to the priest, and again from the priest to the victim, so it is here: Isaac, bound and ready to be offered on the altar, while Abraham, 'against hope believed in hope,' represents Christ the promised seed given over to death, while the Church looks to God and believes. Yet again, the ram substituted for Isaac and slain for a burnt-offering, while Isaac is delivered, represents Christ offered a spotless sacrifice for his people once doomed to die.

It appears, then, that the Old Testament type is immediately related to God equally with the New Testament antitype. Moreover, while the fact of an immediate relation to God is common to both, there is an exact correspondence between the nature of this relation in any given type and the nature of the corresponding relation sustained by its antitype. While, as formerly shown, the type bears, *in itself*, a specific resemblance to its antitype, it also stands towards God *in a relation* strictly analogous to that of the other. In an instance already adduced we have seen the water of the brazen laver used for a purpose exactly corresponding to that of Divine grace by Christ in fitting the soul for the service of God. These two things are both alike provided by God and appointed by him to fit the worshipper for acceptably approaching him in either Church; and both alike must be used by the accepted worshipper in doing him service. The earthly priest under the law, and the great high priest under the new dispensation, both alike have been ordained by God, and both exercise the common function proper to their office of coming near to a holy God.

On the whole, then, we define a type to be an *earthly* representation of a *future* reality, good or evil, *in the spiritual sphere*, the correspondence between the spiritual reality and its representation being *not arbitrary or accidental, but specific and certain*; the type and its antitype moreover, both alike standing in a *certain common relation to God* as the Creator, the supreme ruler, or the object of religious worship and service.

II. *Type-Symbols.*—We proceed to examine a second class of figures

figures entering into the composition of the letter of Old Testament Scripture, to which, for the sake of convenience, we have assigned the name of type-symbols, intending thus to indicate their nature as a mere modification of the types. A type is a present representation of a future spiritual reality. Should we find a symbol representing a *present* spiritual reality, yet *embodied in the typical system, and possessing all the specified qualities of the type in other respects, and regulated by the same great distinguishing principle*, it would appear to be an imperfect nomenclature which assigned it a place under the indefinite designation of symbols. At the same time the common use of the word type would not seem to warrant its being absolutely so denominated. This is the peculiar middle position of the class of Old Testament figures now to be considered.

It has already appeared that some of the Levitical institutions possess a double character, being at once types of future and symbols of present spiritual realities. While the sacrifices and offerings of the Jewish law were types of the offering of the body of Jesus Christ then future, they at the same time aptly represented, according to the language of the Psalmist formerly quoted, the present services of believing worshippers which were 'spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God' even in Old Testament times 'by Jesus Christ.'

In the case now referred to the representation of the type, though in one sense twofold, is yet essentially single and undivided; and its realization, though in one sense present in the service of a believing worshipper, is in the most important sense future. Even here Christ is the only proper subject represented, and his people in Old Testament times are regarded as one with him, and as accepted in his sacrifice. But there are other Old Testament events and institutions containing a proper double sense, one pointing to New Testament times, and the other to Old Testament principles and events realized contemporaneously in the spiritual sphere. We have an interesting illustration of this in the giving of the law to Israel after their exodus from Egypt. In one view it was simply a development of the plan of God's grace as promised in the covenant with Abraham, when God undertook to be a God to him and to his seed. Thus the preface to the Decalogue at once looks back to that great promise and to its partial fulfilment in the deliverance of Israel from Egypt; and it introduces the great transaction of declaring God's law to the same people as their rule of life, this being another important step in God's gracious dealings with them, as beloved for the fathers' sakes; 'For he remembered his holy promise and Abraham his servant, and *he brought forth his people with joy and his*

his chosen with gladness . . . that they might observe his statutes and keep his laws.'

Now, under this aspect, the giving of the law from Mount Sinai was a type of the divine teaching of the spiritual Israel consequent upon Christ's ascension to the right hand of the Father. The writing of the law upon tables of stone was a shadow of the writing of the same law in its breadth and spirituality upon the fleshy tables of the heart. The depositing of those tables in the ark, in the most inmost recess of the earthly sanctuary, while the mercy-seat or the *cover* of the ark was sprinkled with blood, represented, first, the personal righteousness of Christ, the antitype of the ark, dwelling in the secret of God's tabernacle, and sprinkled with his own blood. Thus, when he came into the world to offer himself instead of the sacrifices of the law, he says, by the psalmist, 'I delight to do thy will, oh God; yea thy law is within my heart.' Secondly, it prefigures the establishment of God's law in the hearts of his people, whom he sanctifies with his own blood, that they may serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter—that the righteousness of the law may be fulfilled in them while they walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.

In another view, the giving of the commandments from Mount Sinai was the imposition of a covenant of law upon Israel. While in the former view it called them to obedience as a people *already redeemed* from bondage and death, in this view it called them to obey *in order that* they might be saved from the curse and from the death which it brought: 'Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, which, if a man do, he shall live in them.' 'Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them.' As under the former view the redemption which they had experienced had been temporal, and had been followed by an external revelation of the Divine will, so here the blessing and the curse set before them in connection with that external revelation were also temporal. As under the former view the giving of the law was a type of the future dispensation of grace, so in the latter view it was a symbol of man's present subjection to God's eternal law as a covenant and consequently to its curse. The covenant of Sinai was not itself the dispensation of law under which the sons of Adam naturally are. It was different in regard to many of its precepts, and different especially in regard to its promise and its penalty, which reached not beyond the earthly nature and the interests of the present world: yet it was a complete earthly symbol of that universal spiritual dispensation of law. Now to this, in common with many similar symbols of present spiritual things in Old Testament times, we give the name
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of type-symbols, as embodied with the types in the letter of the Old Testament, and possessing some of the most fundamental characters belonging to the types as already defined.

Under this head are to be placed a whole class of figures in the Old Testament letter, which expressed one great present spiritual truth—the imperfection and emptiness of that earthly dispensation of which they form a part.

Paul has shown that the history of the family of Abraham furnishes a testimony to the inefficacy of the outward dispensation under which they lived, as a dispensation of law in common with that to which it immediately gave place: ‘Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?’ He then goes on to quote the command to cast out Hagar and Ishmael, whom he represents as there standing for the legal covenant and its children in every age. We have a familiar instance of the same principle of representation in the outer and inner veil of the Levitical tabernacle. To have constituted it a complete figure of the heavenly tabernacle of the New Testament worship, there should have been no veil, but free access afforded at once to the ordinary priests to ‘the most holy,’ and to all the Israelites to the interior of both sanctuaries, and to the Gentiles to both the court without and to the holy places within the tabernacle; but there was a rigid exclusion of these classes severally, from the nearness of access reserved by the Levitical law for the other classes preferred to them. The spiritual signification of these facts has been expressly interpreted to us: ‘the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest while the first tabernacle was yet standing (kept its standing).’ Thus again a kindred truth is deduced from the fact of the prohibition in the Levitical law to eat the flesh of the greater sin-offering, the blood of which was brought into the sanctuary and its flesh consumed as a victim of Divine wrath for sin without the camp. ‘We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle; *for the bodies of those beasts whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin are burnt without the camp.*’ Under the law the priests had no joyful participation in that sacrifice which most eminently represented Christ as an offering for sin, its flesh being entirely consumed without the camp, while its blood was brought into the most holy place. But in the real and perfect sacrifice of Christ at once the sinner’s substitute suffers without the gate, His blood is brought into the inmost place of the heavenly tabernacle, and his people, as priests unto God with him, eat his flesh and even drink his blood. On the same principle, Moses breaks the two tables of the covenant, testifying on the part of
God

God the breaking of the covenant of Sinai in consequence of the breach of its legal conditions by Israel. Aaron dies on Mount Hor before Israel began to take possession of their inheritance, showing the contrast between the Levitical priesthood, in its nature weak and unprofitable, in which there were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death, and the priesthood of Jesus made an high priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, ever living to make intercession, and so able to save them to the uttermost that come to God by him. Moses offends and dies before Israel crosses Jordan, and gives place to Joshua (the salvation of Jehovah): and this expresses the inefficacy of the law, issuing in sin and death, and giving place to the salvation of God revealed by Jesus Christ; '*What the law could not do* in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh.'

There is a peculiar class of symbols, which, although not belonging to the letter of the Old Testament Scriptures, yet form a continuation of it in the New Testament history, and require to be assigned to the present class of type-symbols. These are the symbolical representations of spiritual realities contained in Christ's personal ministry and earthly history. Every New Testament reader is in some degree familiar with the symbolical character of Christ's miracles furnishing the ground of a twofold application of the prediction of Isaiah—Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped: then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing.' Our Lord's works of mercy on the bodies of men were a continued visible representation of the healing which he came to exercise on the diseased soul. When it is said of Jesus, 'Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses,' no believing reader can doubt that the ultimate reference is to his vicarious suffering, issuing in the believer's deliverance from the malady of sin. But the Evangelist expressly applies this prophetic description to Christ's grace in healing the body, a symbol of the higher benefits which he was now manifested to dispense. Thus, again, when Jesus, dying under the sentence of the Jewish Sanhedrim as a blasphemer, fulfilled the curse of the Levitical law, 'Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree,' the external circumstances of his death formed a type-symbol of his subjection to a more terrible sentence, reaching to the inner man, and exhausting the consuming wrath of God due to his sinful people, as 'enemies unto God in their minds by wicked works.'

There were two outward circumstances, already referred to, associated by the providence of God with Christ's death, which form

form a remarkable exemplification of the principle in question. We are emphatically told, first, that *not a bone of Him was broken*; and, second, that *His flesh saw no corruption*. Both circumstances represent a great spiritual truth concerning Christ simultaneously realized—that death, which brings perdition to the sinful creature, could exercise no destroying power on the person of the Son of God. We have a remarkable instance of a similar kind recorded in the beginning of the gospel of Matthew. ‘He (Joseph) went and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He (Jesus) shall be called a Nazarene.’ The name Nazareth is derived from a Hebrew root signifying ‘to separate.’ Nazareth may thus be regarded as signifying *a separated place*. The city, so called, is reported by travellers to realize this description, even in respect of its local situation, above all other places in the Holy Land, lying in a concealed deep hollow place on the top of a hill, and removed from all public thoroughfares. Besides, it was in the time of our Lord a separated place in respect of the esteem in which its inhabitants were held. ‘Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?’ Jesus did not dwell in the royal city of Bethlehem, in which he was providentially born, but he became the obscure inhabitant of this obscure and despised place. Jesus was not known as arising from ‘Bethlehem Ephratah’ to be the ‘Ruler in Israel,’ as he ‘whose goings forth’ had been ‘of old from everlasting;’ but, from the time of his early infancy, when he escaped the cruel persecution of Herod, to the hour of his enemies’ triumph, and of the power of darkness; when, at the bar of the second Herod and of Pilate, he received mock honours as a King, his designation was ‘Jesus of Nazareth.’ His enemies and his friends alike recognized him as the ‘Nazarene’—*the separated one*. Thus was fulfilled, in the letter of Christ’s history, the constant predictions of the Old Testament Prophets concerning the reception which, in a spiritual sense, the Son of God was to meet with from men. ‘For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground; he hath no form nor comeliness; when we shall see him there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with griefs; and we hid, as it were, our faces from him: he was despised and we esteemed him not.’

The two great symbolical ordinances of the New Testament, it will be readily seen, in their general character, belong also to the present class of figures, and may be regarded as a kind of type-symbols. They are distinguished from the Old Testament types by this broad mark, that they are visible representations of great *present* spiritual realities. But, in truth, they form a class of symbols

symbols wholly peculiar, representing spiritual benefits present not only in regard to time, as *contemporaneous*, but present in the individuals who are their subjects, as *experienced and enjoyed by them*. The typical delineations of the Old Testament might be fitly presented in the actings or history of a person destitute of any fellowship with the corresponding spiritual reality, as in the indiscriminate and compulsory circumcision of the numerous members of Abraham's household, and the transmission of the priestly functions in Israel to the sons of Aaron, irrespectively of their spiritual state. Even in the type-symbols of the Gospel history it is probable that our Lord sanctioned this separation. It seems scarcely necessary to suppose that all the subjects of Christ's miraculous healing power, while exercising faith in that power, at the same time confided in and experienced his grace as a spiritual physician. But, be this as it may, God has made the separation in question absolutely unlawful in the use of the two great outward ordinances of the New Testament Church. They are thus properly distinguished as *spiritual* ordinances, in contradistinction to the *carнал* ordinances of the law.

The attentive reader of the New Testament cannot fail to have noticed the peculiar mode of expression used by our Lord and his Apostles, and commonly shunned by modern preachers, concerning these ordinances, as if their external observance were identical, or, at least, inseparably associated with the spiritual views which they are fitted to express, and the saving benefits which they represent. 'Except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.' 'Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.' 'Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death; therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death.' 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.' 'The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us.' Again, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' For we being many are one bread and one body—for we are all partakers of that one bread.' The advocates of a priestly power in the ministers of the New Testament Church have but too successfully employed these and similar texts as an argument for their pernicious system of doctrine. A more enlightened class, conscious of the inapplicability of such expressions to any idea associated by them with New Testament ordinances, in respect either of a popish confidence in their efficacy, or any rule practically governing their

their administration, have usually shrunk from the use of these formulæ, while unable to gainsay their apostolic authority. The key to their signification is to be found not in any imagined efficacy in these ordinances considered in themselves, nor even in any necessary and indissoluble union between the outward observance of them and the possession of the saving benefits which they represent, but in the rule of their administration well understood and uniformly acted on in apostolic times, rendering them practically the mere channels by which a believing soul had fellowship with the blessings of salvation. God has ordinarily vouchsafed to his believing people a consciousness of the new views which impel them to seek happiness and salvation in himself; and he ordinarily affords a visible testimony of the operation of His grace in those whom He has savingly blessed, through the outward manifestation of the fruits of the Spirit, which are 'love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.' He has thus afforded at once to the proper subjects, and to the administrators of New Testament ordinances the opportunity of observing His own law concerning their spiritual application and use. He has ordained that there shall be maintained a uniform connection, so far as the spiritual perceptions of His people shall admit, between the outward observance of these ordinances and the real possession of the corresponding spiritual benefits. They thus become the mere badge and profession of a vital connection with Christ—the mere form or shape in which the spiritual Church, previously made manifest by its spirituality, is appointed to present itself, in an earthly way, to the outward eye. The whole language of the New Testament on the subject takes for granted the ordinary maintenance of this rule; and no instance exists in which it can be shown to have been violated by the administration of either Baptism or the Lord's Supper to persons destitute of the credible or probable evidence of a work of Divine grace going before. To the systematic violation of this rule in succeeding times may be traced in a large degree the confounding of the Church of God with the wicked world, the subversion of the New Testament character as a society of brethren dwelling together in unity, and the loss of its primitive power as God's witness for the spread of saving truth.

Passing however from the symbolical representation of the New Testament and reverting to those figures of present spiritual truths and influences, already examined under the name of typesymbols in the Old Testament; let us observe on the whole, that they possess all the characters previously assigned to the types, with the single exception of the anticipatory relation of the latter to the three future realities of Christ's kingdom. Like the types, they

they are things earthly in their nature, representing corresponding realities in the spiritual sphere—they are founded on a principle of certain and specific resemblance—they stand immediately related to God ; this relation being strictly analogous to that of the realities which they represent. These two systems of representations together go to constitute that great system of figures which we denominate 'the letter of the Old Testament.'

In addition to the special important ends which the knowledge of either of these departments of the Old Testament letter has been designed to serve in promoting our acquaintance with the helplessness and misery of a legal condition and the blessedness of gospel times—there is an important use of both which we cannot omit to observe. The language of the New Testament writers, in treating of the great realities disclosed to the believers, maintains a constant reference to the earthly forms under which the law veiled these realities to the ancient Church. Natural men among the Gentiles are not under the law of Moses as the people of Israel were. Yet the condition of a sinner unsaved by Christ is constantly described by the Apostles as if it were a state of subjection to the law of Moses and its curse—because the state of the natural Israel, liable to the curse of Moses law, is an appointed figure of the subjection of the transgressor to the more terrible curse to be fully executed upon him in the second death. Thus the sacrifice and intercession of Jesus Christ, the sprinkling of his blood upon the hearts of his people, their consequent sanctification, their separation from the world, and their various great privileges as a people chosen by God and dwelling near to him, are constantly described by the New Testament writers in language borrowed from the Old Testament, and primarily applied to analogous earthly transactions and privileges in the Jewish Church. It would probably have been impossible, without some such earthly pattern of these Divine mysteries as the Levitical system afforded, to have found human language to express plainly or intelligibly ideas so unlike the course of common earthly things, and in themselves so spiritual and sublime. As we find in all primitive languages that words descriptive of moral and intellectual qualities are derived from analogous qualities in material things, so the language of the letter of the Old Testament has furnished the very vehicle required for conveying to our dull and carnal minds the invisible realities of the kingdom of God.

The letter and the spirit, now analyzed and defined, bear towards each other a relation at once of *correspondence* and of *contrast*. The correspondence has been already sufficiently explained. They sustain towards each other not less obviously a relation of contrast. As respects those figures representing Christ

Christ and the realities of his kingdom, including all the types properly so called, a contrast will always be found to exist between them in respect of the partiality and incompleteness of the letter even in its character of a picture or shadow. But the contrast lies most essentially in the fact that the one is a thing of earth, empty, powerless, and evanescent, and the other, it may be, existing on earth, but, in its nature, spiritual, heavenly, and divine. In the sacrifices of the law a certain expiation was made for sin by the death of an animal unoffending and perfect in its kind. In this sacrifice there was, and there could be no moral purity. But when 'Christ offered Himself *without spot* unto God,' the purity of the atoning victim consisted in the absolute submission of heart to the will of God, which dictated His voluntary death, and went before it in His life. Again, the blood of the paschal lamb, and the other sacrifices of the law, simply obtained exemption from a temporal death. The blood of bulls and of goats could only give sanctification to the body—they 'sanctified to the purifying of the flesh.' The blood of Jesus shed for his sinful people redeems them from death eternal, and purges their conscience from dead works to serve the living God. While between these legal services and their counterpart under the New Covenant there exists a correspondence of outline, there is equally manifest a contrast of nature and essence. The type differs from the antitype on the point in which all the precious virtue and efficacy of the latter consists. Thus, in comparing the first and second Adam as Covenant Heads, while in both cases alike there is the merging in one, in some mysterious way, of the responsibility and interests of the seed and of the progenitor—the results are different and opposite as sin and purity, as death and life. This contrast appears not only in the opposite characters and results which the law of Moses and the dispensation of grace severally employ; but equally in the opposite kinds of worship which the two systems severally sanction, and which they demand as the condition of the worshipper's participation in the benefits proposed by each. The Levitical priesthood inherited their high functions in unbroken succession from their father Aaron, without reference to any question about their personal state, spiritually, and in the sight of God. An exact conformity to the ritual prescribed by the law secured them in all the benefits and immunities secured for their order. An Israelite participated in the paschal feast, and enjoyed exemption from the curse of the law of Moses, and a part in the earthly benefits promised in it to the obedient, if he only maintained his external allegiance to Jehovah and punctually conformed to the legal services, without respect to the question of his inward holiness. The whole nation of Israel entered Canaan under

under Joshua on their receiving the mark of God's covenant in their flesh by the rite of circumcision. The question will scarcely be raised whether any credible evidence was asked or afforded of their having previously been circumcised in heart. The effect of ceremonial services might have been only temporal and outward, while yet in order to this earthly efficacy God might have required a state of heart in harmony with the great spiritual benefits which the legal benefits shadowed forth. But there is no such mixing up of the principles of the legal and evangelical systems under either dispensation. Both in the Old Testament and in the New, we have instances of persons who lived and acted in both spheres, and enjoyed the benefits proper to each. But as we find Paul denouncing the attempt to establish legal performances as a condition of evangelical benefits in the kingdom of God, it would have been equally unlawful, although not in itself equally dangerous, to the inner man to have suspended the legal privileges of a freeborn son of Abraham upon his previous possession of evangelical grace.

The demonstrable existence of this contrast between the typical ordinances and services of the law and their counterpart realities under the Gospel, whatever explanation may be given of its designs, shows the vanity of the reasonings of human wisdom tending to establish, on the ground of the necessary holiness and unchangeableness of God, the general authority of Old Testament precedent as a rule for New Testament religion. But in truth a spiritual apprehension of God's plan in the succession of the evangelical to the legal dispensation will suggest a directly opposite argument, and will produce a deep impression in our minds of the danger of confounding or even partially intermingling the spiritual services of the Gospel with the carnal ordinances of the law. The one grand design of the government of the world by God is to stain the pride of all human glory, and to exalt his own great name. The successive dispensations which form the subject of revelation have been in unison with this design. Man has been tried first pure and unfallen under law; then under a system of absolute forbearance and without law; then under a covenant of mercy and goodness, accompanied by a very easy and restricted law as given to Noah; then under a covenant of more special mercy having annexed to it a more stringent law, as given to the Abrahamic family; first by Abraham himself, and afterwards more fully by Moses. Under all these various conditions, man—creature of righteousness and strength—has been tried; and in reference to all these dispensations together, as in reference to the last in particular, the question might be asked, 'What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it?

Wherefore when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?' Every outward circumstance favourable to man's spiritual well-being and happiness has been afforded to him. Only one thing has been withheld. Not one of these dispensations provided the distinguishing saving benefit of the new covenant in which God undertakes to bless the creature by his own Almighty power and prevailing grace. For a temporary end they all sanctioned a method of blessing which creature agencies could supply, and a method of worship and service which the worshipper by his own righteousness and strength was able to render. For a season God left this fleshly church to the nakedness of its own fleshly resources. 'The law made nothing perfect.' 'The law entered, that the offence might abound.' 'The law which was unto life was found to be unto death.' 'But what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh.' Every creature agency and every human work having been tried and found wanting, God took the work of blessing and saving the helpless creature into his own hand.

To return then to the principles of Old Testament religion is to reject God's gracious interposition—it is to distrust and despise God's all-sufficiency and saving grace, and to go back for help to the world and the flesh. Thus we can understand how, while fleshly ordinances were sanctioned under the law, and before the coming of Christ, simply to give the Church experience of their emptiness, their revival in the New Testament Church should have called forth the memorable exhortation addressed by Paul to the Galatian disciples: 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?'

L M

* This article is not completed. There is to be a sequel to it in the next number of the J. S. L.—EDIT.

SCRIPTURE PARALLELISMS.*

THE MESSIAS AS PROPHET:

WITH REMARKS ON THE PARALLELISTIC FORM OF HIS DISCOURSES.

THE true theory of Hebrew versification, which, imperfectly understood by the Masorites and lost by the modern Jews, had remained so long a secret to the learned world, and which was made known by the acute and learned Lowth, has scarcely yet received the share of attention, which so important a discovery deserved. While the rhythmical nature of the poems referred to by Josephus, St. Jerome, and others, was unknown, it was a subject for investigation and inquiry; but when the darkness was cleared away, and the theory of Parallelism rendered the whole beautiful system of Hebraic poesy consistent and plain, the interest in the question ceased; and in this country but few successors have followed in the steps, or availed themselves of the labours of the author of the *Prelections on Hebrew Poetry*. Bishop Jebb alone has followed up the subject in a popular and familiar manner in his *Sacred Literature*: and by proving that the same rules of rhythmical construction are applicable to many portions of the New Testament, he has furnished materials for thought to the student of the Holy Writings, and has introduced an invaluable element into Biblical criticism. But though he has shown that portions of the New Testament may be reduced to parallelistic rhythm with the same certainty as the writings of the prophets, and the confessedly poetic portions of the Elder Testament; and has pointed out that in the Epistles, verse is mingled with prose, as in the Book of Ecclesiastes, (except perhaps in St. James' Epistle, which is an entire and perfect poem,) yet he seems not to have remarked what, upon a little consideration, will appear pretty evident, viz. that *all* the public discourses of the Messiah were rhythmical: all the authoritative proclamations of the Second Law, the law of liberty and love, made to the Jewish nation by the mouth of 'Him Who was to come,' were, like those of the prophets before the captivity, in their form poetic; and whatever our Lord spoke in public in fulfilment of His Messianic mission as

* Having received two short articles from different contributors bearing upon this subject, we unite them under this general head.

Prophet, Sermons, Parables, Prophecies, Proverbs, or by whatever name they are called, were delivered in rhythmical form, that is to say, were parallelistic Poems. This hypothesis, however, is so opposed to our present ideas of public speaking and preaching, and modern notions of what is impressive and eloquent, that some explanations and arguments in favour of it will not be out of place.

First then, one of the characters in which the Messiah was to appear was that of prophet: He was to be a prophet, נביא, like Moses, as we find (Deut. xviii. 15) נביא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כִּמְנִי יָקִים לְךָ, 'the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee of thy brethren, like unto me, unto Him shall ye hearken;' and by this title of prophet the Jews looked for Him, as their inquiry of St. John Baptist shows, 'Art thou that prophet?' (John i. 21). Now נביא is from נָבֵא, *protulit, cecinit*, and does not in its radical sense mean a foreteller of future events, but one who uttered his sayings in an impressive and authoritative manner: thus Aaron was appointed נביא, or spokesman, to Moses (Ex. iv. 16); again, the prophets נביאים whom Saul met with (1 Sam. x.) were not predictors, but men who sang psalms of praise to God in an earnest and impassioned manner to exciting strains of music. The musicians appointed by David are 'prophesiers' הַנְּבִיאִים (1 Chron. xxv. 1); and the prophets of a later period in the sacred history, when formed into colleges and exercising a recognized political influence on the nation, were not always predictors—nay, prediction was rather the exception—but preachers of the will of Jehovah, and energetic reformers, who sought to bring vividly before the eyes of a careless and idolatrous people the precepts, promises, and threats of the Theocratic law. It was part of their office, also, to cast into measure their denunciations and warnings, clothing them with the metrical garb of poetry that their words might dwell the longer in the memories of their hearers, and also be repeated by themselves wherever a number of men were assembled together, without material variation. For it should not escape our modern notions, that at that time it was not the committing a prophecy to writing that constituted its publication, but the solemn reiteration of it in public.^c It will need no words to show that in each one of these respects Moses strictly fulfilled the office of 'nabi' or prophet, and the Messiah Whom God should raise up from His people was to be a prophet like unto Moses; and to

^b Of course Hebrew metre or parallelism is meant.

^c As it still was in the time of Horace: 'Cum mea nemo Scripta legat vulgo recitare timentis.' Also Juvenal, 1st Sat.

the readers of the Gospel, the points in which Jesus of Nazareth came up to this character of a prophet, are also clearly evident. 'From that time Jesus began to preach.' He opened His mouth and taught.' 'He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes,' not merely expounding the law, but delivering a doctrine of His own : they said of Him, 'one of the old prophets is risen again, and God hath visited His people,' because He preached in the style and manner of the old prophets, as one Who had a commission from God ; nay, with greater authority still, for as with them the prophetic formula was *יהוה אלהים*, *thus saith the Lord*, the formula of the Christ was 'Αμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, *Verily I say unto you*.

Again, the set speech of the *נאמן*, or earnest speaker, was his *משל*, 'proverb or parable.' From *משל*, 'to have authority or power, to regulate,' we have *משל* 'an authoritative and regulated speech,' which the LXX. render *παραβολή* or *παροιμία* indifferently, and our translators 'parable' or 'proverb.' The verb *משל* is used in this sense, of those 'regulating' (their sentences) in Num. xxi. 27, *וַיִּשְׁלֵם הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֵּצֵא אֶת הַיָּדָיו* which the LXX. translate 'Διὰ τοῦτο ἐροῦσιν^d οἱ αἰνυγματισταί;' and St. Jerome, 'Idcirco dicitur in proverbio.' The lines are a beautiful specimen of Parallelism celebrating a victory over Moab, and composed by Amorite poets contemporary with or prior to Moses :—

'Go we to Cheshbon,
Be there built and be there established a city for Sichon,
For a fire goeth forth from Cheshbon,
A burning-flame from the city of Sichon ;
It devours the chief city of Moab,
The Lords of the steeps by Arnon.

Woe for thee, Moab !
Thou art perished, people of Kemosh !
He made his sons fugitives
And his daughters for a prey
To the king of the Amorites, Sichon :
When we hurled-at-them, Cheshbon perished unto Dibon,
And we made-desolate to Nophach, which is to Meideba.'

The next place in which *משל* occurs is Num. xxiii. 7, *וַיִּשְׁלֵם אֵלֶיךָ*, LXX. 'καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν παραβολὴν αὐτοῦ,' Vulg. 'assumptâ parabolâ,' which the English version follows, 'And he took up his parable.'^e The most literal sense of the words seems to be, 'and

^d These enigmatists seem to have puzzled St. Augustine, who, not finding the word in the LXX. elsewhere, was at a loss for its meaning : he concluded that they were what is now called *poets*.—Quest. xlv. in Num.

^e Luther's translation renders it, 'Er hob an seinen Spruch : ' the French translation in Bagster's Polyglott, 'Il commença à haute voix ses discours sententieux ;' and Diodoti's Italian version, 'Egli prese a proferire la sua sentenza.'

he elevated his measured speech,' pronouncing it aloud in a majestic and excited manner. It is not necessary to give the 'mashalim' of Balaam that follow, as Bishop Lowth has shown them to be parallelistic poems of the highest beauty.

Now in neither of these places, nor in Job xxvii. 1,' will *לִשְׁכָּתִי* mean either a proverb or parable in the modern and usual sense of the words: the true sense is yet to seek: *παραβολή* the LXX. seem to have considered the best rendering, from *παρὰ* and *βάλλω*, *I place alongside of*; and will not this give us the notion, not of a *parable* or an analogical comparison of two ideas, but of a *parallelism* or the placing together of two lines or sentences? and on this ground, the 'mashal' will not be merely either 'a proverb' or 'parable,' but a parallelistic distich or poem, comprehending under itself the proverb or parable, in its usual sense, as the genus, to use the language of the logician, comprehends its several species. I have found no place in the Old Testament in which the use of the word will not readily coincide with this interpretation; and the employment of *παραβολή* by the author or translator of Ecclesiasticus will also easily fall in with the hypothesis of its meaning a parallelism, or, as the Germans denominate it, a Thought-rhythm. Before we come to examine the New Testament *παραβολαί*, it will not be altogether out of place to give Aristotle's definition of a *παραβολή* in his rhetorical and technical sense (*Rhetorica*, lib. ii. cap. 20) which is this:—'Of paradigms or examples the species are two: for one form of paradigm is to bring forward events that have really already taken place; and the other for the speaker himself to invent them. Of this, the one is *parabolē*, and the other fables (*λόγοι*), as the Æsopian and Libyan. And to bring forward Paradigms is of this nature—as if a man should urge that it is necessary to be on our guard against the Great King, and not to allow Egypt to be subdued, for that before, Darius did not first invade us till he had possession of Egypt, but, having gained possession, he invaded us: and Xerxes did not attempt it before he gained possession, but having gained it he invaded: thus also, this king, if he gain possession, will invade us; wherefore it must not be allowed. And the *Parabolē*, as the Socratic discourses. For instance, if a man should say that men chosen by lot should not take the government, for it was like as if one should appoint athletes by lot, not those who are able to wrestle, but those to whom the lot falls; or of sailors, if a man should appoint by lot who ought to steer,

' In Isaiah xiv. 4, the LXX. translate *לִשְׁכָּתִי* by *θρήνος*, 'a dirge or keen,' giving the narrowed meaning instead of the wider in reference to the parallelistic effusion contained in the following verse.

so that he to whom it falls must do it, not the one who understands best. And the Fable is as that of Stesichorus about Phalaris (the Horse and the Stag), or Æsop about the Demagogue (the Fox and the Horse-leeches).⁵ It is clear that our present notion of a parable comes nearer to the Aristotelian λόγος or fable than to his parabolē, which is a real occurrence.

But to return to the Sacred Writings: St. Matthew tells us (xiii. 35) that in our Lord's teaching by parables was fulfilled the words of the Psalmist, 'I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world.' This quotation is from the seventy-eighth Psalm, and it is in the original 'אֶפְתָּח בְּחִנּוּכִי, 'I will open in a *mashal* my mouth;' so that St. Matthew takes παραβολή as the LXX. did, as an equivalent word to 'mashal,' and it is worth noting that in the Psalm quoted there is nothing like a parable in our sense; the composition of Asaph being a parallelistic poem celebrating the dealings of the Almighty with His people. From this text of St. Matthew, in which he expressly assigns the fulfilment of Asaph's words to the Messia in His preaching, we fairly collect, that all our Lord's solemn public discourses, whenever, to use the original expression so often employed by the Evangelists,⁶ 'He opened His mouth,' were 'mashalim' or poems of a parallelistic nature; and also that the word parabolē, as a translation of it or equivalent word, was used and understood by the authors of the first three Gospels in the same sense as by the LXX., namely, as a parallelistic composition or discourse solemnly recited to an assembled audience.

But as our Lord generally used the paradigmatic mode of teaching, which we called parabolical, and the majority of His παραβολαὶ are parables in our sense; and again, as the Gospels became the property of the Gentiles, who knew nothing of parallelistic poetry, and as the Evangelistic παραβολή presented sufficient resemblance to render it easily confused with the Aristotelian, the poetic sense of the parabolē or 'mashal' was soon so utterly lost, as not to render it surprising that all trace of it had disappeared before the time of St. John's Gospel.⁷ The last Evangelist, however, bears a curious testimony to its ancient meaning, and yet only by his silence: feeling, as it were, in his own mind while writing, that παραβολή, in its then sense, did not give the meaning he wished to convey, he never once used it in his Gospel;

⁵ Compare the words before the sermon on the mount, 'And He opened His mouth and taught them,' with Virgil's expression concerning Cassandra, 'Tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris Ora.'—*Æn.* ii. 246.

⁶ The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to employ παραβολή in an unusual sense when he says that the First Tabernacle was a *parable* of the Christian Church (ix. 9), and again, that Isaac was a *parable* of the Christ (xi. 19).

and so seems to enter a silent protest against the then general application of the word in its narrowed sense. In St. John's Gospel the word *παροιμία*, which does not occur in the other Evangelists, is always used as a translation of *ἔπος*; for instance, x. 1-6—

‘Amen, Amen, I say to you,
He that entereth not through the door to the fold of the sheep,
But ascendeth another way,
He is a thief and a spoiler.
But he that entereth through the door,
Is the Shepherd of the sheep :
To this man the porter openeth,
And the sheep hear his voice,
And he calleth his own sheep by name,
And leadeth them forth :
And when he hath turned out all his own
He goeth before them, and the sheep follow him,
Because they know his voice :
But a stranger they will not follow but will fly from him,
Because they know not the voice of strangers.’

This *παροιμία*, or proverb, ‘spake Jesus unto them.’ Our translators, following the meaning more than the letter, have rendered *παροιμία* ‘parable,’ it being obvious that Christ's speech is nothing like a proverb, but is a parable in a poetic form. Again, in St. John, xvi. 25—

‘These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs :
But the time cometh when I shall no more speak to you in proverbs,
But I shall show you plainly of the Father.’

The speech to which our Lord refers as a *παροιμία*, and which had occasioned the hesitation and discussion among the disciples, was neither parable nor proverb, but a parallelistic triplet :—

‘A little while and ye shall not behold Me,
And again a little while and ye shall see Me,
Because I go to the Father.’

Thus even without a complete examination and comparison of all the public discourses of the Messiah, we are not without ground for concluding that those discourses were delivered by Him in a poetic or parallelistic form ; but a searching and careful investigation of them one by one, will convince an inquirer that Jesus of Nazareth did deliver them as the prophets of the Elder Testament delivered their prophecies to the people ; and so far vindicated to Himself the title of Prophet in the strictest sense of the term.

And here it may be worth while to answer one or two objections which may be easily advanced against this view of the subject :

ject: for, first, it may be said that thus anything may be set up as a parallelism; that any passage taken at random out of any book may, with a little perseverance and ingenuity, be shown to be capable of such an arrangement as that we designate Hebrew rhythm. Facts only will be a sufficient answer to this. Let any the most ingenious objector take the first lines of Thucydides' History—'Thucydides the Athenian compiled the history of the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, how they warred against one another, having begun immediately from its commencement, and expected that it would be great and most noteworthy of all that preceded:' or the Funeral Oration of Pericles; or, again, let him take the introduction to St. Luke's Gospel—'Since many have undertaken to set forth a narration concerning the events which have come to pass among us, as those have related them to us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed fit for me also,' etc.; or the speech of Tertullus (Acts xxiv.); and compare them with the opening lines of the Sermon on the Plain; and the distinction between rhetorical prose and parallelistic poetry will be clear at once, and the objection will fall to the ground. Words and thoughts could no more have fallen into such a collocation by hap-hazard than into a number of Virgilian hexameters; and when we observe that it is precisely similar to the productions of the older poets of the same nation, but little doubt can remain.

Again, it may be said, that admitting these discourses are cast into a rhythmical form, yet there is nothing in them that constitutes them poetry; none of the haunting beauty, the tumultuous sublimity of the poets of the first Covenant. Now, not to mention that metaphysical poetry was always esteemed such among the ancients—that the verses of Empedocles, referred to by Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics,¹ were in high repute—that the same author mentions in his Poetics Socratic discourses 'Σωκραταίαι' in a rhythmical form—that the original laws were in verse, the word νόμος implying as much—and that those of Charondas were sung at banquets by the Athenians;—passing over these instances of the union of truth and rhythm, let us consider the character of Him Who uttered the New Testament discourses. He was not a man wrapt into sublimity and borne upward by the soaring of his own imaginings, while words were feeble to express or realise the grandeur of his thoughts—but He who spoke was the Son of God, bending down to earth and draping the eternal Ideas of justice and of right with mortal worldly attributes; in His proclamations of the second law there is no 'divine afflatus,' no 'inspiration of elevation,' but the simple out-speaking of one who

¹ Ethic. Nicom., lib. vii. cap. 3.

'spoke that He knew, and testified that He had seen.' And so the teaching of the Christ is very poetry in its loftiest type—such poetry as Plato would have dwelt upon—it is the calm majestic exposition of intellectual Beauty, Truth, and Life—the quiet shadowing out of the loveliness of the First Good—and not a human effort confined, though clothed in heart-stirring words, and struggling to gain an eager glimpse at truth. Jesus speaks not like one who had to travail with truth in throes of mind, as the highest-gifted children of genius have; but He speaks of the Highest and Deepest calm and still as 'the Son of Man who is in heaven.' Witness the opening of the Sermon on the Mount—in the sight of the Eternal Son the things of earth and time are as if they are not—His eye is resting on the consummation of the *Æons*. And in the fulness of Almighty prescience he opens His mouth and teaches:—

'Happy the Poor, in spirit: for of them is the kingdom of heaven.

Happy the Mourners: for they shall be consoled.

Happy the Gentle-hearted: for they shall inherit the world.

Happy the Hungering and Thirsting for just-dealing: for they shall be full-fed.

Happy the Pitying: for they shall be pitied.

Happy the Clean in heart: for they shall behold their God.

Happy the Conciliating: for the sons of God shall they be called.

Happy the Persecuted for just-dealing: for of them is the kingdom of heaven.'

Surely this is poetry in the very meaning of the word! The employment of this parallelistic system of rhythm in the Sacred Oracles manifests in a striking manner the all-wise prescience of the Divine Mind in the minutest particulars, for while the metrical arrangements of the Greeks and Latins, as depending solely on the language, are quite lost by translation into another tongue, the rhythmical structure of the Hebrew poem, as remarked by Rabbi Azarias, is unimpaired by translation; the most literal rendering of the words preserving best the beauty of their poetic arrangement: and also the fact that the knowledge of the Hebrew poetic system was soon utterly lost to the world, was by Providence an effectual safeguard to the purity of the canon; as without a knowledge of that system, it would be impossible, as modern writers have found, to produce any writings possessing what is now called 'the Scriptural style.' As a conclusion at present to the subject, the Sermon on the Plain shall be given in its rhythmical arrangement—both as being shorter than the Sermon on the Mount, and because, being preserved by the pen of St. Luke, who, by the general voice of tradition, was not by birth a Hebrew, it will evidence in a more striking manner the indestructible

indestructible nature of the Hebrew metre. St. Luke vi. 20,

‘ And He having raised His eyes upon His disciples, said—

‘ Happy the poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.

Happy who hunger now, for ye shall be full-fed.

Happy who weep now, for ye shall smile.

Happy are ye, when men shall hate you,

And when they cast you off,

And revile, and reject your name as evil,

For the sake of the Son of Man ;

Be ye glad in that day and bound-for-joy ;

For lo ! vast is your reward in heaven ;

For in this way did their fathers to the prophets.

But woe for you the rich, for ye have your consoling :

Woe for you, the satisfied, for ye shall hunger.

Woe for you, that smile now, for ye shall mourn and weep.

Woe when all men speak you fair ;

For in this way did their fathers to the pseudo-prophets.

But to you I speak who hear Me—

Love your enemies :

Do well to those who hate you :

Bless those who curse you :

Pray for those insulting you :

To him smiting thee on the cheek turn thou also the other :

And from him taking thine outer garment keep not back thy tunic.

To every one asking of thee give,

And from him that taketh of thine ask it not back.

And as ye will that men shall do to you,

Do you also to them likewise.

And if you love them who love you

What grace is there to you ?

For sinners also love those loving them.

And if you benefit those who benefit you

What grace is there to you ?

For sinners also do this very thing.

And if ye lend from whom ye expect to receive,

What is your grace ?

For sinners lend to sinners to receive a fair return.

But love ye your enemies and do good,

And lend expecting nothing back,

And great shall be your reward, and you shall be sons of the Highest,

Because He is kind to the thankless and evil.

Be compassionate, as your Father is compassionate.

And judge not, that ye be not judged.

Sentence not, that ye be not sentenced.

Give up, and ye shall be let go free.

Give, and it shall be given to you :

A fair

A fair measure pressed, shaken, overflowing,
 They shall give into your bosom ;
 For with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured back to
 you.'

And he spake a parable to them :—

'Is the blind man at all able to guide the blind ?
 Shall not they both fall into a pit ?
 The learner is not above his teacher,
 But every one who has been thoroughly-trained shall be as
 his teacher.

But why dost thou look to the splinter in the eye of thy brother,
 And the beam in thine eye dost not heed ?

Or how art thou able to say to thy brother,
 Brother, stop, I will take out the splinter in thine eye,
 Thyself not looking to the beam in thine own eye ?
 Oh, hypocrite, take out first the beam from thine eye,
 And then shalt thou look narrowly to take out the splinter in
 the eye of thy brother.

For it is not a fair tree that makes refuse fruit,
 Nor a refuse tree that makes fair fruit.

For each tree from its own fruit shall be known ;

For not from thorn-trees do they gather figs,

Nor from a bramble-bush do they glean a cluster.

The good man from the good store of his heart bringeth forth the
 good,

And the evil man from the evil store of his heart bringeth out the
 evil :

For from the abounding of the heart his mouth doth speak.

But why call ye Me, O Lord, Lord,
 And do not the things which I say ?

Every one coming to Me,
 And hearing My words and doing them,
 I will show you to whom he is like—
 He is like to a man constructing a dwelling,

Who dug and deepened,
 And laid the foundation on the rock ;

And there being an inundation,
 The stream burst on that dwelling,
 And had no power to make it totter ;
 For it had been founded on the rock.

And he who hath heard and hath not done,
 Is like to a man constructing a dwelling

Upon the earth, without foundation,
 On which the stream burst,

And immediately it fell,
 And the crash of that dwelling was great.'

W. F.

ON THE THEORY OF PARALLELISMS.

THAT the theory of parallelisms has not been of so much use in the interpretation of Scripture as its earlier advocates expected, will doubtless be admitted. And yet the expectation was a reasonable one, and it has probably been cherished by all who have studied the theory: it is one too with which we are loth to part, because everything which guides us to the precise meaning of Scripture is of the highest importance.

It may have caused some to be less interested in the further application of the theory to the New Testament, to observe that, of the many examples adduced by Bishop Jebb, there is scarcely one in which it has been the means of eliciting a sense *not known before*. The various proportions of the passage, the skilful choice of words, the relation of the different sentences to each other, have indeed been shown. But even when convinced by the reasonings, we oftentimes rise from the perusal with the feeling that no writer of less learning, or of inferior taste, could have ensured our concurrence in his opinions. However complimentary this may be to the author, it is unsatisfactory with reference to the theory—the use of which, if any use there be, must be to decide between conflicting interpretations, by unravelling complicated sentences.

For this it seems most admirably suited, since it introduces a test altogether new. The critics of former days may have said all that could be suggested by the keenest intellect in favour of their different opinions, and yet their claims to be right may appear so nicely balanced that no definite decision can be made—the matter must still be left to individual judgment. In such a case there may sometimes be a peculiarity of structure in the passage, which when discovered will at once settle the question, as it will sometimes be easy to disunite *mechanically* that which we cannot dissolve *chemically*. Nor is it necessary, as some may think, to decide whether the Apostles themselves knowingly wrote in parallelisms, before we apply the theory to their writings. A little reflection will satisfy us that our ordinary language would often become more intelligible when arranged in parallelisms to those who, being comparatively ignorant of our vernacular tongue, should attempt to study our expression as minutely and as carefully as we study the Scriptures. For that which makes a passage complex is (1) the repetition of sentences of the same kind, or (2) the introduction of epithets to any person or thing mentioned, or (3) the statement of circumstances connected with the subject, whether by inserting parentheses, or by viewing it in every possible

sible aspect, as when additional sentences are connected with the main part by means of prepositions.

Thus the simple form of a sentence being, 'O God, thou hast redeemed me;' the complex form may be, 'O merciful and gracious God, who rulest the heavens, and yet lookest down upon the meanest of thy creatures—thou, *in thy mercy, according to thy purpose, from love to my soul, for a theme of grateful thanksgiving to me in eternity, without money and without price, by the blood of thine only Son, hast redeemed me.*'

Now the reduction into parallelisms is in many instances nothing more than the arranging these similar subordinate circumstances, these parenthetical observations, these side views, into ranks by themselves, where the full force and beauty of them may appear without detriment to the main subject, and without hindrance to those who, from whatever cause, might not rightly distinguish the more important and prominent points from the rich ornaments with which they are surrounded. There can be brought no more striking example of this than the first part of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians: in which, as we have it in our Bibles, it is difficult to discover anything but irregularity, but by arranging the sentences as proposed below, we come upon two subordinate stanzas of six lines each, which have a similar form, and which, when abstracted, leave the main current of thought simple and easily intelligible. The argument* of the passage, according to this view, will be thus: St. Paul blesses God who had so blessed him, having chosen him to stand before him, endowed with love and wisdom (the former excited by the love of God, the latter expressly given by God), to the praise of God's glory through Christ; in whom the Ephesians themselves (v. 13) were also to the praise of God's glory.

EPISTLE TO EPHESIANS, i. 3-14.

- (3) Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
'Ο εὐλογησας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις Χριστῷ
- (4) Καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου
Εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἀγάπῃ
- (5) Προορίσας ἡμᾶς εἰς υἰοθεσίαν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς αὐτὸν
Κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ
- (6) Εἰς ἑαυτὸν δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ
'Εν ᾗ ἐχάρητωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ
- (7) 'Εν ᾧ ἐχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν
παραπτωμάτων
- (8) Κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ᾗς ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς ἡμᾶς
'Εν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει
- (9) Γνωρίσας ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ
Κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ, ἣν προέθετο ἐν αὐτῷ
- (10) Εἰς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν καιρῶν, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα
ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
Τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν αὐτῷ

'Εν

- (11) Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν, προορισθέντες
κατὰ πρόθεσιν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργούντος κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος
αὐτοῦ
- (12) Εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἔκτατον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, τοῦ προηλπιόντος ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ
- (13) Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν
Ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες
ἐσφραγίσθητε τῷ πνεύματι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ ἁγίῳ
- (14) Ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιτομῆς
Ἐς ἔκτατον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ.

Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
Who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings, in heavenly places in Christ,
According as he hath chosen us before the foundation of the world,
That we should be holy, and without blame before him, in love—
(Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to
himself,
According to the good pleasure of his will,
To the praise of the glory of his grace,
Wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved
In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins,
According to the riches of his grace wherein he hath abounded towards us)
In all wisdom and prudence,
(Having made known unto us the mystery of his will,
According to his good pleasure which he hath purposed in himself,
That in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in
one, all things in Christ,
Both which are in heaven and which are on earth: even in him,
In whom also we have obtained an inheritance, being predestinated
According to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel
of his own will)
That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.
In whom ye also, having heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation,
In whom also, having believed,
Ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise
(Which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased
possession)
Unto the praise of his glory.

Remarks.

Ver. 4.—The *ἡμᾶς* in the whole passage is explained in ver. 12, as meaning those who first trusted in Christ; or, judging from those to whom the same knowledge was given (iii. 5), it may mean the Apostles and other ministers of the church. Yet there can be little doubt that under whatever category he placed himself, it was to *himself* that he chiefly referred.

See Rom. xv. 17, and compare 2 Thess. i. 7.

Ver. 5.—Here commences a parallelism of six lines, which is parenthetical, and has for its object either to show how he could become filled with love to God, viz., by dwelling upon God's free and undeserved love towards him (for to be rooted and grounded in love to Christ, and to comprehend his love toward us, go together; see iii. 17, 18); or simply to enlarge upon that election from eternity which is the subject of ver. 4. The *form* of the parallelism should be carefully observed. In the first line the fact is stated;

stated ; in the second there is the rule to which it is conformed, or the suggesting cause (denoted by *κατα*). In the third line we have the purpose for which it was enacted, or the final cause (*εις*). In the fourth line we have the efficient cause marked by *εν*. In the fifth line another blessing is mentioned which is obtained through the same (*εν*). In the last line we have the suggesting cause of this second blessing, which is again denoted by *κατα*.

In the close of ver. 8, the Apostle takes up the theme he was upon before, and mentions two other qualifications, wisdom and prudence, which were required of him before God. The difficulty of giving any other satisfactory explanation induces Macknight to say that these qualities had reference to the Apostles and not to God. But since he gives no reason for the words being so far separated from the rest of the sentence, R. Hall pronounces his interpretation to be absurd. But the view here given, which coincides with that taken by Macknight, is confirmed by ver. 15-17. The Apostle there manifestly speaks as if he *had previously* stated that love and knowledge were as important and necessary for them as that faith, which he had in ver. 13, attributed to them ; and upon that *implied* principle, and acknowledging that they had both faith and love, he prays (ver. 17) that they may have knowledge also. And the sentence thus arranged accounts for the next parallelism which begins with ver. 9, and is precisely similar in *form* to the previous one, the five last lines in both being distinguished by the prepositions *κατα*, *εις*, *εν*, *εν*, *κατα*, respectively.

Ver. 13.—Here, lest the Ephesians should feel themselves disparaged, the Apostle states that they also might and did show forth God's glory as truly if not as perfectly as he. If this view of the passage be correct, the word 'trusted' in the authorized translation is improperly inserted, the real predicate being *εις εμαυτον*, &c.

Mr. Scott, the commentator, was of opinion that 'the twelve verses, from the third to fourteenth inclusive, properly speaking, form one sentence ;' but he adds, and Dr. Bloomfield seems to agree with him, 'The Apostle's mind was so full of his subject, that he was *not very exact* about his style.' It appears to me that by the use of the parallelistic theory, as here proposed, we may rescue the Apostle from his well-meaning apologists ; nor is this the only passage in which it will enable us to render him the same service.

J. C. W.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. SAMUEL LEE ON THE TENSES OF HEBREW VERBS.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—Finding some remarks in your numbers for October and January last on the use of the tenses of Hebrew verbs, and some of these bearing on what has been laid down in my Hebrew Grammar, you will oblige me if you will insert the following in the next number of your Journal. I have indeed been much gratified in seeing the subject taken up, and by no means do I find fault with the spirit in which it has been conducted.

The first article is by the Rev. D. W. Weir; the second by Professor James G. Murphy. And first, as to the first. Mr. Weir objects (p. 308) to my founding my theory of the tenses on the consideration, that nouns formed the original basis of the Hebrew language. His words are: 'There is indeed a very intimate connection between the cognate verbs and nouns in the Hebrew language; and upon this connection Dr. Lee has founded his very ingenious system.' Mr. Weir adds, this 'is an excess of refinement by which the natural and probable are sacrificed to the apparently simple and ingenious.' Allow me to remark: my system depends in no degree upon this notion, whether it be true or false, as we shall presently see. If however it be true, it has the effect of greatly simplifying the question, as Mr. Weir seems to allow.

But Mr. Weir's objection seems to rest on the supposed goodness of a dictum of Adam Smith, on which I will offer a few remarks. 'Verbs,' "says Adam Smith" (is Mr. Weir's quotation) 'must necessarily have been co-eval with . . . language. No affirmation,' adds he, 'can be expressed without the assistance of some verb,' &c. Now the first assertion here is a mere assumption; and the second is untrue. As to the first, there are languages in which, as we are informed, there exist no verbs at all. Such are the Chinese and the Burman. How then, I ask, has it come to pass that no verbs are to be found in these, if verbs are absolutely necessary to their formation, and must have been co-eval with language from the first? I leave Dr. Adam Smith's followers to supply the answer.*

Nor,

* Mr. F. Carey says, in his Grammar of the Burman (Pref. p. 6), 'The Burman language . . . has . . . every appearance of having originated from the Chinese, being, like it, made up of a certain number of monosyllabic sounds, derived from natural objects, and most commonly conveying a general idea of some action or quality.' Again (p. 7), 'some vestiges of similarity may . . . be traced among the verbal roots or monosyllabic sounds.' 'Proper names,' (ib. p. 8) 'and names of sensible objects excepted, all nouns are formed regularly from verbal roots,' &c. And again, 'The chief peculiarity of the Burman language lies in the verbs, the language being so constructed as to admit only the participial form.' We

Nor, again, is it true that no affirmation can be expressed without the assistance of some verb. By *verb* here, I mean a verb in the state of conjugation, and having the distinctions of person and tense within its meaning. What are termed *participles* and *infinitives* are not verbs, in this view of the matter, because they carry with them neither of these particulars. They are therefore nouns, and nothing more; and I now affirm, that in any one of the Shemitic dialects a whole book may be written, without so much as one verb occurring in it. To those conversant with these languages it would be superfluous to give examples.

Again, it is obvious that a verb conjugated, and expressive of tense and person, presents no simple element of language, but a compound made up of a noun and a pronoun; and of this, Mr. Weir's own solution of the Hebrew verbs I take to be proof sufficient (p. 310). Whether these compounds existed in the earliest times, or whether the words were written separately, none can now tell; but this every one can, viz., that in investigating the nature of any language, it is the business of the philosopher to divest it of compounds, and to exhibit it in its simplest forms: and if we do this here, we must divest the Hebrew verbs of the pronouns which have been added to them in order to give them the distinction of person; and this perhaps we cannot do better than by following the example of Mr. Weir. But, if we do this, the verbs will really be reduced to nouns, and must cease to claim the title of verbs. (See my Heb. Gram., p. 190, seq.)

We shall now, therefore, have the *infinitive*, or *verbal noun*, and the *participle* (as certain forms of the noun are not very accurately termed) to deal with, as it regards the formation of verbs in the state of conjugation. Now no one doubts that the *infinitive*, or abstract verbal noun, implies either *action*, *passion*, or *neutrality* as to these, just as its sense shall be active, passive, or neuter; but neither tense nor person in any determinate manner: e. g. *קָטַל* will signify *killing*, i. e. as to action; *הָיָה*, *being*, or *becoming*, *killed*. And, if any reliance may be placed on this, *present* (i. e. as to time) *action*, *passion*, &c., would seem to be meant. This, I think, is naturally implied in such forms; and hence I have argued, that in attaching the personal pronouns to these, in order to form the verb, *present action*, *passion*, &c., would

have here, therefore, no conjugated verbs, in the usual sense of that term; the fact being, that a participial noun is made to sustain every office usually assigned to verbs. I think however that Mr. Carey's view must be defective here, because I do not see how this language could be formed without the existence of abstract verbal roots, participial nouns being necessarily concrete. In the Hebrew *בָּרַךְ*, *my visiting*, the verbal noun is *abstract*, and so indeed is the English *visiting* here, as in, I take *an airing*, or the like. So Dr. Murphy (p. 202), 'we rejoice in the good old English phrase, the house is a building, though not in the modern barbarism, the house is being built:' in which I most cordially join Dr. Murphy. These words implying mere action, may be taken either in an active or passive sense; so in the Arabic, *the beating of Zaid* will signify the beating either given or received by Zaid, just as the case may require. In English, *the house is a building* is passive, and means exactly what the modern barbarism just adverted to is intended to mean. There is a very interesting dissertation on the subject now before us by Aurivillius. Edit. Michaelis. Goetting. 1790, p. 371, &c.

most

most naturally seem to be intended. But how this is, in fact, dealt with, we shall presently see: still it is not upon these particulars that my theory rests; it receives, indeed, much strength from them, and for no other purpose have they been given by me. But there is another consideration, upon which neither Mr. Weir nor Dr. Murphy have touched: it is this, the best native grammarians of Arabia—and none have more minutely investigated the nature of language—consider all their verbs as made up of *nouns* and *pronouns* in the manner noticed above. The *infinitive*, or *verbal noun*, they term the *Masdar* (المصدر), *i. e.* the *source*, and consider every part and form of the verb as derived from it.^b In like manner—and apparently in imitation of them—the Jews term this noun *הַפִּעֶל*, which means the same thing. Both of these also have the term *root* (שֹׁרֶשׁ, أصل), which they take as the leading form in the *conjugation*. But this in no sense affects our question. I am disposed to attach some importance to the conclusions of the Arabian grammarians, because their language is essentially that of the Hebrews, and because they have given sufficient proof that they have attended much to these considerations, and have evinced very great acuteness and good sense, in their mode of conducting them.

As to the forms usually termed *participles*, they differ in this respect from the *infinitives*, that they are always *concrete* in signification, while the *infinitives* are *abstract*. Mr. Weir has no doubt, that the participle has great affinity with the form taken for the preterite tense in Hebrew. In this we entirely agree: but as the participle contains no fixed tense within itself, neither can the *form*, as *such*, be taken for the leading person of the preterite.^d But there is this agreement in their characters, that they are *concretes*. Now the concrete noun involves, together with the meaning of such word, the notion also of Agent, Patient, &c., just as its meaning may be active, passive, &c. The form *קָטַל* or *קָטֵל* will, therefore, signify one, or some one, *killing*, *i. e.* at *any time*, past, present, or future, as the context may require. But, where no such determining context is given, as the form implies *an agent*, &c., *i. e.* a being *previously* existing, and hence combined with the verbal signification, the *prior* existence of such agent must necessarily be implied; and, in the absence of every other determining consideration, this might

^b In a very rare, old, and valuable Arabic MS. Grammar now before me by Ibn ul Fihām, the following passage occurs (fol. 9), 'The noun itself will, without any verb (accompanying it), carry with it a complete idea; and this shows that the verb is a branch of the noun, and is sustained by it; in another respect, the verbs are, according to the most accurate of our writers, derived from the *masdars*, which are nouns; and since these are so derived, they are branches of them.'

^c On this subject, and how the Baron de Sacy has misunderstood it, see my Letter to Mr. Tregelles, pp. 7, 8, note. Seeleys, London, 1847. It is worthy of remark, too, that Ibn ul Fihām (fol. 45, verso) makes the triliteral verb the root (أصل) in like manner, of all the augmented conjugations of the Arabic verb: whence it should seem that the *root*, both with Jews and Arabians, is not the etymological source of the verb, but the form taken on which to commence the conjugation, *i. e.* in the third pers. pret. sing. masc.

^d See my *Heb. Gram.* p. 190, note. Ed. 1841.

be well taken as supplying to the verbal sense priority of action likewise. Not unlike this is our usage in *have loved*, *have been loved*, and the like: *previous* possession of the verbal sense being plainly implied, and hence, as it appears to me, is the preterition of this tense to be ascribed.* I think the same with regard to the Hebrew preterite form קָדַם or קָדַם: but, as before, whether this be right or wrong, signifies nothing as to the right or wrong of my theory; it depends on other and stronger grounds. They are these:—

The Arabians, Syrians, and indeed every one of the Shemitic families, take, what we usually take as *the preterite form* in verbs, for their *simple preterite tense* also; and what I have denominated the *present*, they *universally take* as their *present tense*. My proofs will be found sufficiently at length, I trust, in my examination of Dr. Ewald.† I need not, therefore, repeat them here. Now, let it be asked, If all these families have, with one consent and under one uniform practice, done this, how are we to imagine that the Hebrews could have been governed by principles and usages, altogether at variance with these their descendants? Or, how are we to believe, that all these have, at some time subsequent to their separation from their ancestors, cast to the winds their original notions and usages, and adopted new ones? I cannot, for my own part, conceive either of these things possible; and I do affirm, that no man living can prove that they ever took place; and they must have taken, if the theory either of Gesenius, Dr. Ewald, Mr. Weir, or of the modern Jews is correct.

I may perhaps affirm therefore that, so far as authority is concerned, this theory is good and true; but, whether I may have duly availed myself or not of this, is another thing.

Of the goodness of my theory, therefore, there ought perhaps to be no doubt; one difficulty that has occurred to Mr. Weir, I shall presently solve. We have now, therefore, to deal with its idiomatical application; and here I shall avail myself of a principle which Mr. Weir has very largely applied, and which he deems to be one of very great importance in this question. The first place in which I find this enounced, is in page 314 of your October number. 'The principle is this:' says Mr. Weir, 'the Hebrews were accustomed to regard and describe past events as present, because they transported themselves, as it were, to the period when the events of which they speak took place, and thus viewed and described as if they were spectators of them.' This principle I find reverted to as one of paramount importance again and again (pp. 317, 319, 320, 321, 323, 331), and in this last place it appears to be believed by Mr. Weir, that it is the principle which regulated some things laid down in my Grammar. I am sorry that I am here under the necessity of finding some fault with Mr. Weir. The truth is, he has taken this his favourite principle from my Grammar,

* The same is, most likely, true of the French, German, &c., as to the preterite so formed. In the Persian the concrete form *کردم*, &c., of which *کرد*, &c., is only an abbreviation.

† Seeleys, London, 1847.

where you will find it thus enounced (p. 336, ed. 1841): 'Any writer commencing his narrative will necessarily speak of *past*, *present*, or *future time*, with reference to the period in which his statement is made . . . A person may speak of *past*, *present*, or *future*, with reference to some other period or event already introduced into the context.' Again (p. 337): 'A great number of instances . . . occurs in which the present tense is used as a preterite, but in which the writer takes the liberty of transporting himself and his reader into a time *present to the narration*.' In pages 338-9 the doctrine of the Arabian grammarians is given on this subject, as it also is much more at length in my 'Examination of Ewald.'^s See also my Hebrew Grammar, pages 343, 344, and the preface, p. ix. *seq.* Now I do not blame Mr. Weir, either for adopting my theory in this particular, or for speaking of it in the terms of approbation alluded to; but I do for not acknowledging the source from which he took it; and from none but my Grammar could it have been taken, for it is nowhere else to be found, except in the grammarians of the East. It was for this, among other things, that I deemed it my duty to chastise Dr. Ewald; and it will presently be seen that I must remind Dr. Murphy of the same plagiarism.

It is under this principle of shifting the point of time from which the tenses are to be reckoned, that Mr. Weir has endeavoured to show that, what is usually termed the *preterite*, is the *present tense*. He has very properly cast to the dogs Ewald's notion of *finished* and *unfinished*, as implied in Hebrew verbs; let us now see how far his own theory will hold good: but I will first satisfy Mr. Weir's difficulty as to my theory.

The place had in view by Mr. Weir occurs in pages 344-5 of my Hebrew Grammar, and stands thus: 'We must not . . . suppose . . . that the sacred writers never recur to the original time from which they set out. This they appear to do optionally, just as we find it done in the Greek and Latin historians,^h *e. g.* וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם וַיְהִי עֶרְא וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְחֹשֶׁךְ לַיְלָה. Exod. xvi. 24 is also given. The objection is, 'But, with all deference to Dr. Lee, we object *in toto* to the latter clause (*i. e.* as now given), and cannot but be surprised that Dr. Lee should have written it.'

It may seem strange, indeed, that the scene, as to time from which we estimate the tense, should be so abruptly changed: but this is not at all unusual with Oriental writers; and it would have been well, if much greater regard had been paid to this particular than has been. In the Latin and Greek classical authors it does not extend beyond what is termed the historical use of the tenses, of which I have given an example from each, in a note to the place just cited. But, in the New Testament, which hebraizes to an amazing extent, the usage is frequent, as it also is in the simplest and plainest Arabic, Syriac, and other Oriental, writers.

I will now present Mr. Weir with a few places from the New

^s Page 19, *seq.*

^h Livy and Xenophon are cited here as affording examples of this, in '*Instant Volsci recentes, qui e castris impetum fecerant; integrant illi pugnam, qui . . . simulata cesserant fuga,*' and '*με κελεύεις φυλάττειν; μὰ δὲ ἔφη ὁ κύριος.*'

Testament, and he may collect hundreds of others, if he please, to the same effect. I will premise, that if the writers of the New Testament who wrote in Greek have taken the liberty so to depart from the idiom of that language, where, I ask, must we look for the cause of this but in that Hebrew? We have then (Mark i. 12) καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει . . . καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ, . . . καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ, where, as the doctrine of the tenses is fixed in Greek—and so it is indeed in Hebrew, Arabic, &c., were the fact but as well known—there can be no doubt, we have a *present tense* just as abruptly followed by preterites, as we have in the places adduced from my grammar by Mr. Weir. Again (*Ib.* v. 27), ἐπιτάσσει . . . ἐξῆλθε, &c. Again (*Ib.* 30, 31), λέγουσιν . . . καὶ προσελθὼν ἤγειρεν. *Ib.* 38, 39, λέγει αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων. So also *Ib.* 41, λέγει αὐτῷ . . . καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν. *Ib.* ii. 3, 4, καὶ ἔρχονται . . . ἀπεστέγασαν . . . χαλῶαι . . . κατέκειτο: *Ib.* 5, 6, λέγει . . . ἦσαν δέ τινες, &c. Ver. 8, διαλογίζονται . . . εἶπεν αὐτοῖς. *Ib.* 11, ὕπαγε . . . καὶ ἡγέρθη. It would be endless to point out the instances of this sort which occur in the Gospels only, as it likewise would those found in writers of all the Shemitic families, as far as we possess documents derived from them.¹

Now, how ready soever Mr. Weir may be to object *in toto* to idiomatic usages of this sort, cited from classical Greek and Latin generally; it is, nevertheless, the fact, that they do exist, to an almost incredible extent, in the Hebraistic Greek of the New Testament; and here they could not have been derived from any but Hebrew sources. Mr. Weir's objection is, that I have ascribed this usage of the Hebrew to choice, without assigning any satisfactory reason for it. I may perhaps answer, that the fact of such usage occurring is quite sufficient for my purpose. And, as I have now transferred the question to the usages of the New Testament—and the use of the tenses is too well known in Greek to be doubted—I may perhaps call upon Mr. Weir to render the reason of this usage there. If, however, I might offer a conjecture on the point I should say, the desirableness of variety is perhaps the only cause of its existence. It will be seen that it is found, not fewer than six times in the first chapter of Genesis; where, if any one will take the trouble to change the forms into those beginning with ' and the *present tense*, he will instantly see, that the harmony of the composition is impaired. The same would be the case were a similar alteration made in any Arabic, Syriac, &c. composition. Besides, it would be contrary to fact to imagine, that much is not left to the *choice* of writers in every language; for, if it were not, then could there be no variety of style; which is too absurd to be entertained for a moment. I conclude then, on this point, that whether my reason here satisfy Mr. Weir or not, I think my facts, as to the occurrence of this usage, will prove too stubborn to be got rid of.

¹ The Arabian grammarians term this usage an *Isteenāf*, that is, *a recommencement*, or the like, of the construction. Golius gives a very good definition of it in his *Arabic Lexicon* (col. 174), from a Persian writer. Dr. Ewald, with his usual positiveness and want of knowledge, tells us that it means the *present tense*! See my 'Examination,' &c., pp. 16, 17.

Let us now consider, as briefly as may be, Mr. Weir's reasons for supposing for the first time, that the form of the verb קָרָא does supply a *present tense*. 'That the participle "has most frequently" the signification of the present, is also acknowledged,' is a quotation of Mr. Weir's from Rödiger's edition of the Grammar of Gesenius. "Why then," it is added, "not come to the conclusion that the קָרָא form also denotes the present time?" I answer, because the reason here suggested, together with all the others offered to the same effect by Mr. Weir, are utterly inadequate to the proof of this point.

And first, as to the forms usually termed *participles* in Hebrew, they can involve *no tense* whatsoever, any more than any adjective or substantive of this language can. Besides, they are universally used as designating either agents, patients, or mere concrete nouns, just as the verbs to which they belong are active, passive, or neuter. And, as any agent, &c., may be spoken of as acting in *present time*, so may these forms be used, and actually are used, for this purpose.

But Mr. Weir has found a place, viz., Zech. vi. 6, &c., 'Which,' as he says, 'will set this in a clear light.' He then compares the participial forms וְיָצְאוּ and וְיָצְאוּ, with the preterites וְיָצְאוּ and וְיָצְאוּ; and his conclusion is, 'Here, then, the tense decidedly and necessarily denotes present time.' I answer, as above, these participial forms cannot be adduced as proving any tense or time in themselves: but, if any proof is to be extracted from the parallelism here, it is, that these forms must be regulated in their time or tense, by that of the *preterite* verbs in connection with them: and these, from the nature of the context, must necessarily be taken in the *past time*. The exegesis of the place will then be: The Prophet, in the first verse, views these agents in the act of going forth. The Angel then tells him, that these are four spirits *proceeding forth*, &c. Then, at verse 6, the white horses are said to *have gone forth*; i. e. their action of going forth had been continued to this time, and now they are spoken of as *gone forth* (וְיָצְאוּ); and the same is true in each place, in which this preterite form is used. And, in conformity with this, verses 7 and 8 speak of the action as *done*: and וְיָצְאוּ, *they have quieted*, is said as a consequence upon this action so carried out. If the Septuagint be consulted here, it will be found, that it represents this vision in the same manner, as does also the Syriac Peschito. There does not appear, therefore, any good reason here for believing, that the form קָרָא was intended to represent a *present tense*; but quite the contrary.

Mr. Weir betakes himself next to Gen. vi. 13, where we have מְשַׁחֲתֵם, a participial form, as before, which he connects with וְהָקַמְתִּי, ib. ix. 9, and avers that both have a present signification. But every one must see on a moment's reflection that a *future*, not a *present time*, is meant. It is true the present tense will afford a translation sufficiently exact for exegetical purposes; but this is not the question now before us. This case, therefore, will no more hold than the one in Zech. just noticed.

But Mr. Weir grapples more manfully with his subject when he applies himself to the proof, that all those places usually taken as preterites under

under the form קָרָא , are really and truly present tenses. Let us see how he manages this. I shall not deem it necessary to examine what he has said on Oriental and American-Indian painting; nor whether the poetical turn of some Biblical expressions ought to influence us on this question; it will be enough for me to consider what is advanced as proof positive of Mr. Weir's theory.

In the first place then, we have the principle noticed above, again adduced, by which the Hebrews view things *past* as *present*, by the very simple expedient of transporting themselves into times past, and then speaking of events taking place as present to themselves. 'This delusion . . . is strengthened,' adds Mr. Weir, 'by the frequent use of the particle הִנֵּה , *behold*. The example adduced is 1 Sam. xxx. 3, where it is said of a city, $\text{וְהָיָה שָׂרָאָה בָּאֵשׁ}$, and verse 16, וְהָיָה וְיָשָׁם .

But here, Mr. Weir has adduced *participial* forms, as before, and not preterites of the form קָרָא : and these must necessarily be regulated, as to tense, by the context. And, be it observed, we are told in the first verse here that the Amalekites *had burned* this city with fire. When, therefore, David and his men came to it, it had already been burned. This place cannot be taken, consequently, as exhibiting a *present tense*: and much the same may be said on the usage in verse 16.

We are next carried on to Zech. ii. 1; but here we have neither preterite nor participial form used! The same is the case in verse 5! In verse 7, to which we are next conducted, we have nothing more than a participial form, as before, which of necessity proves nothing. And the same is the case with verse 14. We are then treated with some similar remarks on the pronouns זֶה , *this*, הוּא , *he* or *that*, &c., much in the same inconclusive way.

Mr. Weir then urges the consideration that the participial forms are used more frequently in a *present* than in a *past tense*; and, indeed, that they can never be properly used as implying in themselves alone a past tense at all. Very true: but then, he has allowed himself to be imposed upon by Gesenius and others, who have treated these forms as *involving tense*. We may, therefore, dismiss all that has been said (p. 316) on this point as amounting to nothing. That Job i. 16, implies a past tense, exegetically, there can be no doubt; but it is not the participles קָרָא and כָּרַח that determine this, it is the facts of the narrative.

We then have our grand principle again advanced (p. 317), and the first verse of Genesis is thereby determined to be enounced in the *present tense*; and we are told, that either past or present may be adopted, but that the latter is preferable, *i. e.* to take בָּרָא in the *present tense*. It may be remarked: surely it must be extraordinary, and not a little abrupt, for a historian to commence the narrative of facts which had taken place upwards of 2000 years before his time, with a verb in the *present tense*! that this is, as Mr. Weir tells us, 'most in accordance with the general structure of the Hebrew language,' I positively deny. I will only add here, that if Mr. Weir were to affirm in the hearing of a native Arab, Syrian, or Samaritan,

Samaritan, that סָרַף signifies *He creates*, i. e. implying a *present tense*, he would certainly be treated as a person of unsound mind.

But Mr. Weir's more full statement of his principles on this point is yet to be considered, and certainly it is a masterpiece in its way. It is this (pp. 318, 319), '*In that language an action done and a present action seem to be one and the same thing. The very mention of an action as performed,*' adds Mr. Weir, '*implies that the action spoken of is regarded by the speaker as actually present,*' &c. I need only say on this, that, disregarding the paradoxes which it involves, it can lay claim to nothing beyond a thorough-going tissue of assumption. Mr. Weir has proved nothing yet; he has only propounded one form of speech for another, and argued from that which has in itself no tense at all, to the establishment of a tense in that other totally different! To real Oriental usage he makes no appeal, but relies only on arguments which he would, without doubt, if advanced on any other question, treat as perfectly visionary.

We now come to Mr. Weir's theory as to the tense, or time implied, in the form לִפְּנֵי , which, he tells us, is *the future*. The primary reason on which he grounds this is his fact, that it is formed on the imperative, which, as such, implies *futurity* in the action, &c. meant. But this is liable to two objections, and they are fatal ones: first, that in language, *practically considered*, the imperative does not necessarily imply futurity. If, for example, I say to my servant, 'Take this coat and brush it,' my meaning will be understood to be, 'Take it *now*, and do this.' The action implied, abstractedly considered, must indeed be future to the command; but common parlance recognizes no such nicety as this. The Jews usually argue on this principle, that there is no *present time* or *tense* at all: because, say they, what is not yet done must be future, and what is done must be past; which every one must see is a refinement that ought not to be regarded. And, secondly, it is beyond the power of Mr. Weir or of any other person to show, that the form here taken is not that of the *infinitive*. Certainly the most respectable authorities are against him, both in the east and west, and to these may be added that of Mr. Weir himself, as we shall presently see. So far Mr. Weir's theory has nothing very strong to recommend it.

In the next place, he finds several places in which this form must be understood as supplying a future sense, which need not be disputed. But the same may be said of Mr. Weir's *present*, which he would hardly allow to be sufficient to prove that it is a *future* tense; nor am I disposed to object to Mr. Weir's mode of shifting the period from which to estimate the tense, as he does on 1 Sam. xxii. 22. It will be enough for me to remark, that the same will hold good, supposing the verb יָדַע to imply a *present* tense. Nor will Mr. Weir's literal translation of the place make the matter in any way better, until he shows that יָדַע is not here a *present* tense, used as a *future*, by shifting the period onwards from the time in which David spoke, to that in which Doeg should tell the matter to Saul, as he himself here recommends. So far, therefore, we are still without proof that this
form

form implies *futurity* of tense; his reference to Ewald leaves the matter in precisely the same predicament.

We are next shown how this form is to be understood, as to tense, when it applies to events absolutely past, 'but which,' says Mr. Weir, 'are regarded and described by the speaker as future because,' adds he, 'he takes as his standing point and describes as present not the time *at* which, but the time *of* which he speaks.'

The first example here taken is 1 Sam. iii. 2, *לֹא יִבֶּלֶה*, 'he could not see.' 'Here,' says Mr. Weir, 'יִבֶּלֶה' is future, being viewed in relation to the dimness of vision mentioned immediately before.' But it is self-evident that, as the commencing dimness is mentioned in order to account for Eli's not being able to see, both these things are spoken of as existing together. The cause must indeed precede the effect in the order of conception; but it is too much to be insisted on here, that this metaphysical distinction has been allowed to govern the grammatical force of the construction; the fact is, this is, as before, a refinement unknown to Oriental grammar, and, I believe, to all grammar. I would suggest to Mr. Weir, that it would be much more natural to suppose that *יִבֶּלֶה* is a *present tense* used in the sphere of past time—to use Ewald's mode of speaking when arguing under my theory.

But we have in the next page (324) a better example than this, on which to test the soundness of Mr. Weir's theory; it is Job iii. 3, 'Perish the day in which I was born, *וְיָבֵלֵךְ* בּוֹ'; lit. I to be born in it; Job going back in thought to a period preceding this birth.' It will be observed here, that Mr. Weir takes the *infinitive*, not the *imperative*, for the ground-form of *וְיָבֵלֵךְ*; his future sense of the imperative must here, therefore, be out of place, and, in truth, he makes no use of it. *To be born* is now taken as implying the *futurity* sought. But I must remind Mr. Weir, that the particle *to* has no necessary connection whatsoever either with this or any other verb. We often have such expressions as '*I sit down to write*;' but here, the preposition *to* is used merely for the purpose of connecting in sense the verbs *sit* and *write*, not grammatically to determine, that *to* is any necessary part of the infinitive following. I know that this particle is usually given with infinitives, as if it were a constituent part of them; but a very little consideration will suffice to satisfy any one, that it is no such thing. Any *future* sense, therefore, elicited by means of this particle must be a perfect delusion.

But the most extraordinary thing of all is, Mr. Weir's making Job to utter this imprecation before he was born! Surely this is a *new thing in the earth*! Not entirely so, indeed, for there is one instance of this sort even in the New Testament. It occurs in John viii. 58: '*Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am.*'^{*} Now it is certain, that this goes back to a period preceding the incarnation and birth of Christ some thousands of years; but then, there is the

^{*} Which is an admirable instance of the Hebraizing character of the New Testament, as it also is of the Hebrew use of the present tense in similar instances.
best

best of reasons for it, viz., because He, *by* whom, and *of* whom it is said, *had glory with the Father even before the world was*. But this cannot be said of Job; neither he himself, nor any other person, had, or could have, any reason whatsoever for virtually giving him an existence prior to the natural commencement of his being; nor have we any grounds for supposing, that any such thing has ever been allowed to influence language, as assumed here by Mr. Weir. And again, as the language of the New Testament hebraïzes, if Mr. Weir's notion had been that of the Hebrews, we have a right to hold, that *the future*, not *the present tense* would have been here used by St. John; but he uses the *present tense*, 'Εγώ εἰμι, *I am!* And, once more, if we turn to the place, of which this is evidently an echo, we shall also have *the present tense*, i. e. according to my system (Exod. iii. 14), אֲנִי הוּא אֲנִי. The Septuagint gives the place thus,—'Εγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, i. e. by the *present tense* and the *present participle*, which is curious, the verb implying *présent existence*, the participle, according to the Oriental grammarians, *permanent existence*.^m (See Rev. i. 4-8; iv. 8, where the term is further exegetically explained, and p. 422, note, of my late work on Prophecy). If, therefore, we are to draw any conclusion from the usage here appealed to, surely it must be, that the *tense* used by Job is *the present*, not *the future*; and this is what my system requires.

It will be quite unnecessary to examine the theory of Mr. Weir further, as every portion of his article may be brought under one or other of the considerations offered above. Nor does Mr. Weir so much as once appeal to anything beyond his own theory. If, indeed, he had adduced anything from Oriental usage, or grounded anything upon good and sound reasoning, the case would have been different, and I should have been among the first to thank him for it; but, I think I have shown, that nothing of this sort has been done by him.

Having then so far considered the theory of Mr. Weir, I now betake myself, with your permission, to that of Dr. Murphy (No. Jan., pp. 194, *seq.*). The ostensible object of Dr. Murphy is—and the same is true of Mr. Weir—to propose an entirely new theory of the Hebrew tenses, and one, as he thinks, which will meet every difficulty with which this subject is now beset.ⁿ

Dr. Murphy says, then, 'Tense is the time-form of the verb. It may denote merely that the event is before, at, or after whatever point of time is in view; . . . or it may denote that the event is past, present, or future, as is the case with the only time-forms we have in the English language,' &c.^o That is, as I understand it, the tenses *past*, *present*, and *future* may be reckoned from any point of time which a writer or speaker may choose, i. e. *that in which he writes or speaks*,

^m See my Examination of Ewald, &c., p. 9, &c.

ⁿ I will say here, I would give Dr. Murphy my hearty thanks, if he would point me out one instance incapable of an easy solution on my principles.

^o But the English language really has no 'time-form' for the future; and the same is perhaps true of every language known to exist. I will or shall do this or that, implies futurity, but, grammatically, all that is said is, *I now will, or shall* (i. e. ought), to do this or that. See the Preface, p. x., to my *Heb. Gram.*

or *any other* introduced by him into his context. These are what I term in my Grammar, the *absolute* and *relative* uses of the tenses. In this particular, therefore, Dr. Murphy adopts my theory, just as Mr. Weir has done, and this without one word of acknowledgment as to its author, and so far we have nothing new.

We next have Professor Murphy's *time*-phrase-table, as he terms it. This is followed by another, which gives the '*tense-names*,' viz., the '*antepreterite*, *preterite*, *postpreterite*; *ante-present*, *present*, *post-present*; *ante-future*, *future*, and *postfuture*.' That is, we have here the *past*, *present*, and *future* reckoned from points of time, *past*, *present*, and *future* respectively: which is only another method of exhibiting the doctrine of the tenses as given in my Hebrew Grammar. We have, in the next place, this exemplified, but in a manner not quite consistent with Dr. Murphy's theory, nor yet with his reasoning; for these require an exemplification of the Hebrew verb, not of the Greek and Latin, as he has given.

But Professor Murphy atones for this to some extent, when he tells us, that 'the Hebrew verb has only two regularly inflected tenses. These,' he adds, are the anterior, expressing an action ended, and the posterior, expressing an action to begin,' &c. 'There is,' continues he, 'no inflected form for the central tense. The active participles, however, express an action current, and accordingly serve for the central tense.' According to this, therefore, these two inflected Hebrew tenses are the *past*, and the *future*, while the *present tense* is to be obtained by using the *active participle*. Professor Murphy's theory is, therefore, so far, that of the Jews, to which he has superadded that part of mine which requires a change in the point of time from which the tenses are to be reckoned. As to his use of the *active* participle, it may not be out of place to ask him, Why he has rejected the *passive* participle? for this is quite as necessary to his *central tense* of the passive voice, as his active participle is to that of the active. The fact however is, that both the tenses enumerated above are often found expressing the *present tense*, the participle of itself never, because it possesses no tense at all, any more than any adjective or substantive of this language does. Dr. Murphy has probably borrowed this from Ewald; and it is as deceptive as it is plausible.^p We have, therefore, in all this nothing new; and as to the inflected tenses in Hebrew being only two, the fact is, the same is the case in English, German, Persian, and most likely in every language in existence, as remarked above. We have in the Hebrew, therefore, nothing more difficult to deal with than we have in our own and other languages; and the fact is, it is dealt with generally in the same way.

Professor Murphy adds, 'The Hebrew tenses thus express only one of the relations of time, namely, the state of the action at a certain point of time, whether ended, current, or to begin. I remark, the

^p The participial form, which expresses the *agent*, *patient*, &c., as noticed above, is found engaged in every sort of time, as the context may require; but then the context must, as before, determine its tense, not the contrary.

considerations of *ended* and *to begin*, as given here, are not expressed by any Hebrew tense or tenses whatsoever; *agency* and the like, and nothing more is, or can be expressed by them; the distinctions of *ending*, *finishing*, and *beginning* must be, and are, otherwise determined. Dr. Murphy has here again unhappily adopted the notions of Mr. Ewald, and these are groundless.¹

Professor Murphy next gives us (p. 196, seq.) some rules, with their exemplifications, for our guidance in applying his theory; all of which, nevertheless, he allows, a little lower down (p. 200), may not succeed in every case; but, he tells us in the same page, as the objections that may be urged lie equally, if not in a tenfold greater degree, against every system . . . propounded (which I deny), the conclusion should seem to be that, Dr. Murphy must be right, and all others greatly wrong. Having, then, so far laid down the grounds of his theory (pp. 194-6), he next proceeds to point out the inadequacy of other theories.

In p. 197 he accordingly supplies some reasons, why Mr. Weir's objection to my *optional* use of the preterite should not be received. They are these:—‘He,’ i. e., the Hebrew writer, ‘takes his stand . . . next the initial event, on his own side of it, not beyond it. For . . . he has a tacit consciousness of his own time. . . . When he first meets it,’ i. e., his initial event, ‘. . . he finds himself on his own side of it, and to go further . . . is unreasonable, if not unnatural. . . . The Hebrew thinker does not conceive a beginning made without some distinct event . . . marking off and closing the unrecognized duration beyond.’ This is to the point, and it is well grounded. How Mr. Weir could have allowed himself to make Job prophesy of his own calamities before he was born, is to me a problem too difficult to solve.

Dr. Murphy now proceeds to account for the construction of the first verse in Genesis on his own theory, and this he does correctly enough until he comes to the participle *מְרַחֵם*, which expresses the action of the Spirit on the waters. ‘This’ (participle, he tells us) ‘constitutes the *centre* of the series. But this action is inseparably connected with “*and the earth was without form*,” etc., by the conjunction *ו* and: evidently connecting this agency with the formless and void state of the earth just mentioned.’ This must, therefore, be as far back in Dr. Murphy's anterior time, or tense, as the verb, etc., *וַיֵּרָא הָאֱלֹהִים* is, and be contemporary with it; and if so, it can be no *central* or intermediate period of the series now before us. This term *central*, therefore, had better be dismissed, because it is both unnecessary and wrong here; the fact of the case being, that this participial noun is, strictly speaking, intended to express the agency of the spirit concurrently with the time *וַיֵּרָא הָאֱלֹהִים*; and this is clearly what my theory requires. Besides, this participial form is expressive of *continuity* of action within this period, as I have elsewhere shown; and, in this respect, this form has a force different from that of the inflected forms of the verb, because it keeps in view the *agent*, which it always implies. Professor Murphy is here incorrect, therefore, as it regards

¹ See my *Examination of Ewald*, &c., p. 59, seq.

² See my ‘*Examination*,’ &c., p. 9, seq.

these two particulars, and, so far, his system is both defective and erroneous.

We next have *אֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֹהִים* given as the *posterior tense*, i. e., to the preceding series, or rather to the preceding word *מִרְחֹקָה*. But this breaks in upon Professor Murphy's first element, as to the theory of the tenses, and it happens in one of the simplest constructions possible; but then, a justification of this is found in the astonishing rapidity of thought rather than lengthened foresight in the Hebrew thinker, which is one of Dr. Ewald's figments! and once more, Professor Murphy's translation of this phrase is both at variance with his own principles, and unsupported by any Oriental usage; it is this: '*And God goes on to say.*' But as it is a *posterior*, i. e., a *future tense*, according to his paradigm, the translation ought to be, *and God will, or shall (now) say*, etc.; or, *God will, etc. (now) begin to say*: while he gives, '*goes on to say*,' i. e., having begun to do so. He now uses the *present tense*, and *goes on to say*. According to this, therefore, this form *אֵלֶּיךָ* is to all intents and purposes a *present tense*, with reference to the times of the events enounced, which is just what my theory makes it. Professor Murphy, therefore, for some reason or other, drops his own system here and adopts mine! In the phrase (Gen. i. 2) *וַהֲאֵרָא הָיְתָה*, and ib. ver. 5, *וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים*, and again, ii. 20, *וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים*, Professor Murphy is quite correct in his solution of the construction by saying, 'These are both detached past events, and expressed by the anterior tense:' i. e., by the *preterite*. The Arabian grammarians term this sort of recommencement of the construction an *Isteenāf*, as shown above. Mr. Weir would do well to consider this. I must add, Professor Murphy has not understood the last place above cited. His translation is, '*And to Adam he has not found,*' which gives no sense whatever. The first member here is evidently a nominative absolute; in Arabian phraseology it is the *Mobtadā*, or subject, of the preposition, and should be rendered—*and as to Adam, he found not*. See my grammar, pp. 287, 337, etc. On Zech. vi. 6, 7. Professor Murphy has mistaken the participial forms just as Mr. Weir has, and for the same reasons, and has been misled, no doubt, by the same authority.

I shall notice but one place more in Professor Murphy's article, viz. (p. 199): 'It will be seen,' says he, 'that every part of the historic is in strict contrast with the correspondent part of the prophetic account, and thus that the two form a grand antithesis in themselves. We conceive,' he adds, 'that this circumstance forms a complete demonstration of our view of the tense system.' I cannot help thinking, that Professor Murphy has bewildered himself here, by mixing up together two distinct and different considerations, viz. the office of the grammarian with that of the rhetorician. The grammarian has nothing to do, as it appears to me, beyond determining the forms and usages of words as it regards the sense they give, and the rules to be observed in combining them in sentences, etc. The rhetorician, on the contrary, has to show how these are brought together in accurately developing, determinately, and elegantly expressing, the process of thought entertained by any speaker or writer. In the place before us, the different extent of sphere, the order adopted, and the like, belong not to the grammarian

grammarian but the rhetorician, while Dr. Murphy is engaged in the business of the grammarian only. And here I must take the liberty to affirm, that both the Historian and the Prophet are in exactly the same predicament, as far as the grammar is concerned, both dealing in the historical—the one of past events, the other of future ones; and hence it is, that the language of prophecy so often adopts the *preterite tense* when speaking of things clearly future: it also adopts the *present tense* (form *יִפְּ*, etc.), and even the participial form; the former placing the prophet even *beyond* the events so predicted; the two latter representing him as *present* with them. The grammar of the language is, therefore, in no way affected by these considerations; the prophet being still the historian as far as this is concerned.

There are however cases not a few, in which neither the theory of Mr. Weir, nor that of Professor Murphy, can be applied: they are those of conditional, hypothetical, and other such, expressions. In these the preterite is often used as when nothing like a series, required by both our authors, can be found. The reason of this usage simply is, that the Oriental writers usually state facts instead of opinions; and in so doing, the preterite tense must necessarily be used.*

I do not think it can be necessary to follow either Mr. Weir or Professor Murphy farther. They have, like Dr. Ewald, both ploughed with my heifer, and they have misused her. All that is *new* in either is, evidently enough, quite groundless; which applies in all its force to Mr. Weir's notion, that what has usually and correctly been termed the *preterite* is a *present tense*. In Dr. Murphy I can find nothing new, if we except his peculiar *mode* of exhibiting his opinions on the nature of the Hebrew tenses.

I will only add, I more than doubt whether the course adopted by our authors, and indeed by most Europeans, in investigating this and similar questions, can in any case be relied on; that is, of laying down what may seem reasonable enough at first sight, and then endeavouring to make everything square with it. Such has been the system of the Jews, and has been adopted by Gesenius. Such too has been the practice of Ewald, excepting only where he has largely borrowed from my grammar. In much of this too, he has had the misfortune to blunder, as I have shown; and in much more, he has largely indulged in a sort of metaphysical disquisition, which has but little to do with practical grammar. In this respect Dr. Murphy has, I think, very unadvisedly followed him: to whom I would venture to suggest, that if he had depended more on his own good sense, he would have succeeded much better in the inquiry before us than he has done. I will only add, that as the Bible is an Oriental production, and abounds with notions and usages still current in the East, and these of the most simple and natural character; the surest way to a right understanding of its contents, must be the careful cultivation of these notions and usages. When this has been done, it will be found an easy book.

SAMUEL LEE.

The Rectory, Barley, Herts.
March 21, 1850.

* See my *Heb. Gram.* p. 360, seq.

ON THE MIRACLE OF JOSHUA.

SIR,—The paper on which I submit the following observations appeared in the fifth number of your Journal, from the pen of Mr. J. von Gumpach. From the evident learning and general candour of the writer, that article certainly deserves a more full and extended examination than it has hitherto received. Mr. Taylor's strictures, though very worthy of grave consideration, do not comprehend the entire subject, yet, for the sake of truth, it is highly desirable that both sides of the question should be placed fairly before your readers. Had any other advocate of the received opinion gone over the *whole* ground occupied by your correspondent, you would not have been troubled with this communication. Under these circumstances, I trust that the acknowledged importance of the inquiry will be a sufficient apology for my intrusion.

My observations will fall under two general divisions: first, I shall attempt to meet and obviate the preliminary objections against the vulgar interpretation of the passage; and secondly, adduce some arguments against that view which Von Gumpach has endeavoured to establish.

The first objection is based upon the rule that 'the necessary qualification of a miracle is its answering some grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose.' Now the ostensible purpose of the assumed miracle was the conquest of the five kings of the Amorites. But the results of this victory were not of a nature so vast and important, and of a tendency so lasting, as to justify the conclusion of their having been obtainable only by the Omnipotent (whose administration, as Dr. Chalmers remarks, is coeval with the first purpose of his uncreated mind, and points to eternity) suspending to that end the unchangeable laws of his creation.' This is, in fact, the old objection that such a miracle was an uncalled-for and preposterous exertion of the Divine power, out of all proportion to the occasion. Here let it be noticed, first, that, whatever force this objection may possess, it militates not only against the miracle in question but, by parity of reason, *against any miracle*, and yet Von Gumpach confesses that the events of that day were miraculous in contradiction to his own rule; secondly, the truth of that rule may be reasonably disputed because there is another miracle of the same kind on record wrought for Hezekiah's personal satisfaction, and without a grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose, viz., when the shadow went back ten degrees upon the dial of Ahaz to the astonishment of all the astronomers of Babylon; but thirdly, admitting the rule, and granting for a moment that, as far as we can see, the ends in view were not sufficient to justify so great a miracle, it does not follow that there were no higher ends to be accomplished which we *cannot* see. This one chapter records, in a very brief manner, the various battles which issued in the entire conquest of the south of Canaan. Is it to be reasonably expected that in such mere notes of important engagements we should find *all* the reasons for such an interposition of the Divine power,

power, and, failing to find them, *then*, on the strength of a mere negation, affirm that there was no miracle at all? I confess that I cannot presume to argue that there *ought* to have been a miracle, but for the same reason let no man argue that there ought *not* to be one on the single ground that the occasion was not sufficient to justify it. Who can decide that point with certainty? Without referring just now to the reasons for the miracle, which, of course, as they may be found in every commentary, Von Gumpach has weighed in the balances and found wanting; it is enough to ask, who is competent to say how far God ought or ought not to put forth his power, and when he ought or ought not to work a stupendous miracle? For this is, in reality, the very point which the argument involves. We are inquiring into the fact whether this miracle was wrought, and Von Gumpach reasons that it was not because the occasion was not worthy of it, and that, if God *had* wrought it, he would have 'suspended the eternal laws of his creation for no other purpose than that (he speaks with due reverence) of puzzling the human mind.' There are hundreds of plain men who will think, on his own showing and by his own translation, that an ordinary event has been represented in very strange and embarrassing language if no miracle is to be understood. Once more, it may be affirmed that the alleged miracle *did* answer a grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose, and therefore falls within the rule. I respectfully submit to M. von Gumpach that he is wrong in looking at this as an isolated battle, whereas it was one, and the most important one, in a rapid succession of battles which led to what is commonly called the conquest of Canaan. With the exception of the miraculous taking of Jericho and the overthrow of Ai (a very small place), it was the very starting point in their career of victory. It was of the utmost importance that such a conflict should be marked by the strongest evidences of the Divine interposition; for if that interposition be resolved into nothing more than a shower of hailstones, the miracle, admitting it to be such, was not of that striking character to justify the repeated declarations by which, in subsequent times, it was impressed upon the minds of the Jews that 'they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them, but thy right hand and thine arm,' &c. (Ps. xlv. 3.) Besides, the conquest of Canaan, with which the battle of Gibeon is inseparably connected, must not be considered in relation to the Jews alone, but as constituting one of the great epochs in the history of Redemption. Much more might be added to prove that, although the results may not have been so grand and lasting as Von Gumpach could desire, yet a purpose can be pleaded here at least as considerable as can be pleaded on behalf of most of the Old Testament miracles. Yet he says, 'The fruits of a victory to-day may, without leaving so much as a trace, be swept away by a defeat to-morrow.' True; but what is this to the purpose, since the fruits of this series of victories were *not* swept away, but were as lasting as the Jewish dispensation? 'The Jews had previously,' he proceeds, 'without the miraculous interposition of the Deity, overcome their enemies, and they overcame them thereafter; they had before been

suffered to be beaten, and they were suffered to be beaten again.' True; but no subsequent victory ever gave them possession of another land of promise, nor did any subsequent defeat finally deprive them of this which they now subdued, till after the coming of Messiah. Further, it is said that this miracle did not awe the Canaanites into subjection, because the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem; as if the holding out of one city for a time rendered all their other and wide-extended conquests of no account. Von Gumpach will not be satisfied unless he see the Canaanites abandon their strongholds without a struggle, and fly before the Israelites like chaff before the wind. He allows nothing for their unbelief and hardness of heart, and does not consider that it was the declared purpose of God that some of the enemies of his people should remain to test their obedience, and be their scourges when they rebelled. In a word, after reviewing carefully every sentence on this part of the argument, it is evident that, for aught that has yet been shown, there was a grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose to be answered by the miracle. Yet, be it observed, that I do not adopt the conclusion upon which your correspondent would fain precipitate his opponents. I do not say that these results were obtainable only by the Omnipotent's suspending the unchangeable laws of His creation, I merely say that He may suspend them whenever He may judge it proper to do so. Von Gumpach insists that we ought not to suppose Him to have done it but for a grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose. Admitting the justice of this requirement, we have enough before us to show that in this case it has been met.

Dismissing now this preliminary reason for regarding the common interpretation of this miracle as erroneous, we are prepared to consider the two or three striking features of the narrative, which, we are told, can hardly fail to force themselves upon our attention. Let the lovers of the marvellous prepare to stagger under the blow which their 'inherited impressions' must needs receive from the astounding fact that 'the Lord had *before* the contest commenced, and *before* the Jewish leader had pronounced his celebrated address to the sun, *already given him the promise of victory.*' Why then, after this promise, still demand an additional, a useless miracle? Did he doubt the promise? This is contradicted by the history. Was it for a sign to his followers? This, we are assured, would have been 'presumptuous beyond all bounds,' and likely to bring 'down upon his head the just anger of God's offended majesty.' Yet every reader of Scripture must see that men of God have been constantly guilty of the same presumption, because it is evident that for a mortal man to ask for a miracle *under any circumstances* would render him just as liable to the charge as Joshua in the case before us. But really this loose way of talking (for it must not be called reasoning) is quite beside the mark. Nobody has said, or is likely to say, that the intention of the miracle was simply to confirm Joshua's faith or that of his followers. The results were much more substantial, since it enabled them to accomplish in one day the work of two or three days; nay, to terminate at once a struggle that might

might have been indefinitely prolonged if their adversaries had been allowed the shelter and breathing time of the intervening nights. *This*, and not simply to encourage Joshua and his men, was the grand object to be attained; and therefore to argue that they did not need that encouragement, because they had a previous promise sufficient for the purpose, is quite irrelevant to the inquiry, viz., whether the results, not of that victory alone, but of the whole series to which it belongs, were not sufficiently grand, lasting, and ostensible to justify us *à priori* in believing that the occasion was worthy of so great an interposition of the Divine power.

In connection with the preceding argument Von Gumpach adduces, as an important consideration, that in the main account of the battle of Gibeon (v. 8, 9) *not the slightest allusion to the assumed miracle occurs*. It is found only in what he calls a mere episode, contained in verses 12-14, which chronologically belongs to the passage first referred to. Von Gumpach, however, does not contend that such transpositions are unusual with the sacred historians. He knows, indeed, that the Old Testament is crowded with the same violations of chronological order, otherwise the fact which he has noted (assuming it to be a fact) might have been remarkable. As it is, the instance is not singular, and the mention of it is therefore but a commonplace, which might well have been spared. But I should like to know on what ground these verses are to be treated as a mere episode. No sound principles of criticism will justify us in supposing a transposition without some strong and evident reason. When there are difficulties in a narrative which cannot otherwise be obviated, or discrepancies which cannot otherwise be reconciled, then a conjecture of this kind is lawful; yet even in such cases a judicious expositor will propose the solution with caution and diffidence. In the present case the order of events, as they stand in the chapter, is sufficiently perspicuous, without having recourse to a perfectly gratuitous assumption: first, the battle itself is related briefly in which the Amorites were discomfited before Israel; next, in the flight of the enemy towards Beth-horon, they are overtaken by a tremendous hailstorm, which must have involved a temporary obscuration of the sun to both armies. After this comes the famous apostrophe in question, which is probably in its right place for three reasons: first, because no reason is before us requiring a transposition; secondly, because such an apostrophe would be natural and easy when that orb was seen emerging from the cloud; and thirdly, because, in that stage of affairs, it would become apparent to the Jewish general that the day was wearing away, and that night must put an end to the pursuit and slaughter, if not rob them of the decisive fruits of their victory. *Then*, giving its due weight to the ardour of military enthusiasm, strengthened and directed by faith in God, is it unreasonable to suppose that Joshua, perceiving the importance of the emergency, and inspired by the re-appearance of the sun after so severe a tempest, appealed to God to lengthen out their space and opportunity for the utter destruction of the enemy; and finally, in His name, though according to his own notions, commanded the sun to stand still until the

desired work was accomplished? What need to change the order of such a clear and consistent narrative? Has no general, besides Joshua, carried away by a similar enthusiasm, under like circumstances, wished that it were possible to lengthen a day for a similar purpose? Every thing else has been realized in warfare *except the event*, and that is recorded in terms, the very recital of which is fatal to Von Gumpach's whole theory: 'And there was no day like unto that, before or after it, as to the Lord's hearkening to the voice of a man; for the Lord fought for Israel.' For to interpret these expressions simply as referring to the shower of stones, is to interpret it in a sense absolutely false, because that circumstance has many parallels in history, both sacred and profane, and involves nothing that is of necessity miraculous.

The second distinguishing feature of the narrative is that in the (so-called) episode itself it is positively stated that the miraculous occurrence of the day, and the object of Joshua's prayer to the Lord, were confined to his direct assistance, *the fighting of the Lord himself for Israel*. What can be more plain, asks Von Gumpach, than these words? Yet, plain as they are, there are still many who will think that the Lord's fighting for Israel may be interpreted, not only of the shower of hailstones, but also of the very miracle in question, especially as these expressions are found in a verse which declares the events of the day to be without parallel, before or since. Your correspondent must explain yet more at large in what respects they are inconsistent with the received interpretation. It would have been better, indeed, if he had devoted to this purpose the remainder of the paragraph now under consideration, rather than to the oratorical trumpet blast expressive of astonishment that views opposed to his own should have been so long entertained by men of piety and learning, rounded off with a resolution of that fact into the powerful grasp which the love of the marvellous and the influence of inherited impressions have upon the mind—an account of the matter, by the way, not more creditable to his own modesty than complimentary to his opponents.

The third feature of the passage is that the expedition of Joshua was undertaken upon his own advice, and without the express command of Jehovah. Hence it is argued that it wants that character by which it would have been distinguished if the Lord had intended it to subserve one of his Divine purposes. Was not the conquest of Canaan, then, one of the Divine purposes? The great fault of Von Gumpach all along is that the view which he entertains obliges him to treat this event as mean and trivial, in order to show that the occasion was not worthy of the miracle. But others will have widely different views of its importance, and, whether an express command can be pleaded or not, they will believe that Joshua virtually acted under Divine direction. He did not need a special command to do that which he had been appointed and commanded to do on every suitable occasion. He could not withhold his aid from the Gibeonites without violating the spirit and intention of that league which, though they had obtained by craft, was ever afterwards respected, and on one occasion (2 Sam. xxi. 1) divinely vindicated when it had been despised. Moreover, it is certain
by

by the promise that God sanctioned the expedition by an express revelation of the result before the battle began. Without a special command his path of duty was clear, and who shall say that he entered upon this work without consulting the will of God? True it is not on record; but what does this silence prove? Von Gumpach thinks that it militates against the supposition that the Divine Being would work a miracle for the success of an expedition undertaken without His express command. Yet it was clearly sanctioned, and Von Gumpach consents that another miracle was wrought, which, after all, may have been no miracle, viz., the shower of stones. Why, then, is he so embarrassed by an unimportant circumstance? If one miracle, why not another? If the objection amounts to any thing, it ought to be argued that the events of the day were common, and that there was no miracle at all. But this would flatly contradict Scripture, and therefore it is clear, from his own showing, that God *did* work a miracle in a contest undertaken without a special command.

Further, it is objected that the presumed miracle rests upon erroneous views of the mighty mechanism of God's creation. 'With the error the miracle vanishes, how then can it have ever existed?' But the *miracle itself* does *not* rest upon the error. Nothing rests upon the error, except the mode of describing or explaining it. The assumed miracle is that, according to the astronomical notions then prevalent, the sun actually stood still in the heavens, instead of descending to the horizon; whereas, according to our notions, it only *seemed* to stand still. Explain the fact (assuming it to be a fact) as you please, the objection proves no more than that Joshua did not speak in the language of modern astronomy. The intention of the prayer and the object of the miracle was the lengthening of the day, and in those times it would naturally be thought that the readiest way of accomplishing this end was to arrest the progress of the sun towards the horizon. It is true that those notions are now proved to be false, yet the very same effect, which the sacred writer has described popularly rather than philosophically, might have been produced in another manner. It might have been produced, for instance, by suspending the rotation of the earth upon its axis, or by some miraculous accommodation of the laws of refraction, causing the sun to appear above the horizon after it had actually set; but, in any case, it may be presumed that Joshua would have spoken in the same terms, and the account would have been given, as it is, by the inspired historian. The event would have been described as it appeared, for the language which a modern astronomer might have employed on the occasion would not only have been unintelligible to the Jews, but would have puzzled the minds of men for above 3000 years even more than Von Gumpach himself is puzzled by the narrative. Yet, because Joshua does not say, O earth, cease to revolve upon thy axis; or, Ye laws of refraction, protract the day; ergo, no miracle is to be believed. The Jewish general thought that the sun moved, he commanded it to stand still; he prayed that it might stand still, and it *did* stand still. No; all this is mere delusion, because Joshua was not acquainted with the Copernican system! Of course the description

description of the event does not square with that system, but it agrees exactly with what would be the popular expressions even now in the case supposed, and modern philosophy cannot convict it of more than a technical inaccuracy. What then becomes of the objection? But the difficulty of Von Gumpach does not vanish with the miracle. His own translation embodies the same erroneous views of the mechanism of the universe, and precisely the same kind of argument which he applies to the narrative before us might be applied by an infidel to shake the credit of the sacred writings with terrible effect, *if only such reasoning were admissible.*

Again, it is objected that we find the assumed miracle in no one instance adverted to in the subsequent writings of the Old Testament. This assertion, however, is somewhat too positive and sweeping. Isaiah (xxviii. 21) says, 'The Lord shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon, that he may do his work, his *strange work*, and bring to pass his act, his *strange act*.' This multiplication of terms seems to point out some very extraordinary event. Von Gumpach interprets it only of the hailstorm; no very strange act, since he himself inclines 'to the opinion that the sacred text alludes to one of those fearful hailstorms of not very unfrequent occurrence in the East, single stones of which have been found to weigh two pounds and upwards.' But the prophet Habakkuk also says (iii. 11), '*The sun and moon stood still in their habitation*,' an expression which is very summarily dismissed from the argument with the curt observation that the supposed reference to the miracle which it contains rests entirely on a misconception of the meaning of his words. Yet these words follow almost immediately upon expressions which look very much like a reference to the passage of the Jordan, 'Was the Lord displeased against the rivers? Was thine anger against the rivers?' And again, 'The mountains saw thee and they trembled, the overflowing of the water passed by, the deep uttered his voice and lifted up his hands on high;' then follows the text, 'The sun and moon stood still in their habitation:' compare also vers. 12, 13. I for one shall sincerely thank M. von Gumpach if he will inform me to what other event these words refer if not to that now under consideration. Subsequently, however, in reply to Mr. Taylor, 'a Jesus the son of Sirach,' and 'the marvel-loving Josephus' are pitched overboard without ceremony. Yet your readers need hardly be told, that the book of Jesus, supposed to have been written about 230 years before Christ, is by far the most valuable of the Apocryphal writings, and, next to the inspired books, has the highest claim upon our respectful attention. His interpretation is clear: 'Did not the sun go back by his (Joshua's) means? Was not one day as long as two?' (xlv. 4.) Josephus is not, therefore, indulging in his love of the marvellous when he gives a sense to the passage which was already current, and appeals to the books laid up in the temple in proof of his statement. Now here are two ancient interpreters agreeing together in asserting that this miracle was wrought, and asserting it as an undisputed fact, resting for its authority on the text before us. If they were making an original statement of the same marvellous nature,

we might well require some further confirmation, but they are simply giving their own impression of the meaning of inspired truth, and their exposition is borne out by the very terms of the controverted passage (which must seem strange and obscure on any other supposition), and coincides with the common sense views of almost all the world for the last 2000 years. Under these circumstances, to thrust them out of court in the contemptuous style adopted by Von-Gumpach is, on the part of one who professes to be inquiring after truth, an act of absolute insanity. Yet what has he to oppose to them? Nothing but the silence of subsequent Scriptures, which *may be* accidental, backed by the absence of all allusions on the part of heathen writers to an event which took place at least many centuries before such history commences. In what histories, let me ask, does Von Gumpach expect to find the testimonies which he requires? for, of course, he will not be satisfied with probable traces of it in fable. We justly reject Romish innovations from the silence of history, because all along the existence of the Catholic Church our historical documents and other writings are most copious and satisfactory. Can this be said of that period extending over a thousand years after Joshua, to which, however, your correspondent, without misgiving, applies the very same argument? No matter whether the witnesses be few or many—ten writers or ten thousand—their silence upon a given fact is equally convincing! Surely a reasoner who overlooks such an obvious distinction must be read with great caution, if not suspicion. There is little appearance of candid inquiry after the truth, when all the witnesses who have spoken for the last 2000 years are rudely put aside, and the mind shields itself from conviction in the obscurity of a yet more ancient period, all whose records have perished. The only thing substantial in the whole objection is the paucity of references in the subsequent books of Scripture themselves, yet I know of no portion, other than those mentioned, in which it could have been introduced without violence to the scope and intention of the writer. Nor is this the only remarkable event in the same predicament, yet nothing surely could be more unreasonable and vicious than the principle of denying every thing which has not been confirmed by subsequent writers.

Lastly, it is said that the address of Joshua, 'Sun, stand thou still on Gibeon, and thou moon over Ajalon's vale,' clearly forms no finished sentence; for if so, both sun and moon, supposing God to have given effect to Joshua's command, ought to have remained stationary from that moment for all future times. Well, grant that the sentence is unfinished; what then? Joshua fixes no limit; he leaves it to God, who alone knew how long a period was necessary for the purpose; but how does this bear upon the argument? The limit is ascertained, viz., until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. The sacred writer says, '*It seemed a whole day*;' and a people who measured their time by the apparent progress of the sun could only guess what space had really elapsed. Hence the peculiarity of expression, on which Von Gumpach has lavished such an amount of useless criticism. *Useless to himself*, I mean, because, so far from weakening the evidence

evidence on behalf of this miracle, it rather strengthens it by showing that the narrator could not speak with certainty of the lapse of time, because the only dial which they possessed was rendered worthless during its continuance, 'The sun hastened not to go down, it *seemed* a whole day.'

Such, then, are the ample grounds on which, according to Von Gumpach, the commonly received interpretation of the passage is to be rejected, and the way cleared for a new exposition. Waiving all further comment upon them, I leave your readers to attach to them whatever weight they may think they deserve, and proceed to examine the interpretation which it is the main object of his paper to establish. For the sake of brevity, I shall confine my observations to that part of the chapter in which the presumed miracle is recorded, and accept his own translation as sufficiently accurate for my purpose, that no time may be spent on merely verbal criticism. The amended translation is the following:—

'But in the sight of Israel he said:
Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
And thou, moon, over Ajalon's vale
—And the sun stood still, the moon stayed—
Until the people
Shall have avenged themselves upon Israel's foes.'

Is not this written in the Sepher Hajashar?

'13 So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down, it seemed a whole day.

'14 And there has been no day like unto that, either before or after it, as to the Lord's hearkening to the voice of man; for the Lord himself fought for Israel.'

The interpretation is the following:—Joshua had, most likely with the view of surprising the enemy, chosen the hottest part of the day for the attack. The sun was standing nearly in his zenith; the moon, about to set, was still visible in a south-easterly direction over the valley of Ajalon, and, pointing to those two glorious luminaries, 'they shall not decline in the heavens,' he concluded his harangue to his companions, 'until they shall have witnessed our triumph;' nor was the prediction vain. The sudden and irresistible attack of the Israelites during midday at once decided the contest in so incredibly short a time, it appears to the narrator, as if the sun, instead of an hour, had tarried in the midst of heaven a whole day. Now let me offer a few remarks on this representation.

I. I notice that Von Gumpach holds himself at liberty to choose his own time of day for beginning the battle. Joshua, with a view of surprising the enemy, falls upon them at midday, or about half-past eleven o'clock in the morning (a strange time for taking men by surprise), his own troops having slept out all the morning in perfect safety, and in the presence of the enemy, *without being discovered*. Von Gumpach chooses this hour for no other reason except *that it agrees with his own interpretation*, without offering a single particle of evidence for even the probability of the conjecture; on other grounds, indeed, that conjecture is extremely improbable. It may be presumed that

that a general in that climate would either begin battle early in the morning, or, if deferred, that he would wait till the intense heat of noon had passed away; or, if his object were a surprise, that he would attack them when it was yet dark, or else fall upon them as soon as he came up with them. But all this is mere supposition on both sides. Yet observe, the interpretation of Von Gumpach *absolutely requires* that the engagement should begin at half-past eleven o'clock in the morning. The hour at noon during which in that country the sun appears to be stationary, and casts no perceptible shadow, is all the explanation which he has to give of this remarkable text—his only refuge from the grand difficulty, viz., the difficulty of believing the alleged miracle. To those who entertain a different view, the time is of no consequence. Whether the sun were ascending or descending, or in its zenith, its apparent progress could be stayed in any quarter of the heavens. But to the argument of Von Gumpach the *time of the day is vital*. Joshua *must* utter his address to the sun when it is directly over his head, or else Von Gumpach cannot explain the passage. This, again, is unlikely. The sun, in that position, would not naturally attract the eye and inspire an enthusiastic general with a sudden gleam of thought. He must stretch his neck in a painful and most unpoetic manner, out of deliberate intention, even to glance at it. But when lower down in the heavens and emerging from a cloud, it would attract attention in a moment; and such circumstances would render that apostrophe exceedingly beautiful, sublime, and impressive which, on the theory of Von Gumpach, is forced and unnatural, clothed in the forms of poetry indeed, but without its soul. Dispensing, however, with all gratuitous assumptions one way or the other, we want the evidence to prove that the engagement did begin at that hour of the day. Circumstantial evidence will do, but *some* evidence we must have, because, if it did not, Von Gumpach's doctrine falls to the ground. We put the matter fairly to issue. Beginning at half-past eleven, we are told that in the compass of one hour the irresistible attack of the Hebrews accomplished a work which Von Gumpach confesses to be incredible, and of which the sacred historian says, 'it seemed a whole day.' Subsequently there was a pursuit in one direction to Bethhoron, and in another as far as Azekah and Makkedah, distances so considerable that, whoever estimates them, must be convinced that the time allotted was not sufficient for the pursuit alone, to say nothing of the capture of Makkedah itself, which took place the same day. If the enemy fled, not in two divisions and in two different directions, but, as the eleventh verse seems to imply, in one body, first northwards, and afterwards, discovering that they were wandering from home, turned southwards, the way would be materially lengthened and the difficulties of the case increased. Now all these transactions must have taken place in less than six hours and a half, because time must be reserved for the judgment and execution of the five kings, whose bodies were left hanging on the trees till the going down of the sun. *All this*, which is utterly incredible, we are required to believe, because we are not allowed the miracle by which the day was lengthened, and *because*,
apart

apart from that miracle, the only supposition by which that passage can be explained renders it absolutely essential that the engagement should begin at about half an hour before noon. But this supposition is perfectly gratuitous, and is adopted by Von Gumpach only because it squares with his own interpretation. We reply in his own words to Mr. Taylor, 'We must on similar unprincipled conjectures and gratuitous opinions opposed to conclusive arguments waive all comment.'

II. But, in the second place, we will, for the sake of argument, admit the supposition that Joshua apostrophized the sun at the time when, in the ordinary course of things, it was about to stand still in the heavens, what is the solution of that strange and obscure expression, 'The sun hastened not to go down, it seemed a whole day?' First, a quotation from the Talmud, which, literally translated, reads thus, '*From the half-past sixth till the half-past seventh (Jewish) hour (from about half-past eleven to half-past twelve o'clock, according to our mode of reckoning) the sun stands still over the head of all men, throwing his shadow straight forward down before him, and inclining to neither side; but after the half-past seventh hour he declines in the heavens towards evening.*' 'Here,' says Von Gumpach, 'we have the solution of our last remaining scruple, for, knowing that, according to the view of the ancient Hebrews, a view evidently reflected in the passage of Joshua, the sun every day tarried or stood still in the midst of heaven for the space of about one hour, that passage no longer presents any difficulty; but, in connection with the preceding explanations, at once assumes a perfectly clear and intelligible meaning.' Now that clear and intelligible meaning is, that Joshua simply intended to say, pointing to those two luminaries, 'They shall not decline in the heavens until they shall have witnessed our triumph.' Thus what appears to an ordinary reader to involve a stupendous miracle is resolved into an every-day occurrence. But not to indulge in any expression of astonishment which such an exposition is well fitted to excite, it will be observed that it leaves the standing still of the moon wholly unaccounted for. Yet it is not only said that the sun stood still, but *the moon stayed*. If there were no miraculous change of any kind in nature, the sun only *appeared* stationary from its position in the zenith, and the moon, being near to the horizon and 'about to set,' ought to have gone down as usual. But it is said, '*the moon stayed.*' How then is this to be explained? Must it be resolved into a mere poetical exaggeration? But it is not the custom, I submit, of inspired poets to indulge themselves in *pure fiction*. There must have been a sense in which the moon stayed, not explained by Von Gumpach, to justify this language even in a poet, and vindicate it from the charge of being a gratuitous invention. Even poets must write intelligibly and in accordance with truth, so that men of plain understandings may know when they are stating a fact, and when they are giving the rein to their imaginations, much more poets whose writings are embalmed in the book of God as containing matters to be believed. Once admit the principle of nullifying an author's words because they are in verse,
and

and then what portion of the sacred volume will be secure from the devastations of a daring and unbridled criticism? We have a right, therefore, to ask Von Gumpach to reconcile his theory with this statement, which he has left unexplained. And if he shall say that it is poetry, and is not to be interpreted literally, let us know what fragment of truth the writer had in his mind on which to build such a bold exaggeration of the wonders of that day.

III. But if there were not this palpable objection to the solution here offered of a difficult and controverted text, it seems to me that, to an unbiassed inquirer after truth, it must appear extremely forced and unnatural. No sooner do we turn from the gloss even to Von Gumpach's own translation than the discrepancy between them strikes the mind in a moment. For the words of Joshua are a command addressed to the sun and moon, 'Sun, stand thou still,' &c. This is changed into a simple declaration, 'They shall not decline in the heavens until they have witnessed our triumph.' This, be it observed, is not a paraphrastic rendering, but a change in the entire form of expression, which completely alters the sense. It can hardly, therefore, be called fair criticism, but rather a mode of critical torture—a kind of Procrustean bed, on which almost any poetical portion of Scripture might be stretched or shortened according to the preconceived notions of an expositor. One would have thought the bare reading of vers. 13, 14 enough to scatter Von Gumpach's interpretation to the winds, 'The sun stood still in the midst of heaven'—'it hasted not to go down'—'the moon stayed'—'it seemed a whole day.' The first phrase, however, we are told, means nothing, except as it is interpreted by the second, 'hasted not to go down,' *i.e.* did not hurry his course, was not deprived of motion, but only of accelerated motion. So saith our gloss. 'The moon stayed;' here the gloss is silent. 'It seemed a whole day.' How? Why truly because the overthrow of the Amorites was effected in such an *incredibly* short space of time as if the sun, instead of an hour, had tarried in the midst of heaven for a whole day. What does Von Gumpach gain by denying one miracle, if he is obliged to invent another? 'Dum miraculum quod clarè Scriptura tradit, declipant, novæ ipsi cudunt miracula.'^a But in what respect was there no day like that, before or after, as to the Lord's hearkening to the voice of a man? Because the Lord fought for Israel by sending a shower of hailstones upon the enemy in their flight. What! is this the circumstance which is so far beyond all parallel? It was outdone in the destruction of Sennacherib at the prayer of Hezekiah. The voice of a man prevailed with God to a greater extent when the heavens were shut up for three years and six months at the entreaty of Elijah. It was surpassed over and over again in the Mosaic miracles. On the other hand, the miracle which I plead for has never been paralleled, nor is there such another instance on record of answer to prayer. On every other supposition the statement is questionable, if not false; on mine alone, it is evidently true.

^a Poli, *Synop.* in loc.

IV. But there is a yet further objection to the exposition of Von Gumpach, and that is the multiplicity of expressions in which the event is recorded. If only one strange and obscure phrase had required elucidation, then we might have been disposed to accept any plausible supposition as to its meaning, without building a stupendous miracle upon the strength of one or two doubtful terms. But the sacred writer crowds one phrase upon another, as though he would insist upon impressing on our minds the truth and reality of the fact which he records: first, Joshua utters his address, 'Sun, stand thou still,' &c.; next, the fulfilment of the command is described in corresponding terms, 'And the sun stood still,' &c. Again, the duration of the event is specified in two ways, 'Until the people have avenged themselves upon their enemies,' and 'it seemed a whole day.' Then further, the sacred writer refers to his authority, viz., Sepher Hajarashar. Finally, the inspired narrative takes up and repeats the statement, 'So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down; and there was no day like that,' &c. Here, therefore, are no less than nine or ten phrases, *all* of which require to be lowered in their signification before we can get rid of the miracle; and yet, as we have seen, there is one leading phrase among them, *twice repeated*, which cannot be explained on any other supposition. Is it reasonable to suppose that *any author* (not to say an inspired author) would have indulged in such an accumulation of terms merely to describe an every-day occurrence, referring most unaccountably to an authority for a fact familiar to everybody, and wind up all by saying, 'There was no day like that, before or after,' &c.? Surely a man must be possessed with a spirit of most determined and persevering incredulity to set himself to the task of levelling so many mountains of difficulty lying in the way of his interpretation. Nothing but the absolute impossibility of solving the problem in any other way could justify him even in attempting it; but impossibility is not affirmed. The pleas urged are, conclusive arguments, the absence of adequate purpose, and the obvious meaning of the narrative. As to the first and second, your readers may form their own judgments; and with respect to the third, a meaning can hardly be called obvious which flatly contradicts the views entertained by almost all men for at least two thousand years, and with regard to which even Von Gumpach has some scruple remaining until it is solved by a questionable statement from the Talmud. In the mean time this chain of phrases stands on record, and, until a clearer signification can be found than that which has been commonly received, will continue to convey to the minds of ordinary readers the same ideas which they did to the 'new-fangledness' of 'a Jesus, the son of Sirach,' and 'the marvel-loving Josephus'; for it is not reasonable to expect that a *forced* and *partial* interpretation, which is only half illustrated by light from the Talmud, will take the place of one which is straightforward and without any difficulties, except those which vanish in a moment before the sovereign wisdom and almighty power of the Most High.

Long as this paper is, I must yet beg room for a few sentences more to sum up the argument. This, then, was the most important battle

battle of the whole series that led to the conquest of Canaan—the day that decided the fate of the country and dealt to the inhabitants of the South particularly a destruction from which they never afterwards recovered; *therefore* there was a grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose to be accomplished, which however, judging from other instances (as that of Hezekiah), is not absolutely necessary to justify us *a priori* in expecting a miracle. Secondly, we have seen that the necessity for it was not superseded by the promise of victory previously given, since its object was neither the gaining of the battle nor the confirmation of the faith of Joshua and his men, but the lengthening of the day to render the defeat and ruin of the enemy decisive and irreparable. Thirdly, we have seen that no reason has been assigned for treating vers. 12-14 as a mere episode chronologically out of place, since the order of events is perfectly clear without that gratuitous assumption. Fourthly, in what way the Lord himself directly fought for Israel has not been explained, except by a circumstance which strips the expression of its extraordinary emphasis. Fifthly, it is obvious that the mechanism of the heavens presents no insurmountable difficulty, because, in what way soever the effect was produced, it would be described as it appeared, and modern discoveries can detect nothing but a popular rather than a philosophical mode of description. Finally, the paucity or, if you will, the absence of references to so great an event in subsequent Scriptures, though a circumstance worthy of observation, is manifestly indecisive; because, since it is no part of the design of sacred writers to repeat and confirm the statements of their predecessors, whenever they do so, they do it incidentally, and therefore an omission may be purely accidental. On the other hand, denying the miracle, we shall be constrained to believe that, beginning at half-past eleven in the morning, a great battle was fought, followed by a pursuit and slaughter, northwards, in the direction of Bethhoron, and then winding southward to Azekah and Makkedah, leaving him for the capture of Makkedah itself and for the judgment and execution of the five kings, whose bodies hung till sunset—all were accomplished *in six hours and a half!* We shall be constrained to believe that an accumulation of phrases unexampled in history or poetry; which has misled the minds of men for many generations, points only to an every-day occurrence which no one has ever noticed except the writers of the Talmud: one phrase, however, and that a leading one, being left wholly unexplained even by those grave authorities. In one word, to get rid of a miracle, first, resolve your passage into poetry; secondly, produce your own translation, which will give you the double advantage of choosing your own out of a great variety of admissible meanings, and of securing you, in case of need, a snug retreat among the Hebrew roots; then lastly, distil your poetry into prose, which process will enable you to throw off all that is supernatural as bold figures and embellishments, leaving a very small and common-place residuum, whose only remaining difficulties, if any, may be easily disposed of by a judicious application of Rabbinical learning. Such, or nearly such, is the course adopted by your correspondent. But the records of the book of God are far too
sacred

sacred and important to be submitted to such an uncandid and distrustful analysis. Believing that He can do all things, and that His wisdom is the sole judge as to the suitability of the occasion, we should be content with child-like simplicity to accept for truth whatever the obvious meaning of His words implies. For, whether the statement comes to us in the form of history or poetry, we may be assured that neither historian nor poet, under Divine inspiration, would have given us fictions instead of facts; thus laying at the same time a broad foundation for reasonable scepticism and a snare for the understandings of common men.

Hackney.

DANIEL KATTERNS.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—Will you allow me to explain some portions of my former letter which Mr. von Gumpach has misunderstood?

When I followed out to its logical consequences his principle respecting 'the necessary qualification of a miracle,' I had no intention to do anything so unfair as to advance a virtual charge of neology against him by imputing those consequences as opinions to *him*. How could I, in the face of *some* of his statements?—statements which do honour to the piety of his feelings, but not, I think, to his logical consistency.

With this explanation I will leave it to others to judge whether I have misrepresented his views or not.

By a strange inadvertency he has so *misquoted* one of my arguments through the omission of an important clause, as to make me absurdly say, that the ancient Israelites must have considered as a stupendous miracle what they themselves regarded as the ordinary course of nature; and he has then proceeded to reason as if that absurdity were mine. My statement, on which I founded an argument that appeared to me to have some force, was *the very opposite*. See the mangled quotation near the foot of p. 227, vol. v., contrasted with its source p. 150, vol. iv.

The point of another argument he has entirely missed. Supposing for a moment that the Israelites could have blundered so far as to imagine the sun to be stationary for an hour daily on the meridian, because it has then no perceptible motion *in altitude*, does Mr. von Gumpach really think that they could possibly fail to *see* (whatever their theories) that the *moon, when near the horizon*, so far from being stationary, sinks rapidly to rest?

I certainly had no wish to deny the value of the Talmud (when used with proper caution) as a source of information respecting the customs, and in some cases even the ideas, of the ancient Israelites. But I did and do object to 'the (gratuitous) attribution to the venerable personages of Old Testament history of the modern absurdities' of that farrago of truth and error; that is to say, to the assumption that because a notion—no matter how absurd—which happens to favour
a critic's

a critic's views, occurs in the Talmud, it was *therefore* the notion of the Israelites of old.

I refrain from making any remarks on the arguments of Mr. von Gumpach's letter, however strong the temptation to analyse them, as in all courtesy the right of reply was his. I merely observe, therefore, that he has expressly renounced one important error in his translation ('Joshua had spoken'); that he has *partially* relinquished a second ('it seemed'); and that he has tacitly abandoned a third ('but in the sight of Israel he said'). Of the effect of these concessions let your readers judge.

I have, however, in compliance with his pointed invitation, imposed on myself the somewhat wearisome task of drawing out the subjoined remarks on the uses of the particle *וְ*. Whether Mr. von Gumpach's 'novel view' of the meaning of that word might not have been dealt with in a more summary manner, it belongs to others to say. The peculiar interest which attaches to the construction of *וְ*, as illustrative of the use of the Hebrew tenses, may be thought to justify the length of my observations.

Some additional thoughts 'On the Narrative of Joshua's Miracle,' which I do not wish to mix up with the present discussion, I send you in a separate paper.

April, 1850.

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

REMARKS ON THE MEANING AND CONSTRUCTION OF *וְ*.

The theory which we have been invited to study (vol. v. p. 229) is the following:—

'Whenever *וְ* is used in the Bible in the strict sense of 'at that time' (for instance, Gen. xii. 6), it must be regarded as the accusative of the *noun*. As an *adverb* proper it possesses a double power—prospective and retrospective. According to the latter, in which it exclusively occurs at the *commencement* of a new sentence or period, it bears the meaning of "thereupon," "*in sequence* (upon which);" according to the former, in which it occurs only in the *middle* of a period, "it assumes the meaning of *in sequence* (of)," i. e. because.'

Instead of merely examining the foregoing hypothesis, it will, we think, be more agreeable and profitable to institute an independent investigation of the uses of the particle in question, subjoining any further remarks that may be necessary in reference to the above quotation.

I. Referring to what has been already said on this subject in vol. iv. p. 153 of this Journal, we now observe that there are at least 135 occurrences of *וְ* (or *וְ*) in the Hebrew Scriptures. This is a considerably greater number than the Concordances indicate; and there may be others which have escaped our notice. It is sufficiently probable that *וְ* was originally a noun (compare *וְ*, now); but we must at present waive such speculations.

1. The primary meaning of the adverb may be best ascertained by a reference to those passages, 8 in number, where it occurs *without a personal*

personal verb, and independently of any words that might modify its meaning; e.g. Gen. xiii. 7; Hos. ii. 10. It signifies 'at that time,' 'then.' In a ninth occurrence without a personal verb, 2 Sam. xix. 7, (to which we shall afterwards refer) it introduces an apodosis.

2. In 18 occurrences it is preceded (and in *one* very anomalous instance, *followed*) by מִן or מִן ; the compound phrase being used sometimes as an adverb signifying 'from that time,' or 'of old'; sometimes as a preposition, 'from the time of,' 'since'; and sometimes as a conjunction 'from the time that,' 'since.' In one occurrence *without* מִן , it may possibly mean 'of old' (Ps. lxxxix. 20).

3. מִן is used 44 times with the future tense, to indicate *future* or *conditional* events. In this connection it presents no peculiarity calling for remark, and is to be translated 'then,' but with almost all the shades of meaning of that English word.

4. With the preterite tense, מִן is used 39 times. Of one of these occurrences (Ps. lxxxix. 20) we have already spoken. In another, 2 Sam. v. 24, the verb has a *future-perfect* force; in five more the adverb introduces an apodosis, giving the preterite tense the force of the Latin pluperfect subjunctive (2 Kings xiii. 19; Ps. cxix. 92; cxxiv. 3, 4, 5); and in one passage (Eccl. ii. 15) it seems to be equivalent to מִן . In the remaining 31, מִן simply introduces a *past* event.

5. But so also does it introduce a *past* event in at least 21 out of the remaining 23 occurrences of the word (known to us) in the Bible, notwithstanding that it is construed with the *future tense*. Few Hebrew scholars will now be content to say that the tenses are interchanged at random, or that it is a matter of indifference whether, in historical narrative, מִן be joined to the preterite or the future tense. We have formerly endeavoured to show, by a reference to example, the nature of this distinction, and have also indicated our opinion as to its *rationale*. More particularly and accurately we now observe,

1. That מִן with the preterite seems to retain its fundamental meaning of 'at that time,' or 'at the same time,' and to indicate that the event which it introduces was either *exactly* or *generally contemporaneous* with what was previously related. We say, *either exactly or generally*; for in some cases the event may be found, on a nicer estimate, to be either somewhat *before*, or somewhat *after* that which was last recorded. See a striking example of *exactly* contemporaneous time in Mal. iii. 16, מִן נִבְרָא וְנִבְרָא , 'Then (or 'at the same time,' viz. while the wicked were speaking stoutly against the Lord) they that feared the Lord spake often one to another,'—a passage in which the beauty and emphasis of the contrast depends greatly on this accurate rendering of מִן . So in Gen. iv. 26; xlix. 4. In other cases the event introduced by מִן is manifestly *prior* in time to that which was related immediately before, so that the verb may, and perhaps should, be translated by the pluperfect. See an apparently certain example in Josh. x. 33, where, after the narrative of the destruction of Lachish, it is added מִן עָלָה וְנָחַם 'At that time Horam king of Geser (*had* come) up to help Lachish,'

Lachish,' which must have been a previous event. In such a case as this, the translation 'thereafter,' or 'thereupon,' would be historically false. There is, however, a third class of instances where the event is evidently subsequent to that which was last related, and where accordingly we may, in consistency with historical truth, though not, we think, quite literally, translate *אֵת* *thereupon*, *e. g.* 2 Kings xiv. 8, *אֵת שָׁמָּה וְהָיָה*, 'At that time (or, in this case, 'thereupon') Amaziah sent.' That it is not *necessary* even in such cases to assign to the *adverb* the meaning 'thereupon' will appear from the consideration that the expression *אֵת הַיּוֹם הַהוּא* is sometimes used in an exactly similar way, *e. g.* 2 Kings xx. 12, where immediately after Hezekiah's recovery from sickness it is added 'At that time did Berodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, send a letter and present unto Hezekiah, because he heard that Hezekiah had been sick;' an event this, that must have been a considerable time *subsequent* to Hezekiah's recovery. We may add, that there are several occurrences of *אֵת*, which we were at first inclined to range under this third class, but which appear on closer examination to indicate strictly contemporaneous action; the event introduced by *אֵת* being not subsequent in time to that which was previously related, but only *consequent* on it as its effect, *e. g.* Judg. viii. 3, and still more strikingly Josh. xxii. 31, where the exact meaning seems to be 'thereby,' 'so,' or 'in so doing.' The result then is, that the *preterite after אֵת* relates an event either exactly or generally contemporaneous with what was previously mentioned.

2. On the other hand, we think it can be shown that when the *future* tense is used after *אֵת* to describe a *past* event, it indicates subsequence of time, and that it gives to the *adverb* the meaning of *thereupon*, or *thereafter*. Not merely is this rendered probable by the analogy of the construction of *אֵת* and *הַיּוֹם הַהוּא* with the future;* the statement will, we think, be fully borne out by an examination of the passages in which the idiom occurs. In *not one* of the twenty-one instances already referred to is there the least ground for supposing *אֵת* to introduce an event that had occurred *previously* to the last related; in *not one* of them can it be shown with certainty that the event was even contemporaneous; while in twelve passages out of the twenty-one it is placed beyond doubt by the context that the event is *subsequent* to that which was mentioned immediately

* I refer with pleasure for a confirmation of my views on this point to the able article 'On the Hebrew Tenses,' by the Rev. D. W. Weir, which appeared in the eighth number of this Journal, and to which, of course, I could not appeal when I formerly stated them. I dissent, however, in important respects, from several of his opinions. The following is a minor point; but I may mention it—that I do not think it has been proved that *אֵת*, *אֵתָּה*, or any other words besides *אֵתָּה*, *אֵתָּה*, and *אֵתָּה*, are joined with the future to indicate a *subsequent past* event. E. g. Gen. ii. 10, *אֵתָּה יָפַרְרָה* means, I think, 'Thence it (the river) divided itself,' viz., not by a single act (which would have been expressed by *יָפַרְרָה*), but daily, momentarily, continually. The future tense is used, as it often is, to denote *custom* (and that even with reference to past time); *se dividebat*, not *se divisit*. On a similar principle may many of the other passages referred to by Mr. Weir be explained.

before (Deut. iv. 41; Ex. xv. 1; Num. xxi. 7; Josh. viii. 30; xxii. 1; 1 Kings iii. 16; ix. 11; viii. 1; xvi. 21; 2 Kings xii. 18; xv. 16; 2 Chr. v. 2). In all these the meaning is 'thereupon,' or 'thereafter.' The same we conclude to be the meaning in the remaining passages, where the subsequence in time is not indeed equally demonstrable from the connection, but is at least *consistent* with it; viz. Josh. x. 12; Judg. v. 13; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings viii. 22; xvi. 5; 2 Chr. xxi. 10; Ps. lxix. 5; cxvi. 2 (twice). On what other principle is the use of the future to be explained?

We have thus classified the whole 135 occurrences of לִּפְנֵי known to us, with the exception of *two*. One of these is in Jer. xi. 15—a passage so difficult, that though we think it belongs to the *last* class which we have mentioned, we prefer not building upon it. The other is in Job xxxviii. 21, $\text{וְיִדְעָהּ כִּי אֲנִי תֹכַח}$, where we frankly confess ourselves unable to explain the use of the future to our own satisfaction. But we do not think we are called on to suspend our judgment respecting the general use and construction of לִּפְנֵי on the explanation of this difficulty: *first*, because there are some grounds to think that the use of the future in this passage is not connected with its proximity to לִּפְנֵי (for see the equally difficult occurrence of לִּפְנֵי in a *past* sense without לִּפְנֵי in Job iii. 3, and of לִּפְנֵי after כִּי in 1 Kings xxi. 6); and, *secondly*, because the book of Job abounds in perplexing poetical constructions, which it is hazardous to apply as a rule for the interpretation of ordinary narrative in prose. I may observe that the Gaelic language, which, like the Hebrew, has only two tenses—the preterite and the future—the substantive verb alone having also a Present, admits in poetry of the use of the future to express present and even past events, in a way that would be intolerable in common prose.

II. The foregoing remarks have partly disposed of, and partly prepared the way for disposing of, the theory quoted at the commencement of this paper. We have shown that though לִּפְנֵי at the beginning of a new sentence or period *often* bears the meaning of 'thereupon,' this is by no means *always* true.

Neither do we think that the author of the theory referred to has proved that לִּפְנֵי in the *middle* of a period means 'because.'

For, 1. His appeal to the authority of Gesenius is founded on a mistake—that high authority being really on the other side. Gesenius's words in the place referred to (we quote from the *Lexicon, Tregelles' Transl.* לִּפְנֵי , No. 3) are these: '*then, after that, for, therefore, BECAUSE OF THAT.*' By what strange oversight was this *adverbial* expression confounded with the conjunction *because*?

2. The passages of Scripture referred to by the author of the theory in support of the novel meaning which he attributes to לִּפְנֵי , are all interpreted by him in a way which, as far as we know, is peculiar to himself; and we appeal to the taste of every unbiassed reader whether that new interpretation does not spoil the sense of every one of those passages (Jer. xxii. 15; Ps. xl. 8; 1 Kings ix. 11; Ps. xvi. 12; Job iii. 13; ix. 31). Further, his translation of לִּפְנֵי in Jer. xxii. 15 (the passage on which he mainly builds) compels him to assign a very questionable meaning and construction to the expression לִּפְנֵי . Lastly, the

the said passage from Jeremiah, which was the only one referred to in his article, 'On the Miracle of Joshua' (vol. iii. of this Journal), and which has been again appealed to, quoted in the original characters, and dwelt on at length in his subsequent letter (vol. v.) as the main pillar of the theory, was supposed, it seems, to be used for this purpose under the high sanction of the authority of Gesenius. Gesenius does refer to it in the place already quoted, along with Psalm xl. 8, in proof of the meaning *because of that*; and with amusing consistency these two passages have been accordingly transferred to the defence of the imaginary meaning *because*! Need we say more?

3. Special reasons, however, were adduced in the article 'On the Miracle of Joshua,' already mentioned, for assigning to the word the meaning *because* in Josh. x. 12. When writing formerly, we did not think that these reasons needed a reply; since a reply, however, is called for, it shall be given. 'If כִּי were here equivalent,' says the writer of the article at p. 143, vol. iii. 'to *then, at that time*, it would render the following words כִּי הָיָה ה' אִתּוֹ a pleonasm.' Not only, we answer, are pleonasm sufficiently frequent in Scripture, but it so happens that there are at least three similar pleonastic occurrences of this very word כִּי, viz.: in 1 Chron. xvi. 7, כִּי הָיָה ה' אִתּוֹ. 'On that day, then David delivered,' &c.; 2 Kings viii. 22, כִּי הָיָה ה' אִתּוֹ. 'Thereupon Libnah revolted at that time;' and again in 2 Chron. xxi. 10. When, *secondly*, it is argued that the narrative recorded in Josh. x., as expounded by the writer of the article referred to, requires that the meaning *because* be there assigned to this word—a meaning (as we have shown) unexampled, and which leaves the use of כִּי in the future tense unexplained—the writer simply furnishes an argument against his own exposition of the narrative.

4. While we are thus justified in averring that no proof has been adduced to show that כִּי in the middle of a period, or anywhere, means 'because,' it can be proved that in the *middle* of a period it generally introduces an apodosis, and *cannot* have this meaning. For example, Ps. cxix. 92, 'Unless thy law had been my delight, כִּי הָיָה אִתּוֹ then should I have perished in my affliction.' See the equally-decisive passages in 2 Kings xiii. 19; Isa. xli. 1; Ex. xii. 44; Ps. lxix. 5; 2 Sam. v. 24; xix. 7; Prov. ii. 4, 5; Isa. lviii. 8; Prov. xx. 14; all of which would become unintelligible by the adoption of the rendering 'because.'

W. T.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have not forgotten my promise that I would keep you informed of what I am doing as to the collation of Greek MSS. while on the continent. I reached Paris April 10, and from that time I have been busily engaged in the examination of MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi; thus continuing the labour in which I was engaged last year until stopped by the attack of cholera which brought me so very low.

I was then in the middle of collating the Codex Cyprius (K of the Gospels); this I have now finished. I then took the MS. 14 in the Library Catalogue (33 of the Gospels, 17 St. Paul's Epistles, 13 Acts and Cath. Epp.) I have finished its collation entirely. This MS. is one of more importance than any of the others in cursive letters; Eichhorn, I think, calls it 'the queen of the small-letter MSS.,' and yet it has never hitherto received the attention which it deserves. Larroque selected some readings from it. Griesbach's attention was particularly directed to it from its general resemblance in text to the more ancient documents; and he, about eighty years ago, re-collated eighteen chapters of St. Matthew and some parts of the Epistles; he adds, 'Utinam vir doctus, cui aditus ad bibliothecam Regiam patet, reliquas etiam codicis egregii partes denuo et accurate conferat!'

Scholz says that he collated this MS. entirely; however, the readings which he cites from it in his Greek Testament are far from accurate; many are quoted from which the MS. differs altogether, and many of real importance are wholly omitted; a great part of Scholz's inaccuracies are owing, I believe, to his having inserted his references in one copy of Griesbach's second edition, which thus became so filled up with additional figures and marks of reference, that it became almost impossible to distinguish them accurately. I have sought to avoid this confusion by using for *each* MS. that I have collated a *separate* Greek Testament, in which I mark in carmine ink every variation however slight, and also the commencement of each page, column, and line, so that I can produce any page of a MS. which I have collated, *line for line*. All places in which my collations differ from those published by others, I re-examine with the MSS., so as to be as sure as I can of avoiding errors. This MS., of which I am now speaking (33 Gosp.) is in some parts very difficult to collate; the lower part of the leaves has been sadly injured by damp, and the book of Acts in particular is grievously defaced; in that book the leaves have been apparently *stuck together*, and the ink has adhered rather to the *opposite* page than to its own, so that in many leaves the MS. can only be read by observing how the ink has *set off*; and thus reading the Greek words *backwards*; I have thus obtained the reading of every line in many pages where *nothing* could have been seen on the page itself; in some places where part of a leaf is wholly gone from decay, the writing which was once on it can be read from the *set off*. It is very possible that some one, not aware of this, might suppose that I had given readings by mere mistake from those parts of the MS. which no longer exist.

This has been a wearying toil to my *eyes* and attention; I shall need some repose after getting through my present labour. I am now collating M of the Gospels—a simple, easy work, after what I have described.

The Greek New Testament, of which I have used copies in making my collations, has been Bishop Lloyd's Oxford edition, one which has been in much use on account of its clearness and neatness. I have, however, *now* found a great and unexpected inconvenience: this edition having been exhausted has been *reprinted* at Oxford without apparently *any*

any editorial care whatever; and thus I have been deceived by using a book which *seemed* exactly like that to which I had been accustomed as fairly accurate, but which is grossly inaccurate: thus an edition, which had a respectable name, is used as the means of getting into circulation what can only be called a spurious imitation. Had the printer omitted Bishop Lloyd's Preface, &c., the matter would not have been so reprehensible; but as the case stands, the Oxford edition, with M,DCCC,XLVII in the title-page, is a mere spurious imitation of the copies which I used in making collations when I was abroad in 1845-6.*

Ever since my vain endeavours at Rome to obtain such access to the Vatican MS., that I might thoroughly collate it, I have made inquiries from time to time in connection with it. Last August I heard, through some of my friends in Tuscany, that the MS. had disappeared from the Vatican at the time of the French occupation of Rome. I felt some doubt on the subject, but in order to be as certain as possible, I gave particular directions to my cousin, Mr. Thomas Smith Tregelles, who went to Rome in the early part of the winter, to make as exact inquiries as possible on the subject. He was not able to obtain a *sight* of the MS., but he ascertained as an undoubted fact that it had been safe in the Vatican Library up to the end of October; hence a report of its having been lost in August was proved to be without foundation. Since I came hither I have met with M. le Docteur Ch. Daremberg, (Bibliothécaire de l'Académie Nationale de Médecine,) who is recently returned from Rome: he informed me that at the time when my cousin was there, he himself *saw* the MS. in the hands of Cardinal Mai, at his residence in the Palazzo Altieri; this explains why it could not then be shown at the Vatican. M. Daremberg says that Cardinal Mai had it for the purpose of completing his edition for publication. He describes this edition not as a facsimile representation of the MS., but as a mere text of the LXX and the New Testament, based on the MS.; he says that the Cardinal has *now* obtained permission to publish his edition on condition that he *inserts* the text 1 John v. 7 within brackets. Will there be any other alterations?

I have found a great obstacle to literary labour here from the difficulty which a foreigner meets with at the Bibliothèque if he wishes to use MS. and *printed books* TOGETHER. I have been entirely prevented from using any printed book belonging to the library when engaged in examining a MS. A printed book cannot be taken into the MS. department except under great restrictions; a foreigner needs for that purpose the interference of the ambassador of his country. I was furnished with such introductions to the Marquis of Normanby as would, it was thought, fully suffice to this end. I have, however, been wholly disappointed; for although I have repeatedly been at the English Embassy, and that, too, on the days and the time appointed by Lord Normanby's attendants, I have always been refused admission—a piece of courtesy to which the introductions which I brought fully *entitled*

* As an instance of the Errata in the 1847 (spurious), Oxford reprint, in 1 John i. 9, we have *ἀφί* (*sic*) for *ἀφί*; the copy was purchased at the Oxford Warehouse as Bishop Lloyd's Greek Testament.

me. I have found it equally fruitless to apply to Lord Normanby by letter, my communication has not even received an acknowledgment from a secretary. I thus find myself with hindrances in my way which a scholar of another country would find removed by the representative of his sovereign. The greatness of this inconvenience will be appreciated by any who use the books and MSS. of the British Museum for purposes of critical study.

A few months ago M. Achille Joubinal published a pamphlet complaining of the carelessness with which the MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi are kept. He says that the leaf of the *Old Testament*, part of the Codex Ephræmi, from which Tischendorf's facsimile was made, has *disappeared*. This charge unfortunately appears to be *true*; last year it was lying *loose* at the end of the MS., and now it is not there:—the lithographed facsimile of the *New Testament* has also been cut out from the printed edition! M. Joubinal, amongst other accusations, says, that the leaves of the Codex Claromontanus, which were cut out by Amon about 130 years ago, and which were purchased by the Earl of Oxford, and restored by him, have *again* disappeared. I felt much surprise at reading this statement, and I immediately inquired into its accuracy; I had the satisfaction of finding it to be altogether stupidly and shamefully erroneous; these leaves are as safe as they were when I collated the whole of this MS. in May of last year; they still remain in Lord Oxford's binding, and they are, amongst other *show* books, in a glass case, as conspicuous as is Charlemagne's Bible in the British Museum. A label is appended to them to commemorate Lord Oxford's liberality in having sent them back to Paris. Many will be glad of an explicit contradiction to M. Joubinal's assertion.

I am going to re-examine my collation of this Codex Claromontanus, especially as to the corrections of different hands. I suppose that Dr. Tischendorf will see about publishing the text of the important MS. before very long: he has proposed to me that we should do this together.

I hope to finish all that I have to do there before the end of June, and then without delay I propose going into Germany. I hope to return to England in the autumn, and then to get out specimens of my proposed Greek Testament, the *Text*, the *Latin Version of Jerome*, and the various Readings. Tischendorf will allow me to compare my collations with his: to do this is my object in going to Leipzig. I shall then have to make an earnest appeal to those who are interested in Biblical studies, *for without subscribers properly aiding me, all my labour of years cannot see the light*. I trust that the expenditure of time, attention, and study for so many years of my life will not be frustrated. I have received assistance from some which has in great part aided me in thus giving up my time: I shall be truly glad to be at liberty to acknowledge the liberality of those who have thus aided me as fully and as publicly as it deserves. For the means of publication I must appeal to subscribers; I hope that this appeal will not be in vain.

S. PRIEDEAUX TREGELLES.

12, Rue de Ponthieu, Paris, May 31, 1850.

NOTICES

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Relations of Religion to what are called 'Diseases of the Mind.'
Philadelphia. 1850.

THIS is an able pamphlet on a subject we have long wished to see well discussed. Its anonymous writer, actuated alike by a spirit of Christian fidelity as well as by a keen insight into the fallacies which he condemns, defends religion, strictly so called, from the charge of tending to unhinge the reason. We do not derogate from the admiration in which we hold this laudable effort when we say that the writer has placed himself under disadvantages. He defends religion and rebuts a series of charges without establishing a positive position, and so taking up the aggressive. The pamphlet, in fact, meets a series of arguments laid down by a certain Dr. Ideler in a work entitled *Religious Insanity illustrated in Histories of Cases; a contribution to the History of the Religious Errors of the Age*. Now this is, to say the least, an unsatisfactory way of treating a subject—unsatisfactory to those who are ignorant of Dr. Ideler's book, and, what is more, do not care to examine it. The learned Doctor in question appears to be a religious unbeliever, or at best one who would sympathize with the school of Socinus or perhaps of Strauss. He evidently looks upon revealed religion as a tissue of enthusiasm, and considers that plain statements of personal and social duty are all that the religious teacher has any right to occupy himself about. He draws an invidious distinction between 'doctrine' and 'duty,' as though the two were perfectly irreconcilable things, and speaks of the former as the cause of all controversies fruitful in overturning the balance of the mind, and of the latter as the only wholesome food that man as a moral being requires. We need not be surprised that a man of scientific pursuits, accustomed to refer most phenomena to second causes, and who has made no attempt to inquire into the spirituality of the religion of Christ, should assume the attitude of an *ignoble Festus*, and say of the Christians around that they are beside themselves—that he should echo the cry of the old Pharisees addressed to the Saviour himself, 'Thou hast a devil, and art mad.' Irreligious persons are in general satisfied with saying this sarcastically. Ungodly attendants upon the sick express their fears on behalf of their patients that religious topics might be too exciting in the weakened state of the nervous system. Dr. Ideler has, however, reduced the prejudice to a definite form, and has undertaken to prove in certain specific instances that religion was the cause of insanity. The writer of the pamphlet we are now considering abundantly refutes his arguments; but, we repeat, that the subject is one which

which is of sufficient interest to be treated in a more engaging form, and one which does not perpetually intrude upon the reader the discordant sentiments of an irreligious opponent. We are quite sure that the same talent that has been employed in establishing this negative position might substantiate a positive one—that the writer would be as well qualified to prove that religion is eminently conducive to sanity of mind, as to repel the charges that it is productive of insanity.

It is admitted by the American writer that insane persons manifest in certain instances their aberrations in connection with religious subjects. He says,—

‘We may admit, perhaps, in some rare instances, that an undue excitement of the mind in reference to religious subjects generally, was the first indication of its insane state; or possibly, in a solitary case here and there, the deranged thoughts may be concentrated upon some single religious dogma or ceremony. But to affirm that the inculcation of one class or order of religious dogmas has been chiefly or conspicuously productive of what is called religious insanity, we think is quite presumptuous in the present stage of inquiries on the subject.’

The great error of Dr. Ideler and others seems to be that of considering religion something extraneous to human nature—a kind of foreign element which produces mental excitement or even intoxication. But the very etymology of the word suggests the true nature of its functions. Religion (*à religando*) is the *binding* of the faculties, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, to a certain object, and that object the service of Him who gave us our being. Religion, in fact, means responsibility. Even Cicero distinguishes between superstition ‘in qua inest timor inanis Deorum,’ and religion ‘quæ Deorum cultu pio continetur’ (*De Nat. Deor.*, lib. i. cap. 42). Consistently with this most legitimate distinction we have a clear right to defend religion from the consequences of superstition—to repudiate the blame which attaches to that which is *not* religion. And here we may notice the importance of what has not escaped the view of our American friend, that we must rightly define what true religion is. We are not afraid to defend the religion of Christ—that system which is revealed in the inspired Scriptures, against any charge of producing undue excitement; but, on the other hand, we are not responsible for the ravings of enthusiasts, or the one-sided views of erroneous religionists. Religion, to be a true *binding* together of the faculties of man, must be taken in its integrity from the hands of its Maker; but as isolated truths may be exaggerated into dangerous errors, so may a religion which unduly addresses itself to isolated functions of the human mind tend to produce insanity.

Now, what is insanity? Physiologists are generally agreed that it is a state of mind in which undue preponderance is habitually given to particular ideas, which thereby become delusions. Sometimes a single faculty is impaired, whilst the rest retain their healthy condition, even as persons have been known to have visual organs incapable of discerning particular colours, though they could distinguish the rest. One ingenious theory, among others, explains insanity by the *duality* of the mind, asserting that the mental functions follow the analogy of the sight

sight and the hearing, and that seeing *double* is the corresponding phenomenon to insanity, or *thinking double*. In other words, the insane person has confused thoughts which he has not the power to unravel. It is possible that each one of these descriptions of insanity would be objected to as not conveying the whole truth. This we are prepared to surrender. What we wish to assert is, that every definition that can be given only confirms the conclusion that sanity consists in a right direction being given to each of the mental faculties, and a harmonious link binding all in one well proportioned whole. There shall be no strength of reason side by side with weakness of memory, or vivid imagination superseding fixedness of thought. There shall be no invidious choice of objects of contemplation, but the world around and the world within shall be surveyed with due regard to the proportionate value of the several contents. Now we appeal to the common sense of every one, What is able to give man just views of the things to which he stands related but revealed religion? And this appreciation of things which religion gives is precisely what we call sanity. The irreligious man is insane: the converted man, like the prodigal, first 'comes to himself' when he sees the true nature of revealed *doctrine* as well as duty. He begins to see time in its relation to eternity—duty to man in relation to duty to God. The present is placed in its right connection with the future—the seen with the unseen. The opposite theory deals with the unseen things as though they were fictions—with the law of God as though it were an invention of man; and supposes the religious man to be acting a part in a drama which is alleged to be no more than the embodied wit of a playwright.

We repeat that we should be glad to see this subject discussed by an able writer in this country, or by our American friend who has already evinced so much clearness of perception and real love of the truth in meeting an opponent. The discussion would probably lead to a deep investigation, not only of the human faculties analytically considered, but their functions and diseases. It would bring to light how religion gives healthy exercise to the reason, refines the imagination, purifies the affections, harmonizes all in their mutual relations; and, so far from disqualifying man from worldly duty, or giving an unhealthy tendency to his mental powers, would tune the magnificent instrument, and produce, in the highest sense of the term, intellectual, moral, and spiritual sanity.

Working Men's Essays on the Sabbath. Hull College Prize.—*Sabbath Labour is Seventh Day Slavery*. By J. C. Ollerenshaw, Working Hatter, Belfast. pp. 68. Partridge and Oakey. 1849.

THE advocacy of the Sabbath by an order of men which has been too commonly supposed illiterate is a species of literary phenomenon. The marvel is much enhanced, however, when we discover the bold thought and fearless utterance bursting forth in eloquent phrases, of which one of the class shows himself a master. This is characteristic of our nineteenth century, wherein the fusion of classes, the abolition of distinctions,

tions, the increased facility of communication—mental as well as locomotive, are salient features. We have in Mr. Ollerenshaw a species of 'village Hampden,' and we may judge from the results of the competition in which he has carried off the prize that there are more than a thousand besides. Here there is clear proof that the educational efforts of the day have not been devoid of result. Gray's words are no longer true of our working men :—

'But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
Rich with the spoils of Time did ne'er unroll ;
Chill Penury repressed their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.'

The composition, which we gladly recommend to public notice, obtained one of a number of prizes offered to working men for essays on the temporal advantages of the Sabbath. As the *temporal* advantages are mainly brought forward, the subject is discussed apart from its theological foundations and spiritual tendencies. The writer has properly laid stress on what he was best able from personal experience to speak—the external advantage offered to the working man. We may give a sketch of his essay by a passage of his own :—

'We should deeply ponder the consequences of the secularisation of this day, and consider how much of our personal well-being in health, comfort, intellectual and moral elevation, is included in the keeping of the Sabbath for its primitive uses, and ought to prepare ourselves to swell the mighty voice of public opinion, which shall declare that all work on that day is detrimental, destructive, and dishonourable; that even on self-seeking grounds, for our own sakes, and for the material rights of our children, we will not barter our birthright, nor by any means surrender up to Mammon this great gift—this spring morning of the soul, which bears us, as on an angel's bosom, in resting renovation onwards in the course of human amelioration and heavenward progress.'

Again, in speaking of Anti-Sabbatarians, he says,—

'With their own weapons must they be met; and our arguments must extend no wider than to worldly and temporal considerations.'

In accordance with this proposed object the writer has manfully set to work. He has given a most graphic description of the delights of Sabbath rest to the jaded workman. He has brought into glowing antithesis the dust and dreariness of the week with the calm and cleanliness of the Sabbath—care repaid by contentment—bodily fatigue by mental enjoyment. In fact, our working hatter has given valuable evidence of the feelings of his class with respect to the observance of a holy day of rest. His statement, and the statements of others similarly circumstanced, cannot but afford a convincing argument to the legislator for maintaining the inviolability of our British Sabbath, and for avoiding the fatal error into which continental nations have fallen in allowing God's ordinance to be superseded by a mere gala day. Perhaps we cannot say much of the little essay, with its gay binding and elegant illustrations, as being likely to promote the *observance* of the sacred day. Its 'temporal advantages' will enforce the command of God on no man's *conscience*; and, unfortunately, the author contends for his object in a tone that savours little of Christianity. He seems to class it among the 'rights of men,' and attacks certain supposed oppressors

oppressors with a degree of indignation as though he were preparing to bring the 'rights of men' ^a to bear in the conflict. We do not find fault with the unavoidable prominence he was obliged to give to the sanitary advantages of the Sabbath, although the theme has thereby assumed such a form, that, *mutatis mutandis*, it would become an equally good prize essay on the repeal of the window-tax. We do not find fault with the expediency-argument, although it holds good almost as well for Sunday excursions as for Sunday rest. ^b Demonstrate that the Sabbath is conducive to health, and this will be no unfair inference. But our exclusively literary and theological tastes do not allow us to sympathize with Sabbath arguments that savour of political controversy. Indeed, there are passages in the essay which give us a shrewd suspicion that the writer would not be adverse to free trade or financial reform, or, we might even dare to add, an extension of the suffrage. Thus he speaks

'of those everlasting principles of justice and liberty which determine *all men equal*, even as God made them, and sanction not that any should suffer for the good of others. I reiterate, therefore, that all persons whatever who countenance or employ Sabbath labour, are committing acts of tyranny, and by their violation of the dictates of all true and universal *equality and freedom*, are preparing, in such a measure, *their own enslavement, and contributing to hasten on the passions of the oppressed to acts of retribution and violence.*'

We are ourselves anxious for the observance of the Lord's day : we rejoice in every effort to promote it. We are jealous, however, of classing it with the mere political rights of men, or putting forward its claims on grounds of expediency, still less of appealing to the passions of mankind. A short time since all England sympathized with a much-beloved and respected duchess, who was left weeping on the platform of a Scotch railway-station, prevented by Sabbath regulations from reaching her aged parent, who was dying at his country-seat, within a few hours' railroad distance. Such an instance (as a type of many more) tends to prove that the Sabbath may curtail the 'rights of men,' as well as add to them. In fact, God's laws in general abridge man's liberty with a view to man's advantage. To enforce these laws we must not inveigh against oppression, but preach submission. Now, man will not submit to a being whom he does not love. The love of the Sabbath, therefore, can only be based on the love of God. It is the best touchstone we know of a man's religion. Whatever be his views of Sabbath sanctions—whether he would, with the old Puritans, restore its theocratic obligations, or, with Dr. Arnold, deny its connection with the Christian dispensation—he will rejoice in the day as a seventh part of time set apart for his soul's edification, and according to his inward dispositions will more or less avail himself of the oppor-

^a As Thomas Carlyle would say.

^b The value of the expediency-argument for the Sabbath was illustrated some time ago by a conversation in the House of Commons. Mr. Hume asked Lord John Russell why the British Museum was not opened on Sunday for the intellectual gratification of the thousands who would flock there? 'Because,' replied Lord John, 'the attendants at the Museum need their weekly holiday as well as others.' 'Then let the Museum,' rejoined Mr. Hume, 'be shown on Sundays by gentlemen of the Hebrew persuasion.'

tunities which it affords. Our best writers on the question—Dr. Dwight, Bishop Daniel Wilson, and others—have been men who set a Christian value on the day, and wrote with the ardour of long-established piety. Our prize essayist, on the other hand, makes the confession in his own biographical notice:—‘The essay you are now revising *first commenced* this work (the work of religion) in my mind.’

Dr. Dobbin’s preface, written from Vienna, commends itself far more powerfully to our feelings and tastes. He speaks from a religious love of the day. He associates it with the love of God. ‘Religion pleads for it,’ he says; ‘for no where does conscience so rule, the heart so realize “abundance of peace,” the soul so return unto rest, the life so clothe itself with holiness and likeness to God, as where, the Lord’s day hallowed and the sanctuary attended, we are steadily reminded of the rest that remaineth for the people of God.’ The reverend Doctor speaks, moreover, under the painful experience of a Viennese Sunday. He speaks as a man of God mourning over prevailing iniquity, and with a consciousness that God’s own ordinances must be fully used if we would desire his kingdom to be promoted: that their neglect, on the other hand, brings upon churches and nations the heavy blows of Divine displeasure.

Ad Ephesios revera dabatur epistola illa canonica, Paulo, non Pseudo-Paulo auctore. Prælectio Theologica in Scholis Cantabrigiensibus habita ante diem xvi. Kal. Mart. A.D. MDCCCL. Auctore HENRICO ALFORD, S.T.B., Coll. SS. Trin. quondam Socio. 4to. Pp. 23. Deighton, Cambridge; Rivingtons, London.

IN this *Prælectio* Mr. Alford first points out that the Epistle to the Ephesians appears from its contents to claim to be written by St. Paul when in prison; and then he shows that the character of the imprisonment agrees far more with that at Rome than that at Cæsarea. He then treats of the Roman imprisonment of the Apostle, and he rejects as groundless the opinion, which so many have held, that the Apostle was liberated from the Roman imprisonment mentioned in the Acts, and that his martyrdom took place after a *second* confinement in the same place.

He then examines in what part of the Roman imprisonment the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians were written; and he places them within the two years of the confinement spoken of at the end of the book of Acts. He thus dates them in the year 61 or 62 of our era.

The points of peculiarity in the Epistle to the Ephesians are then discussed; and the question of the absence of the words ‘in Ephesus’ in some early copies are then considered. Mr. Alford does *not* regard ancient testimony as casting any doubt on the fact that this Epistle was really addressed to the Ephesian Church.

The allegation that the Epistle is *spurious* is considered and refuted, as being contradicted by clear and undoubted early testimonies. The internal evidence also refutes this hypothesis.

But

But if this Epistle were really written by St. Paul, and really addressed to Ephesians; how can we account for the absence of personal allusions, &c., when writing to a Church where he had laboured for three years?

Mr. Alford considers that the Apostle, in addressing the Ephesians, communicates instruction fitted for *the Church at large as such*. All mere personal communications might have been verbally sent by Tychichus; and thus no difficulties which any have raised from the contents of the Epistle possess any real weight, so as to lead us to doubt that it was actually sent to the Ephesian Church by the Apostle Paul himself.

Mr. Alford thus concludes his remarks on this Epistle:—‘Nunc enim si unquam alias oportet, Ecclesiæ Catholicæ et Apostolicæ signa bene explorata tenere; communionem sanctorum et participationem Christi non externo fœdere et πολιτείᾳ circumscribere, sed *largius et liberalius* ad omnes proferre, qui ἀξίως περιπαροῦσι τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκλήθησαν, et quantum ex professione et factis ipsorum probari possit, ἀγαπῶσι τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.’

God in Christ. Three Discourses delivered at New Haven, Cambridge, Andover; with a Preliminary Dissertation on Language.

By HORACE BUSHNELL. Hartford (U.S.): Brown and Parsons. London: John Wiley. 1849.

IT is a mortifying circumstance that in Divinity the crudest opinions and most unfounded novelties gain notoriety, and, for a time, receive a degree of attention altogether disproportioned to their intrinsic value. This arises, in part, from the impossibility of applying anything like demonstration to moral questions, and thus testing at once the new theories which, fungus-like, start into prominence out of an over-excited luxuriance of individual minds. In physical sciences, and all departments of intellectual labour which admit of proof, a soberness is secured at once, which the productions of the pulpit and the theological press often cast aside with almost impunity. Mr. Bushnell informs us himself that his Discourses have produced an excitement in America. We do not wonder at this, for they entirely clash with orthodox and received opinions; and as they were delivered before three important theological seminaries, the author must have a standing sufficient to secure some public attention. We beg to assure Mr. Bushnell that he owes his notoriety to this difficulty of applying a test at once to ethical and metaphysical subjects, for we feel convinced that no amount of personal influence could save from immediate contempt a similar *rudis indigestaque moles* in other departments of the operations of mind.

The Preliminary Dissertation on Language appears at first sight to have as much connection with discourses on the awfully sublime subject of ‘*God in Christ*,’ as essays on seeing and hearing would have; but this apparent want of concatenation disappears when we discover that Mr. Bushnell denies to speech *an adequacy as a vehicle for a Divine*

Divine Revelation, and that consequently the Dissertation on Language is a defence of any novel and far-fetched interpretations which may henceforth be put upon the statements of Holy Writ. This asserted lubricity of Holy Scripture as the medium through which God has chosen to convey his will, is a most portentous phenomenon, which, if we could admit it be more than a phantom—*vox et preterea nihil*, would indeed threaten destruction to our most precious moral possessions. When divines support their sentiments by various readings, or by versions, or by a new grammatical exegesis, or even by a novel and fanciful rendering of a word or sentence, we know what to do, for the means are at hand to detect the fallacy or prove the assertion. 'But if the foundations be removed, what can the righteous do?' If the *language* of the Scriptures from its very natural inefficiency cannot express the relations of man to God, nor clearly define the sentiments he should entertain, and the duties he should perform, then farewell to all hope of a haven of peace, for the wild breakers of speculation are ready to dash our hopes into ten thousand fragments.

That we are not exaggerating, nor doing injustice to this writer and preacher, will be evident from a few extracts, which we select almost *ad aperturam libri*, so thickly do characteristic passages present themselves. 'Probably the most contradictory book in the world is the Gospel of John; and that for the very reason that it contains more and loftier truths than any other. No good writer who is occupied in simply expressing truth is ever afraid of inconsistencies or self-contradictions in his language.'—p. 56. The running title of several pages of the Dissertation is, *Language insufficient for the uses of Dogma*, by dogma being meant systematic theology. Under this head we find the following sentences: 'The views of language and interpretation I have here offered, suggest the very great difficulty, if not impossibility of mental science and religious dogmatism.'—p. 72. 'Let me freely confess that when I see the human teacher elaborating a phrase of speech, or mere dialectic proposition, that is going to tell what God could only show me by the history of ages, and the mystic life and death of Jesus our Lord, I should be deeply shocked by his irreverence, if I were not rather occupied with pity for his infirmity.'—p. 74. 'But Paul—was not Paul a dialectician? the dialectician, some say; for, confessedly, there is no other among all the Scripture writers. (?) Did Paul then, it will be asked, set himself to an impossible task, when he undertook to reason out and frame into logical order a scheme of Christian theology? To this I answer, that I find no such Paul in the Scripture as this method of speaking supposes. Paul undertakes no theologic system in any case. He only speaks to some actual want, to remove some error, rectify some hurtful mistake. There is nothing of the system-maker about him. Neither is he to be called a dogmatizer, or a dialectic writer, in any proper sense of the term. [So far as this may be tolerated, with some little explanation, but it must be construed with what follows.] True, there is a form of reasoning or argumentation about him, and he abounds in illatives; piling "for" upon "for" in constant succession. But if he is narrowly watched,

watched, it will be seen that *this is only a dialectic form that had settled on his language, under his old theologic discipline previous to his conversion*, for every man gets a language constructed early in life which nothing can change afterwards.' 11—p. 75. But enough. Such bold assertions seem to us as offensive to literary modesty as they are to all the cherished religious feelings of those who in *any sense* believe that 'Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine.'

The statements of Mr. Bushnell regarding the formation of language and its *modus operandi*, are most extraordinary, and display an ignorance of first principles which quite startled us, and prepared us for any wildness as to religious doctrines. For instance, he thinks that although words cannot convey certain truth in divinity, they are much more than mere arbitrary signs of ideas. 'The Latin word *gressus* is one that originally describes the measured tread of dignity, in distinction from the trudge of the clown or footpad. Hence the word *Congress* can never after, even at the distance of thousands of years, be applied to the meeting, or coming together of outlaws, jockeys, or low persons of any description. It can only be used to denote assemblages of grave and elevated personages, such as councillors, men of science, ambassadors, potentates.' Indeed! This may be so to the mind of an American, from mere association, although even in that case the coming of slave-holders to Congress would, we should think, rob the word of some of its dignity. Nothing is more common than for words of honourable etymology to come to very low occupations, and *vice versa*.

If we wished to write a sarcastic review, no better materials are at our hand than this volume presents. It is suggestive in a high degree of materials for satire, but we write more in sorrow than in anger, and must conclude by expressing our regret that such a work should issue from the American press at all; but much more, that materials so mischievous should have been presented to *young divines*, not once, but in three separate instances. The discourses are called *Cauciones ad Clerum*, but necessarily they will be read by the students of the Colleges, before which they were delivered. If *they* are the clergy, they are certainly in a state so unadvanced, that novel and startling theories are the worst kind of *pabulum* which can be presented to them.

The Mountains of the Bible: their Scenes and their Lessons. By the Rev. JOHN M'FARLANE, LL.D., Glasgow. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1849. Pp. vii., 412.

THIS is a good book, and evidently the production of a clear-headed and popular preacher. It is not a volume of sermons—a sort of publication not now likely to receive favour from the public; nor does it consist of expository lectures—a much more useful and acceptable undertaking. Let the author state the aim of his lectures in his own words:—

'The topographical descriptions of the Mountains are, of course, the results of research into the works of other writers, and especially of intelligent travellers; and

and the object of the writer is to collect, under one general designation, some of the more familiar, but withal most important truths of the Gospel, and to present them in a plain, affectionate, and practical form, so that, while he ministers to the understanding, the heart also may be appealed to for its consent to sound doctrine. The Scenes and Lessons of the Mountains of the Bible furnish ample and fascinating materials for both objects; and he hopes he has been enabled, in however humble a measure, to avail himself of these for the edification of the reader.'

The mountains remarked on are *Ararat*, and the Lessons of the Deluge; *Moriah*, and the Victories of Faith; *Horeb*, and the Call of Moses; *Sinai*, and the Promulgation of the Law; *Hor*, and the Death of the High Priest; *Pisgah*, and the Death of the Lawgiver; *Gilboa*, and the Vicissitudes of Life; *Carmel*, and the Fall of Idolatry; *Tabor*, and the Transfiguration of Christ; *Olivet*, and the Agony of the Redeemer; *Zion*, and the Public Worship of God; *Zion in Heaven*, and the Home of the Righteous. The author might have added Lebanon, and thus have completed the number *twelve*, with which there are hallowed associations. He indeed adds a twelfth—'Zion in Heaven,' but this can hardly be called a *Mountain of the Bible*; and no *intelligent traveller* has visited it, and returned with a description. He does not apprise his readers of the difficulties involved in the tradition that Mount Tabor was the scene of the transfiguration—he merely remarks that it 'is understood to have occurred' here.

The following eloquent passage may be given as a specimen of the style of the book:—

'In the prosecution of our plan we must needs travel to the lands of the Bible—and what other lands are invested with such deep and hallowed interest? Their marvellous stories are ever listened to with an attention, and remembered with a tenacity which defy the influences of time. In the midst of the nineteenth century, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia are alike eagerly resorted to by the curious and the pious. Grand may be the scenery and magnificent the cities of other countries, but what are their attractions in comparison with that enchaining influence wherewith the Holy Land directs so many hearts and eyes towards her hills and streams, her cities and plains? There is a somewhat mysterious agitation of the human mind in its mere fancies of the sublime and beautiful in the scenery of Syria. Few natures are so stolid as to remain unmoved when the waters of the Jordan are forded, or the gardens of Canaan promenaded, or the heights of Zion scaled. This is the land of God! Here Jehovah visited his people, now with judgments, and then with mercies. It is the witness of his covenant, and the ark of his promises. Here holy men of God, wrapped in the mantles of inspiration, spake the secrets of heaven to astonished generations. Here Christianity was cradled in the types and bound up in the swaddling-clothes of an initiatory dispensation. Here God made ready to assume the nature and atone for the sins of His people. This is the land of Jesus of Nazareth! Here he was born. Amid these vales, on these mountain sides, within the gates of these cities, on the banks of these rivers, or on the bosom of these seas, the incarnate Son of God lived and loved, prayed and wept, agonised and bled, died and was buried.'—pp. 5, 6.

From a cursory glance at the table of contents the reader may possibly conclude that the subjects are so isolated as to have no relation to each other; but, in the introduction of each subject, the author refers to the preceding, and indicates the link of connection.

The descriptions of localities are often good, but not equal in graphic power to those of Headley, a predecessor in the same field. Both books are excellent, each in its own way; but that on our table is more

more solid and more abundant in doctrinal and practical illustration. Our author makes excellent use of the testimony of travellers in his account of localities visited by them, and his book furnishes admirable specimens of the kind of service which may be obtained from this source of illustration in the pulpit. On almost every page of the Bible there are allusions which can be but imperfectly understood by him who has never drawn from the rich store of illustration supplied by Oriental travellers. Of recent travellers our author takes Dr. Wilson for his guide, but he might have found a better one in Professor Robinson.

The historic sketches are often admirable, particularly those of Moses, Jonathan, and David.

We were surprised to find our author countenancing the old and exploded interpretation of Psalm cx. 7 (*see* p. 317). Kedron's brook, too, does not swell (as he asserts) by 'the melting of the mountain snows' in April (p. 316).

The volume abounds with stirring appeals. The great practical power by which the 'Lectures' are characterised must have originated the desire which was expressed for their publication.

Dr. McFarlane's work has been received with much favour by the British press and public, and we have heard that the American reprint has met with equal favour on the other side of the Atlantic. The book is beautifully got up; and the few errata we have noticed will probably be corrected in the second edition which is advertised as passing through the press. It has our cordial commendation. Religious books, written in so lively, interesting, and instructive a style, cannot fail to be extensively useful.

The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral. By the Rev. JAMES M'COSH, A.M. Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, 1850. 8vo. pp. 540.

It has been tersely said that a great book is a great evil, and proceeding from any other than a great man, it is an impertinence with which neither critics nor readers can be expected to have much patience. The mere reader, however, has an easy escape; he can decline an author's acquaintance until he produce unmistakeable credentials of being worthy of his regard. Not so the poor critic; to him the public look for a judgment on the merits of any considerable book that may fall within his province; and if he care to exercise fairness in the discharge of his duty, the inroads made on his time and patience by vapid conceit and prosing dulness are really appalling.

Before a man commits himself to the press, especially before he thinks of issuing a ponderous volume on the highest subjects of thought, he should ask himself this one plain question—Has he really anything to say which has not been as well or better said by somebody else already? If he has not, he had much better, both for his own comfort and the public good, be silent, or confine himself to those abundant channels of

publicity, of which commonplace and dulness constitute the well-understood staple.

The large and pretentious volume before us furnishes, we are sorry to say, rather an illustration than a contrast to these remarks. The powers of the writer, though adequate enough to the ordinary duties of a clergyman, or perhaps to the getting up of a respectable volume of sermons, are certainly not such as to qualify him for surveying with a clear and searching eye the vast circle of Divine philosophy. To elucidate the 'Method of the Divine Government,' is a task to which human pen is adequate, is certainly not one for mere respectable mediocrity to undertake. Powers of the highest order have recoiled baffled from the attempt. The demand made on him who ventures on it is nothing less than that which the Almighty himself addressed to Job, and he had indeed need to 'gird up his loins as a man' who would essay a response.

The author of this book makes grateful reference to several ministers by name, 'for the kind encouragement they gave him to proceed with this work when submitted to them for counsel.' This, we confess, was one of the first things that startled us. We should have preferred recognising a warranty of a different sort. A glimpse of only a single fold of the seer's mantle would have inspired us with more confidence than a thousand testimonials. The true philosopher wants not such props. Vital original thought carries its sanction, and its claim on the public attention in its own freshness and power. If the public will not listen, theirs is the loss and theirs be the scandal. The discoverer of truth can possess his soul in patience. 'The die is cast,' exclaimed Kepler; 'the book is written to be read now or a hundred years hence, I care not. I may well wait a century for a reader, when God has had to wait six thousand years for an observer.'

The author of this book has tried an impossible compromise, supposing his mental powers and resources had been much greater than they are. He would gain the ear of the thinker and the multitude both. So we find him apologizing to the one class for the introductory book, as 'too loose and discursive'—he 'was afraid of driving back the general reader;' and to this 'general reader' for parts of the second and third books, as 'of too abstract a character.' We dare not say that we have seen much ground anywhere for this latter apology, but the former needed not have been confined to the introductory book. Science should be pursued as science, and scientific truth should be clothed in its appropriate forms of expression. Let who will engage in the preposterous task of writing down to those who cannot or who will not think; it certainly is not the function of him whose mission is to 'search out the reason of things.' A book aiming at the object indicated in the title of that now before us, should have been one of pure investigation, concentrating all the powers and resources of a high and thoroughly trained intellect, and conducted under the forms of a subtle and severe logic. What class do such inquiries concern? The thinkers, surely, and only they. The 'general reader' pursues his everyday path undisturbed

disturbed by those great questions concerning the Divine Government and human destiny, which are raised in somewhat new forms and combinations in our day. Whenever any one comes within their penumbra he is instantly secluded from that herd. The seal of thought is upon him, 'he hears a voice they cannot hear.' As it were, a fresh inner sense reveals to him a new aspect of existence. There is established an instant sympathy between him and all who have been touched by the same shadow of the Unfathomable and Unknown; whilst to all others the utterance of those sympathies is but as the jargon of an unknown tongue. It is minds of this temperament and class that are concerned in inquiries into the method of the Divine government, and to discuss any question involved in that method, with any hope of usefulness for such, presupposes at least a participation in their peculiar sympathies and associations. The man must himself have passed through the wilderness of darkness and doubt who would conduct others out of it into the promised land.

Of this indispensable and primary qualification we cannot say that we have discovered any trace in the writer before us. He must have walked in the common daylight all his days. For that 'land of darkness and of the shadow of death' leaves unmistakable traces on every one who has once entered its bourne. Emerge however fully he may, there remains on his spirit that sympathy with the doubter which constitutes the very first qualification in a guide out of those painful labyrinths—a qualification, in the absence of which any one had better refrain from the attempt.

We are sorry we cannot speak more favourably of so well-intentioned and laborious a performance. We feel a painful regret at seeing so much labour virtually thrown away. The amount of reading-through which the book has been got up must alone have been no light task. The names of the authors whom the writer has quoted or referred to cover several pages at the end of the volume. This plethora of the results of omnivorous reading, which the author wants the power to digest and assimilate, is one of the leading marks of his incompetence for the task he has undertaken. There is as great difference between such a performance and that of an intellect of original and independent vitality and vigour, as between a conglomerate and a living organism. In the one quartz, shells, sand, and pebbles lie together in the same dead incrustation; the other assimilates to itself, from earth and air, whatever contributes to its growth and healthful vigour. Art may work in mosaic; and in the lighter branches of literature, which partake much of the nature and spirit of art, allusion, reference, and quotation, under the influence of a lively harmonizing wit, may be copiously wrought in with a fine effect; but the higher walks of philosophy belong to science, not to art; and the mind which in any process, whether of analysis or deduction, is ever and anon breaking into the track of others, like a plough that is always jerking out of its own furrow, cannot be performing any very distinct or effective work.

The Fathers and Founders of the United Presbyterian Church.
4 vols. A. FULLARTON and Co., Edinburgh.

THIS cheap and elegant series of volumes is intended to give in a compact form selections from the more important productions of the Fathers of the United Presbyterian Church, together with original works illustrative of the character of the writers and of the times in which they lived. The writings of the Erskines, Fishers, Wilsons, Gillespies, and other eminent men of God, who, during the early part of last century, made such a noble stand for the truth in opposition to prevailing errors, produced a deep impression, not only on the men of their own generation but on their successors, and afford, as it has been justly said, one of the most perfect examples of that ministry which the Spirit of God has honoured in all ages, and which the 'common people heard gladly.' Unfortunately, however, these rich stores of evangelical truth have for the most part been locked up in ponderous and expensive volumes unsuitable to the tastes and habits of the age, so that they have hitherto been in a great measure inaccessible to the mass of the people. The public owe a deep debt of gratitude, therefore, to the liberal and enterprising publishers of the present series for their successful attempt to present all that is most valuable in the works of the Fathers of Scottish Dissent in a form so compact and elegant, and at a price so remarkably moderate. Four volumes of the series are now on our table, and we have no hesitation in stating that they are decidedly superior to any other publications of a similar character which are now before the public. Volume first contains an historical sketch of the origin of the Secession Church, by the Rev. Andrew Thomson, and the history of the rise of the Relief Church, by the Rev. Dr. Struthers: both sketches are models of historical narration, and, though necessarily on a miniature scale, display all the fidelity and spirit of a full-length portrait. The second volume consists of a selection from the writings of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, edited by the Rev. David Smith, with excellent taste and sound judgment. The discourses selected, thirteen in number, are plain and perspicuous in statement, fervent in spirit, and rich in Gospel truth. In the words of the well-known Thomas Bradbury, 'the reader will find in them a faithful adherence to the design of the Gospel, a clear defence of those doctrines that are the pillar and ground of the truth, a large compass of thought, a strong force of argument, and a happy flow of words both judicious and familiar.' Volume third contains lives of Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, and Thomas Gillespie, by Professors Harper, Eadie, and Lindsay: all three biographical sketches are executed in a manner worthy both of the subject and of the well-earned reputation of the authors; but we have perused with peculiar pleasure Dr. Eadie's cordial and graphic delineation of the life and character of Wilson, the first professor of the Secession Church and the first of the 'four brethren' to enter into its rest. The fourth volume contains 'Memorials of Alexander Moncrieff and James Fisher,' by Drs. David Young (Perth) and John Brown (Edinburgh), and is one of the most interesting volumes of the series, both on account of its intrinsic

intrinsic excellence and the novelty of its materials. The 'Memorials' are truly 'apples of gold in frames of silver.' We cordially recommend the entire series to the attention of our readers, and trust that it will meet with that support which it so well deserves.

The Foundations of Individual Character. A Lecture, delivered in Gardener's Hall, Rhynie, &c. By WILLIAM M'COMBIE. Rhynie, Troup and Horn: London, Ward and Co. 1850.

WE notice this small work, not so much because the writer is a valued contributor to our own pages, as because we esteem it a duty and privilege to afford all the encouragement in our power to undertakings of the kind to which it appertains. We learn from the Aberdeen papers that this lecture—the only one printed—belongs to the fourth of an annual course of popular lectures, delivered by a number of clergymen and gentlemen under the auspices of the mutual instruction class of the Muir of Rhynie. The lectures are on various subjects of natural, mental, and moral philosophy, and the growing interest in the instruction thus afforded has been manifested in the large and regular attendance of the desired auditors. The interest thus shown is highly creditable to them, if the high tone of the mental refreshment offered is to be estimated from the sole specimen before us. The argument of this impressive discourse is supplied by the lecturer himself in his peroration.

'I have made an attempt to bring before you character, as it stands distinguished from and superadded to mere life—organised and animal—and from the mere possession and inevitable action of intellectual powers and passions. If you have been able to accompany me, you have seen its basis to be in self-control; you have seen that self-control can be of adequate comprehension and permanency only through the ascendancy of conscience; that the right action of conscience presupposes faith—the recognition of a standard of right issuing from the supreme authority. That faith does not demand as its medium truth supplied by the senses, or by demonstration, but that which is addressed to us as reasonable beings; that it acts on preponderating evidence; that intelligence and the exercise of a sound judgment are necessary to keep it from sinking into credulity. That, when these elements of character are crowned and brought into action by a determinate will, carrying out our sense of duty at whatever sacrifice of worldly interest or of feeling, until virtue become a habit of the mind—become, in a sense, natural to us, we have an individual character—a character such as we may believe approaches the Divine idea of man, and prepared in some measure for fulfilling the great ends for which man was created.'—pp. 32, 33.

The outline thus drawn is finely and forcibly filled out; and the young persons of the audience into whose ears these thoughtful and eloquent words were poured, must have left the place with loins more tightly girded for the race that lies before them—with cleared perceptions of the perils of their way—and with encouraged purposes to meet with stout heart the destinies which belong to their eternal and to their mortal condition—to their nation and to their age. Far be it from us to think that the instruction offered in this lecture—and suggested by the titles (all we know of them) of the course to which it belongs—is too high for any class of persons to which it may have been

been delivered. We have always held that every individual is entitled to the highest kind of instruction he can be made capable of receiving. The time is, we think, past when high knowledge was thought unsuited to the 'inferior' people, and tended to make them discontented with their condition. A more pernicious error never existed. All true knowledge is full of infinite contentments—and he, however lowly, who is not made better and more happy by the knowledge he acquires, has either not got the true knowledge, or has not received it into a true heart.

Apocalyptic Sketches, or Lectures on the Seven Churches of Asia.

By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. Fourth thousand. London, 1850, Arthur Hall, Virtue and Co.

WHEN a work has reached its 'fourth thousand' the public has spoken concerning it with no uncertain voice, and it has necessarily become too well known to need any minute description among these notices. It is a series of thirty-five lectures on the three first chapters of the Apocalypse, or, as the author describes his own work, 'a practical view of the precious epistles addressed by Jesus the High Priest, who walks amid the golden candlesticks, to the Seven Churches of Asia.' The work exhibits all the distinguishing qualities of the style and manner of Dr. Cumming, who has more successfully than most men realised the difficult art of rendering discourses prepared for oral delivery to a mixed audience, of such quality as causes them to be read with perhaps equal interest when presented in the shape of a book. We remember that, a quarter of a century ago, much attention was drawn to a strong expression of the Rev. J. W. Cunningham of Harrow, in a speech delivered by him at one of the May meetings in Freemasons' Hall, that 'if he had a hundred hands, and in every hand a hundred sledge-hammers, he would employ them all in breaking Popery to pieces.' Of the same temper, purpose, and attitude, but with more persevering energy in that one direction, is the author of these lectures; and the reader who takes up the work under the idea suggested by his own interpretation of the term 'practical view,' will be a little surprised to find the work bristling with all the munitions of war against Romanism. These the lecturer wields, in season and out of season, with the readiness and confidence which long practice bestows.

Dr. Cumming regards his work as an 'attempt to show that if the Apocalypse has solemn and mysterious depths which none can sound, but which all should study, it also presents unsealed springs of living water for the refreshment and direction of all that have ears to hear.' There may be some want of correspondence between the members of this figure, but it is, nevertheless, sufficiently intelligible and significant; and we should not wish to convey the impression that the lecturer's intense occupation with matters belonging to the Popish controversy does not leave him leisure to offer his hearers many a rich and pleasant draught from these unsealed springs.

It is a remarkable characteristic of these lectures, which were delivered

livered in Exeter Hall to immense congregations during the period occupied in the enlargement of the church of which the lecturer is minister, that an early demand for their publication led to the engagement of a shorthand writer to take a *verbatim* report of every lecture from the mouth of the preacher. By this it appears that the lectures, although studied, were not written out before being delivered. The reader will find a very interesting statement on this matter in p. 386 of the volume.

Translation of Herman Venema's inedited Institutes of Theology.

By the Rev. ALEX. W. BROWN. Edinburgh. T. and T. Clark. 1850.

THIS is the first volume of the translation of a work which existed only in MS., and came into the hands of the translator some few years ago. It is not stated by what means this happened. 'The genuineness of the Institutes was naturally at first a subject of doubt; but as the work of translation proceeded that doubt was removed. The marked identity between the style in which they were written, and that of his printed works, and especially his "Ecclesiastical History," and even the particular way in which, in both the one and the other, the sections and paragraphs, are marked, make it certain that it proceeded from his pen.'

The translator says nothing of the character of the work, but he promises that, should the reception which this volume meets with encourage the publication of the second, he will accompany it with an account of the author, and with some observations on his theological writings. He, however, informs us—and so far as we have ascertained this is correct—that 'the peculiar views which the author entertains on some points attach only to those on which divines have agreed to differ, and that nothing will be found in this volume to affect, except in the way of increase, the high estimation in which the author has uniformly been held as a learned divine and a godly man.'

It is a learned and able contribution, of very solid texture, to our too scanty store of systematic theology; and we deem it so well worthy of publication, that we sincerely trust the translator will speedily be enabled to produce the remainder of the work.

Modern Philosophical Infidelity, or the Personality of God. A

Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By J. GARBETT, A.M., Professor of Poetry. Hatchard and Son. 1849.

WE have kept this discourse longer on hand than we expected, with some intention of making it the groundwork of an extended article. In reluctantly abandoning this object, we feel bound to point this out as an excellent and able sermon, altogether worthy of the high reputation of the preacher and of the learned audience before which it was delivered. The author considers that the spread of liberty alike of action and of thought, the enormous expansion of the sphere in which intellect

intellect ranges, and, above all, the approximation through the press of man to man and the contact of intellect with intellect, have produced, or at least revealed, this remarkable characteristic in the present era of man's development; that unparalleled discoveries in the visible works of God coincide with a prevalence, equally without example, both of practical infidelity and philosophical atheism:—

'The human mind has wakened into a mighty, thrilling consciousness of its *collective capacity*; it has gathered up into one *great unity* and organized humanity all individual intellects and hearts, all genius, and all inspiration; and exulting in this great *corporate* life and bounding pulse, thus identified with it, it is drunk with pride and worships itself.

'In its own depths it believes all life and knowledge to lie; the meaning of all outward utterances and phenomena, and the self-evolved solution of all mysteries in heaven and earth. Before the chancery of its own subjective laws and arbitrary requirements all objective truth is called to judgment. It is itself God in fact, and the universe is its product and its mirror.'

The preacher states, that by *personality* he means the *individuality* of a moral and intelligent being. He shows that it is by virtue of more complete personality that beasts are superior to plants and men to animals; and he argues that the most complete personality is essential to the proper idea of God—is that in which the Scripture presents Him to us—and is that which governs all his relations towards us. In many beautiful and eloquent passages does the preacher work out this great and interesting theme, in opposition to the philosophisms of the day. This personality is evidently a perfection. It is clear that everything that does not possess it, or that possesses it in a low degree, whether it be like the earth, however exquisitely modelled into beauty and sublimity manifold, or the beasts of the field, however marvellous their living powers, must be inferior to ourselves.

'And therefore Almighty God must be a person likewise; for, if not, He would be inferior to ourselves, contrary to the supposition on which we go. And the very name imports that *אלוהים* *elohim*. He is, at all events, the *highest* of beings. You may indeed, if you please, abandon the intellect to the lawless tyranny of imagination! For our Maker has endowed the mind of man with the awful and mysterious licence of transcending the conditions of its *real* nature, and of ranging the infinite abyss of speculation, absolutely to its own conception, free from all chains and limitation!—a terrific liberty! You may judge that lawless and anarchical faculty, which, making a slave of the dialectic and constructive powers, has in the philosophic theology of Germany often supplanted reason, historic evidence, and true scientific induction! Drunk with the maddening wine of intellectual licentiousness and creative speculation, you may rave eloquently of a Being of infinite power, who pours forth out of his exhaustless bosom, unfathomable as the abyss of space itself, all glory, all living things, multitudinous and diversified beyond created arithmetic, such as fill the universe. And yet, by the same right of unreason and self-will you may lay it down that He has not a self-consciousness, nor a choice, nor anything, in short, of that which makes us to our fellow-men objects of love and hope, of dread and hatred, of joy and misery. And you may then, piling postulate on postulate into the empty air, till you reach, in haze and mist, the limbo of utter unreality, set up this blind, and dumb, and deaf abomination with a crown upon its head, on the throne of Him who is, and was, and is to be—the living Jehovah.

'But this is not to represent unto ourselves a God, but a monster, stretched uncouthly through infinite space; in some blind, chaotic sort omnipotent; unconsciously engendering out of darkness, like the nether pit, light and mind, and all manner of contradictions in its own blank, unconscious self; a brute, unintelligent, anarchic

anarchaic power; and ONE, not by the essential individuality of a substance, in which there is no accident or separableness of parts and qualities, but a mere logical oneness and an aggregation of diversities.'—(pp. 26-28.)

This, although a dreadful picture, is, we fear, but a true one of the God which modern philosophy has idealized. But this indeed, argues Mr. Garbett, is not a God; and, of course, 'not a living, loving, avenging, awful Deity':—

'Why, in such a case, though the spirit within us is clothed with perishable dust and ashes, we should be far superior, in the order of intelligent being, to such a Deity, with all his immensity. Nay, though He be said to be everywhere, because a portion of Him is in every place, yet in fact He is nowhere. He has no *intensive*, but only an *extensive* being; divisible, removable, destructible. He has therefore *no being* at all in truth; for He *nowhere is*. He is not therefore a God, who is not only a Being, but BEING ITSELF. For a God must be in every place, *totus in toto*, et *totus in qualibet parte*.'

By many plain arguments and fine illustrations does the preacher prove the inevitable existence of and necessity for such personality in God as the Scripture ascribes to Him; and in very beautiful thought and language does he point out the advantages and comforts which accrue to us from this important attribute of the Divine character. In a day when, through unsanctified ratiocinations, the idea of God presents itself with distressing vagueness to the minds of educated men, we are truly thankful to Professor Garbett for this most reasonable and vigorous discourse.

A Harmony of the Word of God in Spirit and in Truth. By JAMES WAPSHARE. London, Lewis: 1849.

THIS is a strange book, adorned with sundry hieroglyphics embodying mysteries of not very ready solution. The author thinks he has discovered a new principle of Scripture interpretation, more spiritual than the common herd of expositors have yet found. It is, perhaps, for want of the advantage of the two previous works which the author intended to be an introduction to the present, and in which he sets forth his views 'respecting the mode of interpreting the sacred oracles,' that we find it difficult to grasp the precise point of his discovery so as to estimate its value. The author is an earnest man, apparently of some learning, and wishing to do good and to glorify God by his labours. He is therefore to be judged with all kindness and charity; and it is not without pain that we declare our belief that the publication will be to his own detriment, without being of corresponding advantage to any other parties.

The book is substantially a paraphrastic, or rather interpretative, version of the Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians, framed so as to develop what the author conceives to be the inner meaning which lies hid in the letter of the text, with notes to enforce the interpretations of the paraphrase. In both the tone is somewhat mystical; and there is a strong current of special views, which we take to be those of the Universalists. Now there are few things to which we are more opposed than to this mode of dealing with any part of the Sacred Volume itself: making it an instrument for the inculcation of
private

private interpretations. If a man conceive Scripture to support his opinions, well and good—let him cite his texts, and we shall see what evidence they bear in his favour; but to sit down to write the words of Scripture itself *into those views* is another matter altogether, and deserving of reprehension. Anything of the sort—a word having a partial tendency—is watched with sleepless vigilance in the translations of all our translating societies; and at this moment there is an outcry against the Jews' Society for an alleged Episcopal leaning in the choice of words, in its translation of the New Testament into Hebrew. A paraphrase is, perhaps, not to be so strictly judged; but anything of the kind appears to us strongly objectionable. The principle is bad and wrong. The Scripture is our court of reference and appeal. We bring to it our special matters to be tried and tested by its rules. But to dress it up into a correspondence with special views is as unseemly as the advocacy of a judge in the cause he tries. This great fault mars in this work the effect of much that might appear sound and serviceable to such as can understand it. Upon the whole, the book must be regarded as one of the eccentricities of the theological literature of the year 1849; and we here note its existence as a matter of record, for it is not at all likely to be read but by the few who will take interest in it on account of the support it offers to the special views they entertain.

The author tells us, that among those of whom he sought advice—to and to whom, it seems, he suggested that *his* principle would supply a solution of certain difficulties to which their works referred—'were the present Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, and the Bishop of Oxford.' The result was not encouraging:—

'His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury replied, that he had not the time necessary for the consideration of the subjects proposed to him. His Grace of Dublin, who was also presented with a book, returned no answer. The Bishop of Oxford also pleaded no time; he being then at Malvern for the benefit of his health.'

Inspiration in Conflict with the Recent Forms of Philosophy and Scepticism. By JOHN EADIE, LL.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son, 1849.

THIS is a lecture delivered at the opening of the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, in which Dr. Eadie is Professor of Biblical Literature. It is a noble, vigorous, and eloquent discourse, worthily upholding the claims of the Bible against the inventions and philosophies of men. The time is at hand when sacred Truth will be assailed in its strongholds by the most dangerous foes it has ever yet encountered. But no one fears for the safety or honour of God's ark; and if any be timid or distrustful, he may gather courage from such discourses as this, which show that the leaders of the in-coming generation of theologians and scholars are quite alive to the true responsibility of their position, and to the dangers against which they have to guard.

We have only to offer a few extracts from this admirable lecture, which we earnestly recommend to the perusal of all who feel interest in the matters of which it treats.

The

The author thus skilfully discriminates the character of past and present systems of disbelief:—

‘The enmity of the older infidelity has sunk into the sleep of exhaustion. The deism of the last century wore a cold and withered aspect. Its touch was rough and frosty. It had no sympathies. Its sorcery was coarse—unrelieved by the glitter of sophism or the witchery of song; and its dark and malignant scowl chilled the very orgies into which its disciples had been initiated. It tore hope and love from man with a rude and unpitying snatch, and “grinned horribly a ghastly smile,” if its victims at any time trembled under the sudden consciousness of the robbery and cruelty which had been practised upon them. It covered the heaven with a pall of darkness, whose frown was reflected in ominous gloom on the earth. So it could not prevail. It gave nothing in exchange for what it took away. It left man an outcast without shelter, and an orphan without a home. It gave no aim to life but a sensual pleasure, and sought no relief from death but a dreary annihilation. We are not afraid of the grosser forms of unbelief bringing havoc and ruin into the midst of the people. Their very hideousness is repulsive. The fantastic disbelief of Christianity, urged by such men as Fourier, St. Simon, Owen, and even the Abbé Lamennais, is rejected and loathed by the moral instincts of our nature. Their communism owes its spread to maddened passions and political desperation, and had its birth in a visionary and Quixotic attempt to remedy the disorders of society by the summary act of overturning it, and erecting a new fabric—a second Babel—whose wretched existence, when tried in miniature, has always been so brief as scarce to warrant the name of an experiment, and whose promise of good is only as the momentary verdure of the gourd, “which came up in a night and perished in a night.” Seduction from Christianity, to be successful, must present a fairer and more attractive appearance; and in such alluring guise it has at length come among us. Its insinuations are pregnant with menace and danger; its pretensions are coincident with the claims of the loftiest ideal philosophy; and it sometimes arrogates the charms of a poetical pantheism. There is nothing rude or vulgar about it. It does not seek to brand the Bible as a forgery, but only to modify or explain away its claims. It allows the inspired books much in literary glory and æsthetic brightness, but denies them a monopoly of such qualities. It brings Scripture down to the level of common treatises; for it speaks of “Minos and Moses as equally inspired to make laws;” David and Pindar “to write poetry;” and affirms that Newton and Isaiah, Leibnitz and Paul, &c., have in them “various forms of the one spirit from God most high.” Such inspiration is limited to “no sect, age, or nation, for it is wide as the world, and common as God.”—(p. 9.)

The new theory so generalises the doctrine of inspiration, that whatever is precious and consoling in it is obscured and lost. It ceases to be an authoritative exposition of God’s will to us. ‘No longer is it a tree of life, whose shade refreshes and whose leaves heal; it is only a rare exotic, where all is bloom and life:’—

‘We have no horror at free thoughts and bold inquiry, as long as men indicate their desire to submit to the decisions of evidence. We bear no grudge against literature and philosophy, though we are prepared to repel the “oppositions of science falsely so called.” Often have we grieved, indeed, to see mental powers arrayed in unnatural rebellion against Him who bestowed them, and had preserved them in strength and harmony. Men in their wildness have invoked “the stars in their courses” to fight against Him, who, enthroned above them, forgot not that insignificant planet on which crime and misery dwell. They have called to their aid the rocks and fossils of the early infancy of the globe, to prove that the Biblical records of creation were not furnished by the Creator. The love and holiness of Jehovah, united in the marvel and mystery of our redemption, win not their confidence, and elicit not their praises. But the authors to whom we have referred profess to hold so far by Scripture, and yet deny the plainest fact that lies on its surface—to wit, that “God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by

by his Son." They deny not the existence of prophets, nor of Jesus—nay, they endow them with genius and patriotism—but they challenge the truth of their inspiration as the Bible records it. Prophets and apostles, indeed, believed themselves to be divinely inspired, and spoke and acted under the hallowed consciousness; but our modern detectors of truth boast of having undeceived them, and of having made it plain that they could possess no commission save what belongs to universal humanity. And our faith is declared to rest on misconception, for the language employed to describe the peculiar nearness of the prophetic relation to Jehovah is clothed in the gaudy drapery of oriental figure, and has seduced and dazzled our prosaic minds. Therefore, while the Bible may be a wondrous book, it does not contain pure truth, nor truth summoning us to immediate homage. There is much, we are told, in Scripture, low, temporary, and unsuited to our enlightened minds, and it is only to the elements of absolute religion that we are to yield ourselves, after we have severed them from the coarse and poisonous husk in which they are wrapt. But, this delicate process being completed, how shall we feel that we have grasped the religious absolute? How shall we recognise it? Shall we have an assurance of faith as to our possession of it? May we not have mingled error with our search, and in rooting up the tares, may we not have unearthed the good wheat also? And if, as is asserted, there is so much of God in every man, as, when excited or developed, becomes inspiration, and may be seen exemplified in the great and noble of every age and country, then the Bible may be safely dispensed with, and the Biblical writings sink into a higher form of literature, the greater portion of which was composed under the "fine phrensy" of an oriental temperament. Under such notions of a universal inspiration, there is no need felt of an objective religion to guide or impel; for religion is pronounced to be a thing wholly subjective in its nature, and the Bible to be but a record of pious experiences—all of which may be felt and described by any of us quite as vividly as they are in the pages of Holy Writ.—(p. 11.)

The danger of such opinions is obvious. The new infidelity drinks wine out of the temple vessels, but not in the temple courts; and Professor Eadie lays bare its pretensions to the bone, with a few rapid strokes of a well-nerved arm. We cannot follow him, nor indeed indicate the general drift of his argument and illustrations, though there are many passages in which he upholds the claims of God's word, and the absolute necessity for the revelation it embodies, which we would gladly cite. He contends, we perceive, for the *plenary* inspiration of Scripture. 'I do not indeed,' he says, 'argue for such a theory of verbal dictation as is maintained by Haldane, Carson, Gaussen, and several of the early fathers. I believe their system of a rigid and uniform mechanism to be opposed at once to man's intellectual constitution, and at variance with all the results of the Divine presence,—“for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”' But:—

'As there was no need of a mechanical dictation of vocables to minds filled and guided by the Spirit, so, on the other hand, there is no warrant for us to reason on the question of degrees of inspiration. The theory of Frassen, a Franciscan monk of the sixteenth century, has been developed by Tölner and Knapp, borrowed by Doddridge, and from him received, illustrated, and defended by Dick and Henderson. The terms employed by these authors, of superintendence, elevation, direction, and suggestion, are nowhere hinted at in Scripture, and their invention is an attempt to decide where elements of comparison are wanting. The Bible tells us of a work of the Spirit on the minds of the selected instructors of men; but it never says in what form, or to what extent, it had been exercised. Does it not, then, savour of presumption to attempt to estimate what *actus theopneustias* was necessary to each *actus scribendi*? Scripture claims something higher than either graduated or intermittent inspiration. . . . Our view of plenary inspiration is not impugned by the fact, that sentiments of bad men, and evil spirits, and snatches of profane

profane history are found in the Bible. All that we affirm concerning these things is, that the Spirit has judged the record of them necessary, and has vouched for their veracity. An objection against plenary inspiration based on the occurrence of such sections in Scripture has been employed by Coleridge. The song of Deborah, in which the tragic action of Jael is enulogised, has been put forward as an example of the error and danger of saying that all Scripture is given of God. The speeches of Job's friends are also adduced in evidence against us. But these places of Sacred Writ claim not inspiration. They are portions of ancient literature selected under Divine guidance to teach certain truths, and to show the state of society in different periods of antiquity. They are a species of vouchers for the credibility of the narrative. So are the extracts from the book of Jasher found in Joshua and 2nd Samuel. But does any one impugn church history as a veritable record, because the annalist occasionally cites the pernicious sentiments of heretics? Nor do we reckon the introduction of such sections a mark of imperfection, for they give us a dramatic view of humanity. Were you to paint the scene of the Crucifixion, would the figure of a Roman soldier among the group be either unseemly in itself, or derogatory to the glory of the illustrious Sufferer, or would any eye mistake its character and meaning in the spectacle?"—(pp. 29, 30.)

The Singular Introduction of the English Bible into Britain, and its Consequences. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THIS brochure is intended to illustrate 'the imperative obligation of British Christians and other nations in the present eventful period,'—which duty the author takes to be the more extensive and active diffusion of the Scriptures. He calls attention to the character and labours of Tyndale, and traces the leadings of Providence in the original introduction of his version of the Scriptures (printed in Holland), as well as in its reception, and in the steps which have rendered this island the centre of a great system for the diffusion of the Scriptures throughout the world. He argues, that the circumstances of the times call for increased vigour in the discharge of a function and a duty which the providence of God has so signally imposed upon the nation, and to which, it may be believed, she owes her true greatness, and for which she has been preserved. There may be some difference of opinion as to the author's views and meanings; but there can be none as to the importance of the duty he inculcates, or as to the value of the facts he has brought together—some of which will be new to many readers. We, ourselves, most heartily sympathise in any attempts to do honour to the man to whom this nation is so much indebted as to William Tyndale; and it is no credit to this land that until lately—and indeed until now—his memory has been treated with such gross neglect. It is but recently, as this writer points out, 'when searching for characters with which to adorn our Senate-house, Wickliffe, the morning-star, has been very justly remembered, though, at the same time, his Bible entire has not even yet appeared in print. Tyndale, much of whose language has been reading daily, and especially with every returning Lord's day for three hundred years, has been forgotten.'

The pamphlet bears no name on the title—but the Introductory Notice is signed by Christopher Anderson, the author of the '*Annals of the English Bible.*'

The

The New Testament Expounded and Illustrated according to the usual marginal references, in the very words of Holy Scripture. Together with the Notes and Translations and a complete Marginal Harmony of the Gospels. Part I. Containing the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. By CHARLES MOODY, M.A. London: Longmans, 1849.

WE have not lately met with a book better calculated to be *useful* to the searcher of the Scriptures. The plan is expressed in the title. The parallel passages are printed in full—except where the language and sentiment of both text and reference are the same, when the editor finds means of indicating the extent of the analogy without repeating the words of the latter.

We all have heard of the value of the references to the readers of Scripture. We are of those who fully recognize their importance, and regret the number of Bibles now printed without this most useful apparatus. But in point of fact there is probably not one in fifty of even the habitual readers of the Bible who do make any regular use of the references. There are several reasons for this. The most natural one is the dislike of breaking the continuity of our reading by continually turning the leaves backward and forward; but there is also the indisposition in most men to take the trouble, and they excuse their indolence by the assertion that they obtain as much advantage by reading on as by the comparison of Scripture with Scripture. Such persons need only take a glance at this book, where all the texts are set before them, without trouble on their part, to be assured of their error. They will find the analogies indicated not *merely* verbal—and often not verbal at all—but material and suggestive; and they will soon feel how much Scripture treasure they have lost by this neglect. Many persons also, who are prevented by the nature of their employments from giving more than a small portion of their time to the reading of Scripture, are naturally indisposed to apply that time to any but the most direct mode of obtaining the advantages they seek. To these the work will be of great value. A downward glance of the eye is alone required to secure a benefit which has been hitherto attainable only at a great expense of time and labour.

The references, which form the basis of the present operation, are those of Dr. Blayney's standard edition of the Bible, which are known to have been selected with great care and consideration.

To many readers it may appear a very simple and easy operation to print as notes the passages to which there are references. But we can see that it must have been a work of time and expense, the ultimate recompense of which will not, we should hope, be confined to the consciousness of useful labour.

The editor's own account of one portion of his labour will be interesting:—

'A few words are due to the manner in which I have endeavoured to accomplish the task I have undertaken: and here I need hardly say, that I have not been satisfied with quoting merely the particular verses referred to, without increase

crease or diminution, as if every reference must necessarily include a whole verse, neither more nor less. To go no further than the Gospels, in cases innumerable a single reference rather serves for an index to the subject than marks out its real limits; as in the account of the Transfiguration, the leading reference, Matt. xviii. 1, includes seven verses; and so in most of the parables and other discourses of our Lord. It is the general spirit of a passage that must be the guide in ascertaining the value and extent of a reference. Again, the object of the references being to edify the student by throwing some light on the places to which they belong, they should first be made clear from their own context, and exhibit severally an independent sense, before they can be applied to the purposes of elucidation. I have, therefore, laid it down as a rule in the execution of the work to make the sense of each reference complete in itself, so as to save all further search on the part of the reader: and if he finds, as assuredly he will, that a quotation contains more than the parallelism seems to require, I would only observe that it is often impossible, on account of the closeness of grammatical connexion, to extricate with the *pen* just so much as is applicable without degenerating into mere bald verbalism; and that this fault of redundancy, if fault it be, may readily be overcome by that quick and subtle agent, the *eye*, which will abstract, by an act of volition, all that is exegetically necessary. My difficulty, indeed, has been to avoid lengthy citations, especially from the prophetic works and St. Paul's Epistles; where one is too apt to be hurried away by the magnificent language of the former, and by the long reasonings of the latter, interrupted as they are with sudden digressions.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Dr. Tischendorf has now an edition of the Codex Amiatinus in the press, founded on his own collation of the MS. and on that of Dr. Tregelles made during his stay at Florence in April and May, 1846, and communicated by him to Tischendorf. This Latin MS. is one of the greatest importance, as it is probably the best monument of Jerome's version in existence. It appears to have been written before the *middle of the sixth century*. The edition of the Latin New Testament published by Fleck, with (professedly) the various readings of this MS., is wholly unworthy of reliance; there are at least *fourteen hundred readings* given which are thoroughly inaccurate. We understand that Dr. Tregelles has compared these readings, one by one, with the MS. The collation, as published by Fleck, has greatly misled Lachmann, who had no other collation of this MS. available for his use. These incorrect readings have also been perpetuated in the Polyglott New Testament published by Steir and Theile. The so-called collation was only made in part by Fleck himself; and it is probable that in recopying the notes received from others, and in putting his own in order, some of the mistakes may have arisen. It is still the intention of Dr. Tregelles to give the version of Jerome based on this MS. in his Greek Testament by the side of the Greek Text. He will not, however, *absolutely* follow this one MS. (though it is the most important), but means to use other ancient authority where needful.

An edition of the important Greek and Latin MS. Codex Claromontanus (D. Epistolarum) will probably appear about the end of this year. Dr. Tischendorf transcribed the whole MS. for publication some years ago; he has since revised this transcript with the MS., and the whole will be compared with Dr. Tregelles' collation, and his re-examination of the corrections of different hands. This commendable co-operation is, we understand, the result of a proposition made by Dr. Tischendorf to Dr. Tregelles, that they should unitedly edit this MS. In consequence of this the latter scholar put the results of his labours into the hands of the former, and he has now further to make a fac-simile of the MS. itself, and of the different hands by which it has been corrected.

An edition of the Septuagint is announced by Tischendorf as in the press.

The Rev. Isaac Williams is about to publish a *New Harmony of the Four Gospels*, in parallel columns, in the words of the Authorized Version, forming a companion and key to his *Commentary and Harmony of the Gospels*.

JERUSALEM.—Mr. William Forrest, of Edinburgh, has just finished a line engraving (23 inches by 15) after a drawing by Mr. W. L. Leitch from a most accurate sketch by Lieut.-Col. M'Niven, of a view of the 'Holy City,' from the spot on the Mount of Olives where Christ is said to have wept over the city, embracing all the most conspicuous objects of that sacred locality.

We have just received from Germany, in three sheets, with a key in outline, a *Panorama von Jerusalem*, embracing a lithograph view of all the objects visible in every direction from the highest point (the roof of the Church of the Ascension) upon the Mount of Olives. This panorama, while it shows every near object with remarkable distinctness, extends in the distance to the valley of the Jordan and the mountains beyond the Dead Sea. We have not seen anything of the kind better suited to library use.

PALESTINE.—We have received that portion of the Atlas accompanying Ritter's *Erdkunde* which belongs to Palestine and Sinai. The scale is large (3 minutes to an inch), and all the materials which have been accumulated of late years for the illustration of the geography of Palestine are here embodied and settled on the authority of the first geographer of this age. Those who know the importance and relief afforded by the possession of the latest and best information of this kind, set forth on an authority upon which entire reliance can be placed, will receive this as a most valuable boon. It is right to add that the Atlas exhibits only the actual geography, and has nothing to do with the determination of Scriptural sites.

AMERICA.—The last sheets of the *Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, by Professor Stuart, are passing through the press. It will make an 8vo. volume, of about 450 pages, about 350 being occupied with the Commentary, and the remainder with introductory matters, etc. The body of the work has been ready for publication several years. The Introduction has been recently prepared, and the whole has been revised. Professor S. understands by the four great empires—the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, that of Alexander the Great, and that of his immediate successors. The author goes at large into the reasons which show that the fourth dynasty was not the Roman nor the Papal. The fifth or Messianic kingdom, which is to stand for ever, is introduced only when the four dynasties are broken up. Particular pains are taken throughout the Commentary to refute the objections to the authenticity and genuineness of Daniel by such writers as Professor Lengerke, of Königsberg.

The well-known and highly valued work of Mosheim, *De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii*, has been translated by Dr. Murdock, the translator of Mosheim's *Church History*, and is about to be published at Newhaven, in two volumes.

It is possible that there will soon be a version of the last edition of Dr. Winer's excellent *New Testament Grammar*. The translation of a former edition has long been exhausted.

The third volume of the *Theological Works of the Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods, of Andover*, will soon be published. Five volumes will complete the work. Many important Biblical texts are discussed by Dr. Woods, as, for example, those relating to infant baptism.

A volume has just been published in New York, entitled *Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Slavic Nations*, by Talvi (Mrs. Robinson, wife of Rev. Dr. Robinson, of New York). It is a filling out of some articles which appeared in the fourth volume of the *Biblical Repository*. The four parts of the work treat of the History of the Old or Church Slavic Language or Literature; the Eastern Slavi, the Western Slavi, and a Sketch of the Popular Poetry of the Slavic Nations. The philological discussions in the work are said to be extremely accurate and careful.

A second

A second edition of the translation of Kühner's *School or Middle Grammar*, by Messrs. Edwards and Taylor, is in preparation, and will be published in New York. Various improvements, it is expected, will be made from the MS. notes of the author, and from the grammatical works of Krüger, Madvig, and others.

A Latin *Lexicon*, in one large octavo, principally from the great work of William Freund, will soon be published. It is prepared under the superintendence of Professor E. A. Andrews, well known among us as an accurate classical scholar. His assistants are Professors Robbins, of Middlebury College, and Turner, of the Union Theological Seminary.

The *Methodist Quarterly Review* (American) announces that the Rev. Charles Adams has in preparation a new work on the present state of Christianity throughout the World, intended to give a fair view of the present condition of Christ's kingdom among men.

AMERICAN THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLIES.—The April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* maintains the high standing of this periodical. The principal articles are:—On the Sufferings of Christ, by Dr. Enoch Pond; The Ancient Poets and Poetry of Wales, by Edward D. Morris; On the Theology of Dr. Edwards, by the Rev. E. Smalley; An Exegetical and Theological Examination of John i. 1—18, by Moses Stuart; Of the Existence and Natural Attributes of the Divine Being, by Professor Chace; a Translation and Exposition of the Second Psalm, by Dr. Calvin Stowe; The German Universities, translated from Dr. Wimmer; and Commentaries on the Scriptures, apparently by the Editor.

The *Biblical Repository* has a strong number: it contains Correspondences of Faith, by the Rev. H. T. Cheever; Milton and Butler as Representatives of their Parties, by Professor Sanborn; Pantheism, by Dr. Enoch Pond; A Lecture on the First Chapter of Ecclesiastes, by Dr. Calvin Stowe; Scientific Observations, by the Rev. R. Turnbull; The Death of Christ, by the Rev. T. Spear; The Book of Proverbs, by Dr. Tayler Lewis; and Vestiges of a Redeemer in the Religions of the Ancient World, by Asahel Abbot—a noble subject too faintly handled.

The *Methodist Quarterly Review* has its usual proportion of secular subjects. The others are:—Wesley the Catholic, by the Rev. Charles Adams; On the Demoniacs of the New Testament, by the Rev. Silas Comfort; Inquiry into the Meaning of 2 Pet. iii. 13, by the Rev. T. U. Mudge; The Meaning of מִן, by Professor Johnson; Sunday School Literature; and Life of the Rev. J. Collins. This publication has begun to adopt the practice (which we have been constrained to abandon) of giving the names of the writers.

The *Theological and Literary Journal*, edited by David W. Lord, has another article on Morell's Philosophy of Religion; The Dangers and Difficulties of the Ministry; Objections to the Laws of Symbolization; A Designation and Exposition of the Figures of Isaiah vii.; and a Review of Beattie's Discourse on the Millennial State of the Church.

It is stated in the American *Literary World* that the judicial decision against the existence of any copyrights in this country in the works of foreigners, has attracted much attention in the United States, and has deepened the desire for an international copyright, which during some past years has greatly extended in that country. According to this excellent authority, all parties may be regarded as now in favour of a change which shall protect English copyrights in America, and American copyrights here. Publishers see it to be favourable to their own interests; the public is less athirst for cheap reprints, and is more willing to give a remunerating price for works of real value; authors have long been in favour of a change; and now that the few who got well paid in England for the copyright of their works, and who, therefore, held out the last, have been or will be speedily brought by the results of this famous legal decision to concur in the general sentiment—now, then, is the time to act; and we may hope ere long to see this difficult question settled on an equitable basis—greatly to the advantage of the literature of both countries. The important bearing of this on Biblical literature we need not point out.

The Rev. W. G. Schauffler, Missionary at Constantinople, has sent to the American Oriental Society a communication respecting Shabathai Zebi, a pseudo-Messiah,

siah, and his followers. This Judæo-Mohammedan sect originated about the middle of the seventeenth century at Smyrna, and still exists, although its members are little known as such, but profess Mohammedanism or Judaism to cover their real opinions. Its literary basis is the esoteric Jewish system of doctrine called the Cabbala, the maturest fruit of which is the book of Zohar, dating from the close of the thirteenth century.

Abyssinia.—M. Rocher d'Hericourt, who has lately returned from a journey in Abyssinia, has brought with him about a score of MSS. in the Ethiopian language, all of vast antiquity and great literary value. They are folio in form, bound in red leather, with the Greek cross and strange ornaments on the covers. In some of them the writing runs straight across the page, in others it is in columns; in nearly all it is firm and bold in character. Some of the MSS. are on history, religion, and science; one of them is a complete and curious treatise on the mysteries of Eastern astrology; and one, which appears to have been written at the beginning of the eleventh century, contains a copy of the Bible, which differs in some respects from the ordinary version (?). To obtain these treasures, M. d'Hericourt passed a long time in Abyssinia, had to employ daring, cunning, persuasion, and force, to go through many extraordinary adventures, and endure many hardships and persecutions. He had, besides, obtained a mass of curious information on the religion (which it seems is half Jewish, half Christian), the manners, and the government of the singular people who inhabit Abyssinia; has ascertained all that could be learned in their country, of which so little is known (?); and has collected all the facts calculated to throw light on geology, mineralogy, botany, and other branches of science. He has also brought numerous specimens of a plant, the root of which reduced to powder is said to be a sovereign remedy for hydrophobia in men and animals.—*Literary Gazette*.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

- Anselm (Abp.).—The Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. Translated and abridged from the German of F. R. Hassé. By the Rev. William Turner. Post 8vo. pp. 260.
- Baptism. The New Idea of Baptism. By Lord Congleton. 8vo. pp. 24.
- Barham (Francis).—The Bible Revised: a carefully corrected Translation from the Old and New Testaments. Part III. The Book of Micah. 24mo. pp. 28.
- Bopp (F.).—A Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Slavonic Languages. By Prof. F. Bopp. Translated from the German by Lieut. Eastwick. Part 3, 8vo. pp. 170.
- Bosanquet (Rev. R. W.).—The Sacrament of Baptism; with Remarks on the Ambiguity in the Modern Use of the word Regeneration. 8vo. pp. 60.
- Candlish (Rev. Dr. R. S.).—Scripture Characters and Miscellanies. 8vo. pp. 582.
- Chesney (Lieut.-Col.).—The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, carried on by order of the British Government in the years 1835, 1836, and 1837: preceded by Geographical and Historical Notices of the Regions situated between the Rivers Nile and Indus. In 4 vols. Vols. I. and II. royal 8vo. pp. 1621, 48 plates.
- Cook (F. C.).—The Acts of the Apostles, with a Commentary, and Practical and Devotional Suggestions for Readers and Students of the English Bible. By the Rev. F. C. Cook. Post 8vo. pp. 336.
- Dobbin (Rev. Dr. O. T.).—The Sabbath of Heaven: a Sermon. 8vo. pp. 29.
- Edwards (Rev. J.).—A Devotional Exposition of the Book of Psalms; containing an Argument to each Psalm, a Paraphrase, Suggestive Remarks, &c. 8vo. pp. 342.
- English

- English (The) Reformation; containing a brief History of the Early British Church, the Arrival of St. Augustine, the Establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and its gradual Corruption by Popery: also, a Short Sketch of the Reformation on the Continent of Europe. 12mo. pp. 118.
- Exposition (An) of the Book of Revelation. 12mo. pp. 326.
- Field (Rev. C.)—Scripture illustrated by interesting Facts, Incidents, and Anecdotes. By the Rev. C. Field. 18mo. pp. 160.
- Frere (J. H.)—Notes, forming a brief, Interpretation of the Apocalypse. 8vo. pp. 172.
- Grinfield (Rev. E. W.)—An Apology for the Septuagint; in which its Claims to Biblical and Canonical Authority are briefly stated and vindicated. 8vo. pp. 200.
- Grinfield (Rev. E. W.)—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister: an Ex-postulatory Letter to the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman, on the Interpolated Curse in the Vatican Septuagint, Deut. xxvii. 23. 8vo. pp. 20.
- Hardy (R. S.)—Eastern Monachism. An Account of the Origin, Laws, Writings, Religious Ceremonies, &c. of the Order of Mendicants, founded by Gotama Budha. 8vo. pp. 460.
- Heugh (Hugh, D.D.)—Life of, with a selection from his Discourses. By Hamilton M. Macgill. 2 vols. 8vo. (Edinburgh), pp. 1115.
- How much longer are we to continue teaching nothing more than what was taught two or three centuries ago? By M. E. 8vo. pp. 42.
- Kitto (Dr. John)—Moses and the Judges: forming the Second Volume of "Daily Bible Illustrations:" being Original Readings for a Year on subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology. 12mo. pp. 522.
- Macbrair (Rev. R. M.)—The Happy Church. By the Rev. R. M. Macbrair. 18mo. pp. 126.
- Mackay (R. W.)—The Progress of the Intellect as exemplified in the Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1030.
- M'Crie (T.)—Lectures on Christian Baptism. By Thos. M'Crie, D.D. 8vo. pp. 188.
- Meek (Rev. J.)—Scripture Emblems; or, Gleanings in the Field of Sacred Imagery. 8vo. pp. 412.
- Miley (Rev. J.)—The History of the Papal States, from their Origin to the Present Day. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 1094.
- Monro (Rev. E. A.)—Sacred Allegories. 12mo. pp. 356.
- Müller (Dr. M.)—Rig-veda-Sanhita, the Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins; together with the Commentary of Sayanacharya. Vol. I. 4to. pp. 1020.
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- Payne (G.)—Lectures on Christian Theology. By the late Rev. George Payne. With a Memoir and Reminiscences. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 546.
- Read (Rev. M.)—The Hand of God in History; or, Divine Providence historically illustrated in the Extension and Establishment of Christianity. 12mo. pp. 416.
- Schleiermacher (F.)—Brief Outline of the Study of Theology. By the late Dr. F. Schleiermacher. To which are prefixed, Reminiscences of Schleiermacher, by Dr. F. A. Lucke. Translated from the German by the Rev. W. Farrar. Post 8vo. pp. 236.
- Smyth (Rev. Dr. F.)—The Unity of the Human Races proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science; with a Review of the present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz. 12mo. (New York), pp. 430.
- Song (The) of Solomon compared with other parts of Scripture. 12mo. pp. 248.
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- Spring (Gardiner)—The Mercy Seat: Thoughts suggested by the Lord's Prayer. With Illustrations of the Nature and Efficacy of Prayer. 12mo. pp. 312.
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- Tomkins (S.).—The Influence of the Hebrew and Christian Revelations on Ancient Heathen Writers : an Essay which obtained the Hulsean Prize for 1849. 8vo. pp. 286.
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- Vaux (W. S. W.).—Nineveh and Persepolis : an Historical Sketch of Ancient Assyria and Persia, with an Account of the recent Researches in those countries. Post 8vo. pp. 446.
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- Walker (George J.).—Essays and Tracts (Bath). 12mo. pp. 86.
- Whitwell (J.).—Apocalypse : Analysis of the Book of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. With an Address to all Christians. By the Rev. J. Whitwell. 8vo. (Reading), pp. 20.
- Wilson (Rev. J.).—Memoir of his Life and Labours. By H. Hastings. 12mo. pp. 380.
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FOREIGN.

- Bengel (J. A.).—Gnomon novi testamenti, in quo ex nativa verborum vi simplicitas, profunditas, concinnitas, salubritas sensuum coelestium indicatur. Editio III., per filium superstitem, E. Bengellum, quondam curata, tertio recens adjuvante J. Steudel. 2 tomi, 8vo. (Tübingae.)
- Chastel—Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme dans l'Empire d'Orient.
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- Meyer (H. A. W.).—Kritisch exeget. Handbuch üb. die Briefe an die Thesalonicher. 8vo. (Götting.)
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- Ritter (C.).—Der Jordan u. die Beschiffung des Todten Meeres. 8vo. (Berlin), map.
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GENESIS AND GEOLOGY;
OR AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE RECONCILIATION OF THE
MODERN DOCTRINES OF GEOLOGY WITH THE
DECLARATIONS OF SCRIPTURE.*

WHEN the conclusions of any inductive science appear to militate against the declarations of that volume which the Christian has been taught to consider as the inspired word of God, it becomes the duty of the candid inquirer after truth, not upon the one side, hastily to reject the deductions of science, nor upon the other, to fall into the more dangerous error of laying aside the doctrine of the

* The following pages are the result of the author's first application to the study of geology, and an attempt upon his part to supply, at least in some degree, what he himself felt to be a desideratum, to those who were anxious to find out in what degree some of the various hypotheses for reconciling geology with Scripture, could be borne out by the general tenor of the sacred writings. It suggested itself to his mind, that a mass of Scripture, bearing more or less directly upon this subject, lay yet, in some degree at least, unexplored—that many passages, not hitherto, as far as he was aware of, brought forward, might with respect to this be turned to account, and the credibility of the whole made stronger by a more minute sifting of the parts. The vast importance of the matter is the only apology which he, as a layman, can offer for intruding into a subject generally considered the peculiar province of the clerical profession. The, in some respects, unfavourable circumstances under which the ensuing pages were written, (chiefly at intervals during a foreign tour in pursuit of health,) must form at least a part of the excuse which he must offer, for the many imperfections, which he is well aware, must in all probability lurk in them. If, however, anything which he may have put forward, should be the means of directing some abler hand into the same track, of confirming the faith of a Christian, or removing a doubt from the mind of a sceptic, his end will have been fully answered. He must acknowledge his obligations to the Dean of Westminster's Bridgewater Treatise for its chapter upon the 'Consistency of Geolo-

the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, but to examine impartially whether the difference between the two be real, or only apparent, and whether the seeming discrepancies admit of a sound reconciliation.

Such is the state of the case between the modern science of geology, and the first chapter of the book of Genesis, for whilst the former has assigned an enormous antiquity to our earth, and shown upon apparently valid grounds, that for a lapse of countless ages it has been the habitation of successive tribes of animal, and vegetable, existences, the latter has appeared to many to define and limit both the age of our planet, and also the first dawn of organic life upon its surface, to a comparatively short period: whence a contest, detrimental to the interests both of science, and religion, has begun—the unbeliever, considering the facts of geology as all upon his side, whilst many well-meaning friends of revelation, but amongst the number of those who have not considered the subject in all its phases, have been of opinion that geological studies bring with them a tendency to scepticism.

It shall be my endeavour to investigate this apparent contradiction between geology and Scripture, and also, whether the doctrines of the modern school of geology are, or are not, incompatible with the declarations of the first chapter of the book of Genesis, taken in their grammatical signification, and agreeably to the analogy of Scripture, according to the use of the same terms in other parts of the sacred volume.

In order to the accomplishment of this intention, it seems necessary first, to state how far I think I can proceed with security, and secondly, what lies beyond my powers. With respect to the former, it appears to me that the *credibility*, according to the analogy of Scripture, of the following ten propositions, which I shall proceed to enumerate, may be safely maintained. With respect to the latter, I shall only state that in no case do I attempt demonstration, but confine myself exclusively to showing credibility. My propositions are as follows:—

First, That the absolute age of our earth is not defined in the sacred volume.

gical Discoveries with Sacred History,' of a great part of which the author has availed himself; and to Dr. J. Pye Smith's Lectures 'On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science,' for what he has said upon his third proposition. By the assistance of the latter able work, which the author first met with, after the substantial composition of the ensuing essay, he was enabled to supply some proofs of the credibility of a limited extent of the flood, in which his original had been deficient. The reader will do well to bear in mind, that the object of the author has been,—avoiding any synthesis based upon the assumption of the truth of both revelation, and geological deductions,—to analyse the various positions supposed to be required by the latter, solely, according to the Scripture where it speaks, according to its analogy, where it is silent.

Secondly.

Secondly. That there may have been a long interval of time between the creation of heaven and earth, mentioned in the first verse, of the first chapter, of Genesis, and the continuation of the earth's history, in the second verse.

Thirdly. That the term 'the earth' (Hebrew *הָאָרֶץ*) does not apply necessarily, in every instance, to the whole of our planet, but sometimes only to a part of it.

Fourthly. That the state of the earth, described in the second verse, as 'without form and void' (Hebrew *וְהָאָרֶץ תֵּהוֹמָה*) does not necessarily mean matter never reduced to form, and order, but may signify matter reduced to disorder, after previous organization, and arrangement.

Fifthly. That the darkness upon the face of the deep, also mentioned in the second verse, is not negative of the *previous* existence of light, but may have been only a temporary one.

Sixthly. That the commencement of the first of the six days of creation, dates from the beginning of the third verse, 'And God said, Let there be light.'

Seventhly. That the act of the first day, does not necessarily signify the creation of light, but may have been only the calling it into operation, upon the scene of darkness described in the second verse.

Eighthly. That the calling the light Day, and the darkness Night, with the declaration that 'the evening and the morning were the first day,' does not necessarily imply that this was the first day, *absolutely* speaking.

Ninthly. That the work of the second day, mentioned in the sixth, seventh, and eighth, verses, may have been only an operation performed upon the atmosphere of our earth.

Tenthly. That the work of the fourth day, described from the fourteenth, to the eighteenth, verses, does not necessarily imply that the sun, moon, and stars, were then first created, or formed for the first time from pre-existent matter, but may only have been, that they were then for the first time in the detail of the history of the present earth, made visible to it, and ordained to their offices with respect to the coming human creation.

To the work of the third day, in gathering the waters under the heaven together, and causing the appearance of the dry land, together with the creation of vegetables, to that of the fifth, in the creation of fish, and fowl, and to that of the sixth, in the creation of the beasts of the earth, cattle, and creeping things, and also of the human race, it is unnecessary to advert particularly; as they sufficiently explain themselves, and the creations most probably refer to those of some of the existing species.^b

Before

^b That these creations refer to 'existing species,' amongst the number of which

Before proceeding to the proofs of the credibility of my several propositions, there are some prefatory remarks which seem called for in this place, relative to the different hypotheses, six in number, which have been propounded for the reconciliation of geology with Scripture.* It will be necessary to notice them here, and also to remark the objections which apply to some of them.

The first of these is, that all the fossiliferous strata have been formed, and deposited, by the Noachian deluge.

A second is, that they have been deposited in the interval between the creation of the human species, and that deluge, or that some of them, as the primary and secondary, were formed in that interval, and the remainder, as the tertiary, and diluvial deposits, by Noah's flood.

Both of these suppositions appear inconsistent with the immense thickness, and numerous subdivisions, of these strata, and with the difference of petrification observable in their different fossils, the petrification being generally greater in the older strata, and less in the more recent.

They also seem irreconcilable with the fact of strata of different mineral composition, and enclosing differing, and often characteristic, classes of organic remains, lying upon each other without

we must reckon any coeval, (or nearly so,) in their creation, with the human race, will I think appear with respect to the vegetable, from chap. i. ver. 29, 30, compared with ver. 11 and 12. We can hardly doubt the reference of the former, to the latter; and, with respect to a great part of the animal, from chap. ii. ver. 19, 20, compared with chap. i. ver. 20, 21, and 24, 25. Although, in this latter comparison, the moving creatures of the waters are wanting in its first term, still their connection as to creation with the fowl, can leave no reasonable doubt, that if the creation of the latter refer to existing species, so does that of the former also.

I have referred these creations only 'to those of some of the existing species,' because it is obvious that if we refer the term 'the earth' in the second verse, and subsequent account, only to a part of our planet, they will not necessarily embrace all creation over its surface. That from the use of universal terms with respect to these creations, we need not necessarily infer *absolute* universality will be shown farther on in treating of my third proposition; and farther, we have no reason in Scripture for supposing that animals and plants spread all over the surface of the earth, from any common centre. We have an intimation of a wide spread of the family of Noah after the flood (Gen. ix. 19, compared with x. 32); but it is nowhere affirmed that any universal geographical distribution of animals, and plants, was effected by diffusion from any one place. In case it should be objected to this, that the command to Noah (chap. vi. 18-22, and vii. 1-4) implies that the preservation of animal life in the ark was intended for a complete re-stocking of the earth after the flood, I would reply that it will be shown in the sequel that the terms 'the earth' and 'all the earth,' used with reference to the flood, may be limited in their signification, and allude only to part of our planet, and, consequently, that the same principle of interpretation, it will also be well to keep in view with respect to the introduction of these pairs, and septuples, of animals, into the ark. See upon this subject Dr. J. Pye Smith's seventh lecture upon 'The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science.'

* It would obviously be impossible to conceive of the strata having been created fossiliferous, or of fossils having arisen merely as sports of nature.

intermixture,

intermixture, or confusion, which could hardly be the case if they were deposited by a flood, or, though in a less eminent degree, within a short period.

A further objection to these, arises from the difference of climate appropriate to the different classes of organic remains, many of those of the lower strata, even in northern regions, exhibiting a character fitted to a tropical climate, whilst those of the upper strata, in succession, rather show a climate cooling down to a temperate one, such as exists at present; besides which, many of their genera, and almost all their species, are extinct;^d and, what is also a very strong objection, no human remains, or works of art, have, as far as geological research has hitherto gone, been found in any of the strata, excepting in those, which from physical evidence, are concluded to be of the most recent epoch. As all these facts are strongly against these first two hypotheses, it will be unnecessary to allude to them any farther.

We shall now consider a third, which many have held as valid. Those who maintain this latter, are of opinion that the days of creation were not necessarily periods of only twenty-four hours long, but may have been of indefinite and considerable length. This opinion may perhaps seem to be in some degree warranted by the analogy of Scripture, as we find (Ps. xc. 4) the expression, 'A thousand years in thy sight *are but* as yesterday when it is passed;' and (2 Pet. iii. 8), 'One day *is* with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.' Also, in prophetic language, days are put for years. The supporters of this hypothesis, in general, conceive that the order of creation, as far as we can detect it by examination of the earth's strata, corresponds in order of time with the creations of the days of Gen. i. First, vegetable life; then fish and fowl; then the beasts of the earth; lastly, the human race. This, however, as far as geological investigation has hitherto gone, has not been supported by the results of research, as the remains of marine animals are found in the lowest fossiliferous strata, as well as those of vegetables, which would seem to show these creations rather as contemporary, than successive, and divided by a vast interval of time. It seems, besides, an unnecessary straining of the words of Scripture, to make the days long periods, when the reconciliation can be as well, or better, effected, without doing so, and by taking them in their ordinary signification of periods of twenty-four hours long.

The fourth hypothesis which has been proposed, is the same as the last, with the difference of taking the days as natural ones, but with long intervals between them; it is evident, however, that

^d The chief exception to this is to be found in the shells of the newer tertiary formations.

the same geological objection, applies in this instance, as well as in the former one.

Having thus taken a view of these four hypotheses, and of the objections which may be made against them, I shall now proceed to state a fifth, and sixth, to which the same exceptions do not apply, and which appear warranted by the analogy of Scripture. The first of these latter, supposes the first verse of Gen. i., to be an epitome of what follows afterwards in detail, and therefore does not assign the meaning of creation, in the ordinary sense in which we use the term, and by which we mean production from nothing, to the word 'created' Heb. *אֵרָא* in the first verse. According to this hypothesis, it appears that, if it be true, we have no account of the first and absolute creation of heaven and earth, in the first verse, and that the first place in point of time that we hear of our earth, is in the second, when it *already exists*, and is in a certain state described as being 'without form and void'; it may appear startling to some, who have always attached our ordinary meaning to the verb create, in this passage, to hear it rendered otherwise; but this surprise will in a great measure disappear, upon the examination of other passages of Scripture in which the same verb is used, yet where it cannot possibly have the signification of absolute creation. I shall adduce some of these, and the interpretation there given by the English authorized translation of the Scriptures.

Num. xvi. 30—where *אֵרָא* is translated, to make, (a new thing).

Josh. xvii. 15 and 18—where it is translated, to cut down.

1 Sam. ii. 29—where it is translated, to make fat.

Ezek. xxi. 19—where it is translated twice, to choose.

Ezek. xxiii. 47—where it is translated, to despatch, (with swords).

These examples are sufficient to show that the word does not always signify production from nothing, and that the original Hebrew admits of a greater latitude of interpretation than English readers are generally accustomed to assign to it; they negative the supposition that *אֵרָא* must signify creation in the ordinary sense of the term; and its use in the following passages, in which it is found rather in the sense of re-creation, than first and absolute creation, appears to justify the sense in which it is used by the supporters of this hypothesis.

Ps. li. 10. 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.'

Ps. cii. 18. 'The people which shall be created shall praise the Lord.'

Ps. civ. 29, 30. 'Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest

takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust. Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created: and thou renewest the face of the earth.'

Is. xlviii. 7. 'They are created now, and not from the beginning.'

Is. lxxv. 17, 18. 'For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be ye glad and rejoice for ever *in that* which I create: for, behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy.'

Compare with this, Hebrews i. 10—12.

Still it may be said, that in all probability, the inspired volume does give some account of the first and absolute creation of all things, and that it does not merely take up the history of our earth from a certain point of time. There may perhaps be some weight in this objection, and therefore the sixth, or last, hypothesis to which allusion has been made, appears to be the preferable one of all, for the reconciliation of geology with the Scriptures.

According to this latter hypothesis, the first chapter of Genesis, in the first verse, describes the first creation of the whole universe, including our earth, for the phrase 'the heaven and the earth,' is made use of throughout the Scriptures to denote the whole universe* (reference to Gen. xiv. 19, 22; 1 Chron. xxix. 11; Ps. lxxxix. 11; Is. xlv. 24; Matt. xi. 25; Col. i. 16, etc., will clearly show this), and then drops their whole history until a period immediately antecedent to the creation of the human species, when it resumes it in the second verse, in as far as it concerned the human race. Consequently, we are to look in a vast interval of duration, between the periods of the first and second verses, for the ages during which our earth has been inhabited by successive tribes of animal, and vegetable, creations, widely different from the present types of existence, and for the long lapse of time requisite for the elaboration of the existing surface from its original condition, very probably, one of igneous fluidity, by a gradual process of cooling, and by the elevating, and degrading, agencies of fire, and water, which we still see at work in the formation, and reduction, of continents and islands.

To this hypothesis, it may perhaps be objected; that if these geological facts be true, certainly some information as to them would have been given in Scripture; it may be said, if the Divine word give an account of the creation of heaven and earth, of their preparation for man, of the creation of some of the existing

* Though this be generally the case, it must be allowed that sometimes it is used in a lower signification, and is applied to the aspect of things after a great change. See Isa. lxxv. 17, 18, compared with Ps. cii. 25, 26; and 2 Pet. iii. 5-7, where we find 'the heavens and earth, which are now,' spoken of in contradistinction to those preceding the deluge. This is probably the sense of the phrase in Gen. i. 1, if the fifth hypothesis of which we have spoken be true.

species, and of the human race, it would also certainly have given some intimation of the previous creations, and of those operations upon the surface of our planet, to which it owes its present appearance, and diversity of structure.

To this objection we can only reply, in the first instance, that it proceeds upon the assumption that God would have given information, where he has not done so ; and in the second, that the Scriptures have only in this instance treated geology as they have done every other physical science, and been entirely silent about its objects. Many great and useful discoveries have been made in astronomy, in chemistry, and in various other sciences ; but of which of them does the inspired volume speak ? Many who disclaim the conclusions of the geologist, will themselves admit, that probably other planets are the abodes of intelligent and rational beings, and the fixed stars, centres of similar systems to our own ; but whence is this admission ? Scripture is silent upon this point also, and it depends upon analogy only ; whereas the truths of geology, respecting which also Scripture is silent, depend upon the induction of facts, not merely upon analogical reasoning. The objects of revelation were different, its intention was not to gratify man's appetite for merely intellectual information ; but it was to be ' profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness : ' from its own analogy we cannot reason up to the fact that it would have contained information about periods of the earth's history which are quite unconnected with the human race, it itself gives us to understand that there are things which it was not its province to reveal.¹

The credibility of an interval between the periods of the two first verses of Genesis, during which, geological operations may have been going on, forming the substance of my second proposition, I shall treat no more of it at present ; but proceed to the consideration of my first—

That the absolute age of our earth is not defined in the sacred volume.

The proof of this proposition evidently lies in the indefiniteness of the term 'beginning,' Heb. *רֵאשִׁית* Gen. i. 1. It can be limited to no particular period, except by the assumption that it was immediately antecedent to, or a part of, the first day ; and in my next proposition, I shall endeavour to show that the former would be assumption, as several other passages which treat of things separated in reality by long intervals of time, are in juxtaposition in the order of the narrative, in Scripture ; and in my sixth, that

¹ Deut. xxix. 29 : 'The secret things belong unto the LORD our God : but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever.'

Prov. xxv. 2 : 'It is the glory of God to conceal a thing.'

the latter is not the case, as the account of the first day does not begin till the third verse. Furthermore, an argument in favour of the indefiniteness of ראשית arises from its use, and that of its root ראש in Prov. viii. 22, 23, also from that of their Greek synonyme αρχη in John xv. 27, and Matt. xix. 4. In the former passages we find ראשית and ראש used to express eternity *a parte ante*, 'The LORD possessed me in the beginning,' ראשית, 'of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning,' ראשית, 'or ever the earth was.' In the latter, we find, John xv. 27, our Saviour use αρχη to express the time of the beginning of his ministry, at most but three or four years antecedent to his making use of the term. 'Ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning.' Gr. ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. And in Matt. xix. 4, the same word is used to express the time of the beginning of the human creation, several thousand years previous to our Saviour's use of it. 'Have ye not read that he which made *them* at the beginning,' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, 'made them male and female.' Hence, the fair conclusion is, that ראשית may be indefinite in Gen. i. 1, as it, and its synonyms, are certainly used indefinitely in other parts of Scripture. That ראשית ראש (in the sense of a beginning) and αρχη are synonymous, compare Prov. viii. 22, 23, with John i. 1, 2.

I shall now proceed to the consideration of my second proposition.

That there may have been a long interval of time between the creation of heaven and earth, mentioned in the first verse, of the first chapter, of Genesis, and the continuation of the earth's history, in the second verse. In other words, that there may, credibly with the analogy of Scripture, be a long interval of time passed over in silence, between two immediately succeeding verses, and this, without any break between the two,^s or intimation of the existence

^s I have been induced to state that an interval of time between the periods of two immediately succeeding verses is credible, without any break between them, from having seen it brought forward as an argument in favour of an interval between the periods of the first and second verses of Gen. i., that in old Bibles there was a break after the first verse.

Now, as the examination with respect to this point of a great number of Hebrew manuscripts of the Pentateuch, as well as the most ancient in Latin, and Greek, in the library of the British Museum, the Ambrosian, at Milan, the Laurentian, at Florence, and the Vatican, at Rome, has not furnished me with an instance of a break of blank space^b between the first and second verses of Gen. i., I think that this argument is not to be relied on. I have met with but one Heb. MS. in which it might have been doubtful whether such a break did not exist. The first break which generally occurs in the MSS. is after the fifth verse, at the end of the first

^b A break of blank space is the usual mark of division in Hebrew MSS. of the Scriptures.

existence of such an interval. The following passages appear to afford instances of this.

Psalm

day : there are breaks after the other days also. The mark ¶ in English, and the mark B in Hebrew, copies of the Scriptures, are put before the passages which have got breaks before them in the MSS. The passages which I have adduced, as instances of long periods passed over in silence between immediately succeeding verses, will be found to be without these marks before them ; and therefore, in continuity of the narration, they are analogous to Gen. i. 1, 2.

The passage Num. xx. 1, 'Then came the children of Israel, *even* the whole congregation, into the desert of Zin in the first month : and the people abode in Kadesh ; and Miriam died there, and was buried there ;' has been brought forward by Dr. J. Pye Smith as an instance of a long period in time passed over in silence by Moses between succeeding verses ; the last verse of the preceding chapter only ending some injunctions with respect to the ceremonial law, which occupy the eighteenth, and nineteenth, chapters, and no notice being taken of any of the wanderings of the children of Israel, subsequent to their encampment at Rithmah, or Kadesh-barnea¹ in the wilderness of Paran, whence the spies had been sent out to view the Promised Land. The last mention which is made of any thing having reference to their locality, is their defeat by the Amalekites at Hormah (Num. xiv. 45) ; but this, (compared with Deut. i. 43-46) was during the above encampment ; from which, until their encampment at Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin (Num. xx. 1), which was the fortieth year after their departure from Egypt (compare Num. xx. 22-28, with chap. xxxiii. 37, 38), there was an interval of about thirty-seven, or thirty-eight, years (compare Num. xxi. 12, with Deut. ii. 13, 14), during which their wanderings (mentioned Num. xxxiii. 19-36) took place, they having been turned about from Kadesh-barnea in the wilderness of Paran, and sent into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea (Num. xiv. 25, and Deut. ii. 1).

The rebellion of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram (mentioned Num. xvi.) probably took place during this interval ; but as the Israelites (Deut. i. 46) 'Abode in Kadesh' (Barnea) 'many days,' it may have been in that period, and so left an interval antecedent to the time of Num. xx. 1, of nearly thirty-eight years, passed over in silence.

I, however, have not ventured to insert this passage amongst the examples which I have given of intervals of time omitted between succeeding verses, by reason of always having found in any Hebrew MSS. which I have examined upon this passage a break, or mark of division, between the end of Num. xix. 22, and the beginning of Num. xx. 1. The same may be remarked of the Alexandrian manuscript, and the one in uncial letters, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, two of the oldest Greek MSS. extant, in the former of which, a small break occurs, and in the latter, one of its usual marks of division. It will also be found that the mark of division (B) is placed before Num. xx. 1, in Hebrew copies of the Scriptures.

I have also found two or three ancient Greek and Latin MSS. without any particular break, or mark of division, before this passage. These instances are not, however, sufficient authority against that cited on the other side ; consequently, as there is a break before Num. xx. 1, and not before Gen. i. 2, I think that we cannot bring forward the interval antecedent to the time of the former, as a proof of the credibility of one antecedent to that of the latter.² Still, however, the blanks in the

¹ That Rithmah and Kadesh-barnea were the same encampment, compare Num. xii. 16, with chap. xxxiii. 18 ; that Kadesh-barnea was the encampment in the wilderness of Paran, compare Num. xiii. 3, 26, 27, with Deut. i. 19-25.

² As breaks or marks of division become fewer in manuscripts the greater their age, we may perhaps go back in imagination to a time when there may have been (as is the case with a very few extant) none at all : in which case Num. xx. 1, would be admissible as an instance of a long interval passed over in silence ; but as MSS. exist now, it appears to me that it is not.

³ It has been remarked by Dr. J. Pye Smith that Num. xx. 1, as well as Gen. i. 2, begins with the Hebrew particle *ו*. It is *ו* conversive of the future.

Psalm civ. There seems to be an interval of above sixteen hundred years passed over in silence between the fifth and sixth verses, the former referring apparently either to the creation, or making, of the earth, and the latter to the deluge of Noah. The fifth verse, in praising the Lord, says of him, '*Who* laid the foundations of the earth, *that* it should not be removed for ever.' Now, to whatever time we refer this laying the foundations of the earth, whether to the beginning, when it was created, or the third day, when it was made by separation from the waters, an interval of above sixteen hundred years, according to the Hebrew chronology,^a must have existed between this, and the Noachian deluge, which appears to be the object of the contemplation of the writer in the sixth, and following, verses: this will appear by comparing them with the account of that flood, in the seventh, and eighth, chapters of Genesis. With the first clause of the sixth verse, 'Thou coveredst it with the deep as *with* a garment:' the eleventh verse of Gen. vii. agrees, 'The same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up;' also, the seventeenth, 'And the flood was forty days upon the earth;' and the nineteenth, 'And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth;' with the latter clause, 'The waters stood above the mountains;' the remainder of the nineteenth verse, and the twentieth, agree, 'And all the high hills, that *were* under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.' With the seventh verse, 'At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away,' the first, second, and third, of Gen. viii. correspond, 'And God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged; The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; And the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated.' There seems to be some reference in the eighth verse, 'They' (the waters) 'go up by the mountains; they go down by the valleys unto the place which thou hast founded for them,' to the fifth of Gen. viii., 'And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth *month* on the first *day* of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.' The declaration of the ninth verse, 'Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth,' appears to refer to the promises of Gen. ix. in the eleventh verse, 'And I

narrative between Num. xix. and xx., and between Genesis, and Exodus, form strong presumptions that the design of Moses was not to give a complete history of the human race, or even of the Jewish nation,—still less can we expect one of geological epochs.

^a The interval from Adam to the flood, according to the Hebrew chronology, is 1656 years; according to the Samaritan, 1307; according to the Septuagint, 2262.

will

will establish my covenant with you ; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood ; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth,' and in the fifteenth, 'And the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh.'

These numerous points of coincidence leave, it seems to me, little reasonable doubt of the reference of this passage to the time of Noah's flood, as the only other narrative in Scripture to which there is any semblance of allusion in it, and of this comparatively but little, is the state of the earth described (Gen. i. 2-9) as having the deep upon it, and being covered with the waters ; but this view, besides having the points of resemblance fewer, and weaker, would appear to be still farther negatived by the last clause of the ninth verse : 'Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over ; that they turn not again to cover the earth.' The not turning again to cover the earth, though applicable to the time of the deluge, is not equally so to the state of things described Gen. i. 2-9, as after this the waters did turn again, and cover the earth in the time of Noah.

Again (Dan. xi.), we have an interval of about one hundred and forty-nine years, passed over in silence, between the second, and third, verses, the second containing a prophecy which few will deny to apply to Xerxes, as he is described as a fourth king of Persia, who 'by his strength through his riches' should 'stir up all against the realm of Græcia ;' and the third, one, which, in like manner, few will deny to apply to Alexander the Great, as he is described as 'a mighty king,' who was to 'rule with great dominion, and do according to his will,' but whose kingdom should be 'broken' and 'divided toward the four winds of heaven ;' but 'not to his posterity,' but 'for others.' No notice whatsoever is here taken of any action of Xerxes, subsequent to his invasion of Greece, nor of any of the six kings of Persia, which intervened between him, and Alexander, consequently we have here an interval of time equal to the period intervening between Xerxes's invasion, and Alexander's accession to the throne of Persia, comprising about a hundred and forty-nine years, passed over in silence between the second, and third, verses, and without any intimation given of its existence. It matters not, in this instance, whether the sceptic assert that the prophecy was written after the event. In either case, whether it were written before, or after, the truth remains the same, that a writer of the Scripture has left a long interval of time passed over silently between two immediately succeeding verses.

Farther (Acts xxii.), there is an interval of three years passed over in silence between the sixteenth, and seventeenth, verses. The sixteenth mentions Ananias's conversation with Saul upon his conversion,

version, at Damascus ; the seventeenth, Saul's return, after his conversion, to Jerusalem ; but between these two, it appears, from Gal. i. 15-19, that he had taken a journey into Arabia, returned a second time to Damascus, whence his escape is mentioned (Acts ix. 25), and that his return to Jerusalem was not until three years after his conversion.*

Before leaving this subject, it may be well to remark that the Hebrew particle *vav*, with which the second verse of Gen. i. begins, is not always conjunctive, signifying 'and.' Besides having several other significations, according to the context, it is also sometimes adversative, and signifies 'but.' Instances of this may be seen (Gen. xvii. 21), 'BUT my covenant will I establish with Isaac,' in antithesis to that with Ishmael. (Zeph. i. 13), 'They shall also build houses, BUT not inhabit *them* ; and they shall plant vineyards, BUT not drink the wine thereof.' It is used in the same way (Ps. xlv. 17), 'All this is come upon us ; YET have we not forgotten thee.' I have noticed this, lest it might be supposed that the use of this particle, translated 'and' in the beginning of the second verse, joined it on in immediate sequence, in point of time, to the first. This is by no means necessarily the case ; and as it has been shown that an interval between two immediately succeeding verses is credible, and as it will in all probability be conceded, that its length is not the point of importance, but the possibility of its existence, the fair conclusion is, that one may have existed between the periods of the two first verses of Genesis.

I shall now proceed to consider my third proposition :—

That the term 'the earth' (Heb. *תְּהוֹמֵי*) does not apply necessarily, in every instance, to the whole of our planet, but sometimes only to a part of it.

I have made this one of my propositions because it has been considered improbable by many that the *whole* of our earth should have been covered with water at the time described in Gen. i. 2, or at that of Noah's deluge (Gen. vii. and viii.). That the terms *תְּהוֹמֵי* ('the earth') and *כָּל-תְּהוֹמֵי* ('all the earth'), which are used upon these occasions, may have only a limited signification, and are often applied to only a part of our planet, will appear from the

* It is probable that there is an interval of three years, passed over in silence between the first, and second, verses, of Isa. xxxvi., during which, Sennacherib made his campaign against Egypt. Vide Prideaux's *Connection*, vol. i., years B.C. 713-710.^P

^P It is worthy of remark, that both Isa. xxxvi. 2, and Dan. xi. 3, before the periods of which, intervals are to be admitted, begin with the same Hebrew particle *vav*, as Gen. i. 2, before the period of which, an interval is sought as credible. In the case of Dan. xi. 3, it is *vav* conversive of the præter ; in that of Isa. xxxvi. 2, *vav* conversive of the future.

passages which I shall proceed to adduce. It may be well to premise, that the English translation renders אֶרֶץ by 'land' in many of them. Nevertheless the expression in the original is the same, in all (Isa. vii. 24; x. 14; Jer. i. 18; iv. 20; xii. 12; xl. 4; Joel i. 2; Zeph. i. 18; Zech. xiv. 10). An examination of these will show that אֶרֶץ in them means only the land of Palestine. In Jer. li. 7, 25, 49, it is applied to the Babylonish empire; and in Dan. ii. 39 (מַלְכוּת , its Chaldee form) to that of Alexander the Great. These instances of the signification of אֶרֶץ seem sufficient to show that it does not always, in Scriptural phraseology, signify the whole earth, but is sometimes limited to a part of it, and this, even with terms of universality conjoined.^a

In case that it should be argued from the expressions (Gen. vii. 19, 20)—'And all the high hills, that *were* under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered;'—that the deluge must necessarily have been universal, it must be remembered that the same universal terms are made use of in several other passages of Scripture, where nevertheless their signification is only a limited one. Instances of this are, Deut. ii. 25, where is the promise of putting the fear of the Jews 'upon the nations *that are* under the whole heaven;' but the comparison with this of chap. xi. 25, which assigns their fear and dread to be upon all the land that they should tread upon, will show (what indeed would be evident without proof) that this can only be understood of the nations in, and about, Canaan. Again, Acts ii. 5, we find, that on the day of Pentecost, 'There were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven;' but in verses 9 to 11 inclusive, a list of these nations is given, which certainly does not include all. Lastly, Col. i. 23, the Gospel is stated by St. Paul to have been 'preached to every creature which is under heaven.' It is obvious that this cannot be taken in its literal sense, but must be understood with limitation.

Farther, it cannot be argued that the deluge was necessarily universal, from the destruction of animal life mentioned in verses 21 to 23: 'And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, etc.' Similarly universal terms are used (Exod. ix.) with respect to the destruction of organic life by the plagues of Egypt, nevertheless the context there, and chap. x., prove that they cannot be understood in a literally universal sense. These instances are, Exod. ix. 6, where we find 'All the cattle of Egypt died,' (of the murrain); notwithstanding, verses 9 and 10, the next plague, of boils and blains,

^a Gen. xiii. 6, is worthy of notice: 'the land (אֶרֶץ) the earth) was not able to bear them' (Abraham and Lot): their separation in consequence, shows that אֶרֶץ in this passage must be used in a limited signification.

breaks forth 'upon man, and upon beast, throughout all the land of Egypt.' Again (verse 19), Pharaoh is warned to gather in all his cattle, upon account of the succeeding plague, of hail, which (verses 23 to 25) comes, and smites 'all that *was* in the field, both man and beast;' and also 'smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field.' Nevertheless (chap. x. 5) is the threat, and (verse 15) the accomplishment, of the locusts eating 'every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left.'

I shall now proceed to consider my fourth proposition:—

That the state of the earth, described in the second verse, as 'without form and void' (Heb. *חֲדָוָה וְרֵקָה*), does not necessarily mean matter never reduced to form, and order, but may signify matter reduced to disorder, after previous organization, and arrangement.

The only other places in Scripture where this expression (*חֲדָוָה וְרֵקָה*) is made use of, are Isa. xxxiv. 11, and Jer. iv. 23. In the former passage, the prophet, describing the judgments which were to be brought upon Idumea, thus predicts:—'He' (the Lord) 'shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion,' (*חֲדָוָה*) 'and the stones of emptiness' (*רֵקָה*). Now certainly, before this judgment, Idumea was in a settled and organized state. The curse consisted in its being reduced to the contrary condition, but this contrary condition is signified here by *חֲדָוָה וְרֵקָה*, therefore the earth, according to this analogy, may have been settled, and organized, antecedently to the time of Gen. i. 2, and afterwards reduced to the contrary condition, so as to be at this period *חֲדָוָה וְרֵקָה*.

Again (Jer. iv. 23), the prophet, foretelling the miseries which were coming upon his country, by the approaching Chaldean invasion, and carrying himself forward, in the prophetic vision, to a point in the distant future, whence he surveyed the nearer future, as past, says, 'I beheld the earth, and, lo, *it was* without form and void' (*חֲדָוָה וְרֵקָה*); 'and the heavens, and they *had* no light.' The imagery appears borrowed from Gen. i., nevertheless the prophet applies it to the devastated state of Palestine, after its desolation, and reduction from its former state of order, by the Babylonians. Hence it appears a fair inference that *חֲדָוָה וְרֵקָה* (Gen. i. 2) may mean a desolated condition of the earth, succeeding to previous organization, and arrangement.*

* For the proofs of the credibility of this proposition I am indebted to Dr. J. Pye Smith's seventh lecture upon 'The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science.'

* If Isa. xlv. 18, 'He created it (the earth) not in vain' (*לֹא בַתְּוָה*), be taken literally, it would show the periods of the two first verses of Genesis not to have been the same, or successive, without intervening operation, as the first, declares the earth's creation, and the second, its being *וְרֵקָה*; but probably this passage only asserts the fact of the earth having been designed for an end. I have however mentioned it here, from its possible bearing upon my second proposition.

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I now proceed to my fifth proposition :—

That the darkness upon the face of the deep, also mentioned in the second verse, is not negative of the *previous* existence of light, but may have been only a temporary one.

In order to elucidate this proposition, it will be necessary to consider the passage, Job xxxviii. 4—12, attentively.

4. 'Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding.

5. Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it?

6. Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who laid the corner stone thereof;

7. When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?

8. Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb?

9. When I made the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness¹ a swaddlingband for it,

10. And brake up for it my decreed place, and set bars and doors,

11. And said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?

12. Hast thou commanded the morning since thy days; and caused the dayspring to know his place;

If this passage can be shown to refer to the time of Gen. i., it would, I think, make my proposition credible; and in order to the accomplishment of this, it will be necessary to compare its several points of agreement with that account. First, verses 4—6, which speak of the laying the foundations of the earth, can only refer to the time of Gen. i., which relates both its creation, verse 1, and making, by separation from the waters, verse 9. Secondly, the shutting up the sea with doors, spoken of in the eighth verse, is more applicable to the time of Gen. i. 9, 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so,' than to any other alluded to in Scripture. Thirdly, the making the cloud, the garment of the sea, and thick darkness its swaddlingband, seems to determine this time, to be that of Gen. i. 2, when darkness was upon the face of the deep; and, Fourthly, the breaking up for the sea its decreed place, and setting bars, and doors, with the command, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed,' mentioned in the tenth, and eleventh verses, seems again to be an evident allusion to Gen. i. 9. If the marginal reading of the tenth, 'And established my decree upon it,' be followed, the case would be even stronger.

¹ 'Thick darkness' עָרָפָה, the darkness of clouds, dense clouds (Deut. iv. 11; 1 Kings viii. 12; Job xxii. 13; Ps. xcvi. 2; Joel ii. 2.

The only other period of which we have mention in Scripture, to which this passage of Job might seem to refer, would be to that of Noah's deluge; but the points of agreement in this case are not so strong; for, First, there would be no coincidence, as to the laying the foundations of the earth, which is not even hinted at in the seventh or eighth chapters of Genesis, which give the account of the flood. Secondly, the shutting up the sea with doors, when it brake forth as if it had issued out of the womb, which appears to have been something done quickly, in a manner analogous to the shutting a door, and not by a slow and gradual process, accords better with Gen. i. 9, 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so,' than with Gen. viii. 1, 2, 3, 5, 'God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged; The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; And the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated.' 'And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth *month*, on the first *day* of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.' Thirdly, the making the cloud the garment of the sea, and thick darkness its swaddlingband, agrees better with Gen. i. 2, 'And darkness was upon the face of the deep,' than with any thing said of Noah's flood, in the account of which there is no account of any darkness, though doubtless there must have been many clouds, to furnish that quantity of rain which helped to destroy the earth. And, Fourthly, the breaking up for the sea its decreed place, and setting bars and doors, with the command, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?' seems to be an allusion to Gen. i. 9, which speaks of 'one place,' that appears from the accompanying command, to have been the decreed one, to which the waters were to be gathered, and not to Gen. vii. 11. 'In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.' Now, the breaking up for the sea, its decreed place, in Job, appears from the setting bars and doors, the prohibition of further progress, and arrest of the waves, to have been for the purpose of receiving it into the decreed place, and contracting its dimensions, agreeably to Gen. i. 9, not as in Gen. vii. 11, where mention is made of breaking up all the fountains of the great deep, for that of pouring it out to cover the earth, and enlarge its dimensions.* If

* If Gen. i. 9, 10, and Job xxxviii. 10, 11, be compared with Prov. viii. 28, 29, and Jer.

If this construction be the correct one, and this passage refer to the time of Gen. i., the consequences are, first, that the darkness upon the face of the deep of Gen. i. 2, was only a temporary one, occasioned probably by clouds, 'When I made the cloud the garment thereof,' and which had been preceded by light, this is the obvious inference from the words, 'When I MADE the cloud the garment thereof, and thick darkness a swaddlingband for it,' thick darkness could hardly be said to have been MADE a swaddlingband for it, except in antithesis to previous light. The second consequence is, that the work of the first day cannot signify the creation of light, which has been shown by inference to have existed before, but only the calling it into action.'

I now proceed to my sixth proposition.

That the commencement of the first of the six days of creation, dates from the beginning of the third verse, 'And God said, Let there be light.'

I have made this one of my propositions, in order to show that the time of the creation of our earth is not to be assigned to that of any of the six days of creation, but to a period, the beginning, antecedent to all of them.

In order to elucidate this, it is only necessary to remark the form of expression for the beginnings and endings of the other days. These are invariably, for the beginnings, 'And God said,' for the endings, 'And the evening and the morning were' 'the second,' 'third,' 'fourth,' 'fifth,' and 'sixth' days. Hence we should naturally infer that the same form would be used for the first day, but this can only be satisfied by taking its beginning, at the third verse, where we first find the expression, 'And God said,' and its end at that of the fifth verse, where we find, 'And the evening and the morning were the first day.'

There is one objection which, perhaps, might be made to this view of the account of the first day beginning at the third verse, which it may be well to consider here, namely, that the fourth commandment (Exod. xx. 11) states that 'in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is;' and therefore, that the first verse of Genesis must be taken as de-

Jer. v. 22, it will, I think, tend to show the reference of the two former to each other in point of time.

* That חָשֶׁךְ 'darkness' (Gen. i. 2), does not necessarily signify a chaotic darkness, which had never been preceded by light, will appear from its use, Exod. x. 21, 22, where it signifies the judicial darkness brought upon the land of Egypt; and Exod. xiv. 20, we find that the cloudy pillar was 'a cloud and darkness' (חָשֶׁךְ) to the Egyptians, whilst it gave light by night to the Israelites.

* That clouds and darkness are associated with each other in Scriptural phraseology, will be seen by reference to Exod. xiv. 20, Deut. iv. 11, Ps. xviii. 11, xlvii. 2, Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8, and Joel ii. 2.

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scribing part of the first day, from its mention of the creation of heaven and earth. Now this objection would proceed upon the assumption that *בָּרָא*, the Hebrew verb used for 'created' (Gen. i. 1), and *עָשָׂה*, that used for 'made' (Exod. xx. 11), were in this instance identical in signification, and referred to the same act; but that this is not the case, will, I think, appear from considering the ninth and tenth verses in Genesis, where the Divine command is issued, 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so. And God called the dry *land* earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he seas'. Now that this is the operation referred to in the commandment, the making of the earth, and sea, I would infer, first, from its being more suitable to the signification of the word *עָשָׂה*, as being an operation performed upon pre-existing matter, whereas probably *בָּרָא*, in Gen. i. 1, refers to the production of the earth from nothing: and secondly, though the waters exist antecedently to the third day of Gen. i., they do not exist as seas, under which form they are spoken of in the commandment, until then, when in the tenth verse God calls the gathering together of the waters 'Seas:' before this they are only spoken of as 'the deep,' in the second verse, and afterwards, until the tenth, as 'the waters;' and then, in the tenth verse, upon the third day, are made seas, as spoken of in the commandment; consequently, as the making the sea, mentioned in the commandment must be referred to the third day, and that it states that, 'in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea,' etc., referring them all to the same set of operations, the making the earth, and sea, is the operation in the ninth and tenth verses of Gen. i., before referred to, and the making the heaven, that of the firmamental one, on the second day.

I now proceed to my seventh proposition.

That the act of the first day, does not necessarily signify the creation of light, but may have been only the calling it into operation, upon the scene of darkness described in the second verse.

I must here refer back to what has been said upon Job xxxviii. 9, in treating of my fifth proposition; it is evident if the darkness mentioned in this passage were only a temporary one, and preceded by light, that this seventh proposition must hold good.

The only other passage of Scripture which appears to refer to the work of this first day is 2 Cor. iv. 6, where the apostle uses the expression, 'God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts.' This passage, as far as its analogy goes, would seem rather to uphold the idea of a merely

causing the light to shine, than that of its creation, and would well consist with the notion of light darted forth by an as yet invisible sun, created as part of the heaven in the beginning, breaking through dense masses of clouds which had covered the earth so as to produce darkness. That this latter was the *modus operandi* of the work of the first day is most probably the case, from the account itself, for it does not describe a production of light in the abstract, or as we find it in combination with other substances, but that of visible light, under the peculiar modification of day, with corresponding darkness or night, an effect which we now find to depend upon the existence and radiation of the sun, and the earth's revolution upon its axis. If this view of the case be the correct one, it also removes at once the difficulty which at first sight has seemed to present itself, from the account of Genesis describing the appearance of light antecedently to that of the sun.

But it may be asked, is there any passage of Scripture which makes it credible that the Divine command to the light could be satisfied in the manner here assigned to it; it may be objected, that it is not dense masses of clouds or vapours which are commanded to disperse either entirely, or in part, the command is exclusively addressed to the light: to this objection it may be replied, that Job xxxvi. 32, if the construction which I put on it be the correct one, not only removes it, but makes the hypothesis put forward as to the *modus operandi* perfectly credible, it is as follows: 'With clouds he covereth the light;' (כֶּנֶם, the same word which is used Gen. i. 3,) 'and commandeth it *not to shine by the cloud that cometh betwixt*;' let the words in italics, which are not in the original, be left out, and the passage stands thus, 'With clouds he covereth the light, and commandeth it' (*i. e.* the light) 'by that cometh betwixt.'^{a b}

With respect to the form of the command, 'Let there be light,' it may be remarked that this and all the other similar expressions in Gen i., 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters,' 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together,' 'Let the earth bring forth grass,' etc., are futures in the original Hebrew, and translated in the most literal manner signify, Light shall be, A firmament shall be in the midst of the waters, The waters under the heaven shall be gathered together, The earth shall bring forth grass, &c.

^a It must be admitted that this passage is one of great obscurity, as will be seen by any one who investigates the original; nevertheless the construction which I have put upon it appears to be a perfectly credible one.

^b From 1 Tim. vi. 15, 16, it would appear that we cannot set any limits to the existence of light.

I now proceed to my eighth proposition.

That the calling the light Day, and the darkness Night, with the declaration that 'the evening and the morning were the first day,' does not necessarily imply that this was the first day *absolutely* speaking.

In order to show this, it is only necessary to remark that the Hebrew expression for the first day (Gen. i. 5) is *יום אחד*, one day, the cardinal number *אחד*, one, is used, not the ordinal, *ראשון*, first, so that the passage literally translated is, 'And the evening and the morning were one day;' this is the only day for which the cardinal number is used, all the others have the ordinals, second, third, fourth, &c.; but the use of the cardinal for the first day may, perhaps, rather be to show that the existence of a day then was not an occurrence out of the course of nature, but only that one was singled out and particularized, as a starting point for the rest.

I now proceed to my ninth proposition.

That the work of the second day, mentioned in the sixth, seventh, and eighth, verses, may have been only an operation performed upon the atmosphere of our earth.

Having said, an operation performed upon the atmosphere of our earth, it is necessary to explain my meaning, and therefore I say that it seems, at the beginning of the second day, that the clouds (the waters above the firmament) rested upon the other waters which covered the earth, (the waters under the firmament,) which the day following were made into seas, and that the work of this second day consisted in the elevation of the clouds to an ordinary level. This appears from the Divine command, 'Let there be a firmament' (Heb. *רקיע*, literally an expansion) 'in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which *were* under the firmament from the waters which *were* above the firmament.' Now that the waters above the firmament, in Scriptural phraseology, signify the waters in the clouds, would appear from the following passages: Judg. v. 4, 'The clouds also dropped water.' Job xxvi. 8, 'He bindeth up the waters in his thick clouds; and the cloud is not rent under them.' Job xxxviii. 34, 'Canst thou lift up thy voice to the clouds, that abundance of waters may cover thee?' Ps. xviii. 11, 'His pavilion round about him *were* dark waters *and* thick clouds of the skies.'

Further, that the work of this day was one performed upon the clouds, would appear from Prov. viii. 27-29, the allusion of which to Gen. i. is evident: 'When he prepared the heavens, I *was* there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth:

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WHEN HE ESTABLISHED THE CLOUDS ABOVE: when he strengthened the fountains of the deep: when he gave to the sea his decree, that the waters should not pass his commandment: when he appointed the foundations of the earth.'

If therefore this view which I have given be the correct one, the firmament, in its original and primary signification, is the space or interval comprised between the sea-level and that of the clouds, but we sometimes find its signification extended to embrace the sky under all circumstances, the reason of which very probably is, that when the clouds are dissipated it has no limit in the upward direction, and becomes fused into universal space. Thus we find, Job xxxvii. 18, 'Hast thou with him spread out the sky,' Heb. תַּרְקִיעַ לְשִׁתָּתָּי 'which is strong and as a molten looking-glass?'^b Ezek i. 22, 'And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above.' So also, Dan. xii. 3, 'And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament;' in all these passages there seems to be an allusion to the bright colour of a cloudless sky. To them we may add, Gen. i. 14, 15, 'And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs,' &c., 'And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.' Now, lights in the firmament of the heaven, giving light upon the earth, and being for signs, infers that the firmament must sometimes be free from clouds, which would otherwise exclude their use as signs.^c

I now proceed to my tenth proposition.

^b I have noticed this passage on account of the use in it of the verb תַּרְקִיעַ.

^c I am aware that this idea, which I have put forward, with respect to the firmament, is at variance with the notion very generally considered to have been held by the Jews, that they conceived of it as a solid arch; an opinion which appears to have had its rise principally from the verb תַּרְקִיעַ being used to express the extension or expansion of solid bodies, see Exod. xxxix. 3, Num. xvi. 38, Ps. cxxxvi. 6, Isa. xlii. 5 (with reference to the earth), Jer. x. 9; but that this is not necessarily to be considered the Scriptural idea of the firmamental heaven, may, I think, be inferred from Job ix. 8, Ps. civ. 2, Isa. xlii. 5, xlv. 24, xlv. 12, li. 13, Jer. x. 12, Zech. xii. 1, etc.; where the Hebrew verb used with respect to stretching out the heavens, (and obviously, from the connection of the passages, referring to the time of Gen. i.) is מִתְּנֵף, which is not used for the expansion of solid bodies only, but rather for extension in the abstract, it is used with reference to a tent, Gen. xii. 8, xxvi. 25, Jer. x. 20; a line, 2 Kings xxi. 13, Isa. xxxiv. 11, Zech. i. 16; the arm and hand, Exod. vi. 6 and Jer. vi. 12; a shadow, 2 Kings xx. 10, Jer. vi. 4. If, then, we assign any weight to the above cited instances, we are reduced to the following dilemma; either the stretching out the heavens (Job ix. 8; Ps. civ. 2; Isa. xlii. 5, etc.) refers to their creation in the beginning, and then we must admit that this was a separate and independent act, prior to the work of the second day, or; if it refer to the act of the second day, we must admit that the firmamental heaven is not necessarily, by the Scriptural account, to be considered as a solid concave hemisphere.

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That the work of the fourth day, described from the fourteenth, to the eighteenth, verses, does not necessarily imply that the sun, moon, and stars, were then first created, or formed for the first time from pre-existent matter, but may only have been that they were then for the first time, in the detail of the history of the present earth, made visible to it, and ordained to their offices with respect to the coming human creation.

The first thing which it will be necessary to investigate with respect to this proposition, is the meaning of 'In the beginning God created the heaven,' in the first verse; now that the heaven^d includes every thing except the earth, and therefore the sun, moon, and stars, I have endeavoured to show, when treating of the sixth hypothesis for the reconciliation of geology with Scripture, but further, that it does include them, in the phraseology of the inspired writings, will I think appear from the following passages: Deut. iv. 19, 'And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, *even* all the host of heaven,' etc.; Deut. xvii. 3, 'And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven,' etc.; Ps. viii. 3, 'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars,' etc. These passages, which show what are the constituents of the heaven, combined with the declaration Gen. i. 1, 'In the beginning God created the heaven,' seem sufficient to show that the *creation* of the sun, moon, and stars, must be assigned to the time of the beginning, not to that of the fourth day. Still it may be objected, that though the matter of which they are composed may have been created in the beginning, that nevertheless they never had an existence as sun, moon, and stars, until the fourth day, that they were then first 'made,' Heb. *בָּרָא* and formed from this pre-existing matter. To this I would answer, that the form of expression in the sixteenth verse, must be carefully noted, attention must be paid to what is said, and what is not said: it is not said that God created the two great lights, nor is it said that he made or formed them *from pre-existing matter*,^e but it is said that 'God made two great lights;' the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he made* the stars also.^f Literally, the greater light for the rule of the day, and the lesser light for the rule of the night: and the stars; that is, as it appears to me, God appointed or ordained

^d From what has been said upon the sixth hypothesis and ninth proposition, it will be seen that the heaven of the first verse should not be considered as identical, or be confounded, with the firmamental one of the second day.

^e Whether this were the case or not, it is certainly not expressed.

^f Heb. *בָּרָא*, the lights, or luminaries.

them to that office which was to be their chief concern with man, as we also use the expression of making, when we mean to express the appointing to a function or office. That the Hebrew verb *לָעָשׂ*, which is here used for make, has this signification in Scripture, and is used in the sense of ordination or appointment, will appear from the following passages :—

‘1 Sam. xii. 6, “And Samuel said unto the people, *it is* the LORD that advanced,” Heb. *לָעָשׂ* “Moses and Aaron, and that brought your fathers up out of the land of Egypt.”

‘1 Kings xii. 31, 32, “And he” (Jeroboam) “made” *לָעָשׂ* “an house of high places, and made” *לָעָשׂ* “priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi. And Jeroboam ordained” *לָעָשׂ* “a feast in the eighth month,” etc.

‘2 Chron. xiii. 9, “Have ye not cast out the priests of the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made” *לָעָשׂ* “you priests after the manner of the nations of *other* lands?”

‘Ps. civ. 19, “He appointed” *לָעָשׂ* “the moon for seasons: the sun knoweth his going down.”^s

‘Jer. xxxvii. 15, “Wherefore the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe: for they had made” *לָעָשׂ* “that the prison.”’

These preceding passages seem sufficient to show that the Hebrew verb *לָעָשׂ* has sometimes the sense of appointment, or ordination, in Scripture.

There is an observation, which, before proceeding farther, it may be well to make upon the ending of the sixteenth verse, ‘*He made the stars also,*’ Heb. *וַיַּעַשׂ הַמּוֹקְדִים* literally, and the stars. This, in order to make sense, must have some verb referring to it, and the only one to do so, is ‘made’ *וַיַּעַשׂ* that is, as it appears to me, God made the lesser light for the rule of the night, and the stars (also for the rule of the night): this view appears to be confirmed by Jer. xxxi. 35, ‘Thus saith the LORD, which giveth the sun for a light by day, *and* the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which divideth the sea, etc.’ See also Ps. cxxxvi. 7-9.

Having thus discussed the credibility, of the work of the fourth day referring rather to the ordination alone of the heavenly bodies, than to their creation, or formation from pre-existing matter, it may be well to see if we can proceed farther, and find

^s This passage appears to be one of peculiar importance, in supporting the credibility of my position; the expression of the Psalmist obviously alludes to the work of the fourth day, and the terms which he makes use of are the same as those used (Gen. i. 14, 16) to express this work. Nevertheless, the English translators in the early part of the seventeenth century, when they cannot be suspected of adapting their translation to geological discoveries, have rendered *לָעָשׂ* by ‘appointed.’

out whether there be any intimation given in Scripture as to any of them having had an existence previous to that period; such a passage appears to me to be found (Job xxxviii. 4-7), 'Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding. Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who laid the corner stone thereof; WHEN THE MORNING STARS SANG TOGETHER, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?' Now, whether we refer the time of the laying the foundations of the earth to the beginning, when it was created, or the third day, when it was made by separation from the waters, *both* these periods are antecedent to the fourth day, but we find the morning stars existed at this time, therefore they must have existed before the fourth day, and could not, consequently, have been created then. Further, it would appear also that they could not then have been first made from pre-existent matter, for the passage would lead us to conclude that, at the time of the laying the foundations of the earth, they possessed individuality, 'When the morning stars sang together' (Heb. כָּכָב); this does not appear consistent with the supposition of their being then in the state of the unformed matter of the heaven, created in the beginning.

It, however, may still be objected; if the heavenly bodies were not created, or made from pre-existing matter, upon the fourth day, How was the Divine command of the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, 'Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days,^a and years: And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so;' fulfilled? To this I would answer that we have no account of the *modus operandi*, as, for instance, we have of that of the making of the earth in the ninth verse, or of the formation of man (chap. ii. 7), but very probably as the earth was made, or caused to appear, by the gathering together the waters under the firmament, so the heavenly bodies may have been caused to be in the firmament, by the gathering together, or dissipation of the waters above the firmament, the clouds: that this is probable, appears, I think, from its analogy to the operation with respect to

^a From the appointment of the lights to be 'for days' on the fourth day, it seems a reasonable inference that the acts of the days of Gen. i. are not negative of existences similar to those produced by these acts, but antecedent to them: for instance, that the creations of vegetables and animals are not negative of the existence of previous vegetables and animals—that the appointment of the lights to be 'for seasons,' 'and years,' is not negative of the existence of previous seasons and years, etc.; for, upon the lowest supposition, three days had preceded the appointment of the lights to be 'for days.'

the earth, and also from the fact, that the waters above the firmament appear to have existed until the fourth day: upon the second day part of the waters are made waters 'under the firmament,' and part waters 'above the firmament;' upon the third day the waters under the firmament are gathered together, and called 'Seas,' but nothing is said of the waters above the firmament, which therefore probably still remained; but upon the fourth day the heavenly bodies are made signs, which, as was before remarked, they could not be, unless the clouds were dissipated, wherefore I conclude, that very probably, the *modus operandi*, by which the Divine command in the fourteenth and fifteenth verses, and the declaration of the seventeenth, 'God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth;' was fulfilled, was by the dispersion of the clouds, the waters above the firmament, which, by taking away its upward limit, makes the extent of the firmament infinite, and therefore, all the heavenly bodies are appropriately spoken of as placed in it.

There is yet one passage which I think it well to consider in this place, as from it an inference might perhaps be hastily drawn as to the creation of the sun, moon, and stars, upon the fourth day, it is the following (Ps. cxlviii. 3-5): 'Praise ye him,' (the Lord) sun and moon: praise him all ye stars of light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the LORD: for he commanded, and they were created.' Now it may be objected; the mention of the waters above the heavens, as well as of the sun, moon, and stars, would seem to determine this passage to be an allusion to the work of the days of Gen. i., but it speaks of these things as created, therefore the sun, moon, and stars, must have been created on the fourth day. To this I would answer, if this passage be taken to allude to the work of the days of Gen. i., the verb create cannot be taken literally with reference to the waters above the heavens: this will appear from considering the work of the second day, where alone we find mention of these waters, 'And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which *were* under the firmament from the waters which *were* above the firmament: and it was so.' This is all that we hear in the account of the days, of the waters above the firmament (which we know from the second verse, existed antecedently to any of the days, as 'the deep' and 'the waters'), but it does not express anything about their creation, but only their division from the waters under the firmament, therefore as the verb create (Ps. cxlviii. 5) cannot be taken literally (in allusion to the days of Gen. i.) with reference to the waters above

above the heavens, so no more need it be taken literally with reference to the sun, moon, and stars.

It however appears to me that this passage only ascribes creation to God, without allusion to any particular time when this may have been effected.

Another fact which appears worthy of notice with respect to the work of the fourth day, is, that wherever there are apparent allusions to it in other parts of Scripture, the divine writers have, as far as I can detect (with possibly the exception of Ps. cxlviii. 3-5, which has just been considered), refrained from using the verb *אָבַד*, signifying to create, and expressed themselves by other words, signifying ordination, etc. : this will appear by reference to

Deut. iv. 19, where the Hebrew word used is *קָלַף*, signifying to divide, or impart.

Ps. viii. 3,¹ where the Hebrew words are *עָשָׂה*, 'works,' from *עָשָׂה*, to make, or do, also to appoint; and *קָדַשׁ*, 'ordained,' from *קָדַשׁ*, signifying to fit, dispose, ordain, or prepare.

Ps. lxxiv. 16, where the Hebrew word is *הִכְיִינוּ*, 'hast prepared,' from *כָּן*.

Ps. civ. 19, where the Hebrew word is *נִקְּדָה*, 'appointed.'

Ps. cxxxvi. 7-9, where the Hebrew is *לְעֵלֶיךָ*, 'to him that made,' from *עָשָׂה* (this passage is substantially the same as Gen. i. 16).

Jer. xxxi. 35, where the Hebrew words are *נָתַן*, 'which giveth,' from *נָתַן*, signifying to give; and *חֻקִּים*, 'ordinances,' from *חָקַק*, signifying to describe, or appoint.

Now if the work of the fourth day were a work of creation, it is hardly conceivable but that we should find it alluded to as such, whereas, on the contrary, the inspired writers, as I have endeavoured to show, make their allusions as if it were one of appointment: it may perhaps be said; it was both an act of creation and appointment, the difficulty still remains, why alluded to, perhaps exclusively, as one of appointment.^k

But it may, perhaps, still be objected; if the light were not created on the first day, or the sun, moon, and stars, upon the fourth, Why were they brought at all into the record of creation? Why did not the inspired narrative omit all reference to those

¹ The former part of this passage probably refers to the time of the beginning; the latter, 'which thou hast ordained,' to that of the fourth day.

^k Job xxxviii. 33; Ps. lxxxix. 36, 37; cxix. 89-91; Isa. xlv. 12; and Jer. xxxiii. 25, which appear to allude less directly than the above cited passages, to the work of the fourth day, will be also found to be without expressions indicative of creation, but with those of ordination, or some analogous meaning. Job xxvi. 13, and Ps. xxxiii. 6, which may possibly refer to the work of the fourth day, will also be found to be without *בָּרָא*.

things which had any previous existence, and proceed at once to the various creations of organic life, after having announced the first cosmical creation, and preparation of the world for man? To this I would answer that the object of their introduction very probably may have been, to show their distinction from, and subordination to, that Divine Being, whose command upon those days called them into action; it should be remembered that one great object of the Jewish polity, was to preserve a people retaining the worship of the true God in the midst of a world sunk in ignorance and idolatry, and it must also be recollected that the Jews, at the time that they received their laws from Moses, were upon their way, after having become acquainted with the idolatries of Egypt, to settle amongst the Eastern nations, who were given up to the idolatrous adoration of light,^m fire, and the heavenly bodies. The after history of the Israelites but too clearly displayed their proneness to run into the sins of the surrounding countries, and foremost of these into that of idolatry.ⁿ A prescient spirit, we can hardly doubt, would have guarded them by the narration of the works of the first, and fourth, days, from that worship of light, and fire, and of the sun, moon, and stars, which was the practice of the surrounding nations. This view appears confirmed by the following passages:—

Deut. iv. 16, 19. 'Lest ye corrupt *yourselves*,' &c.; 'And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, *even* all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the LORD thy God hath divided unto all nations under the whole heaven.'

Deut. xvii. 2, 3. 'If there be found among you, within any of thy gates which the LORD thy God giveth thee, man or woman, that hath wrought wickedness in the sight of the LORD thy God, in transgressing his covenant, And hath gone and served other gods, and worshipped them, either the sun, or moon, or any of the host of heaven, which I have not commanded.'

Job xxxi. 26-28. 'If I beheld the sun' (Heb. אור the light) 'when it shined, or the moon walking *in* brightness; And my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand: This also *were* an iniquity *to be punished by* the judge: for I should have denied the God *that is* above.'

Having thus brought my ten propositions to a close, I must now remark upon two passages of the second chapter, which appear to confirm the view which assigns the first creation of all things to the beginning, and the preparation of our earth to the days. The first

^m The Hebrew word אור, which is used for light (Gen. i. 3), appears also to comprehend fire in its signification. See Isa. xlv. 16; xlvii. 14; Ezek. v. 2.

ⁿ A reference to 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5, 11; Jer. viii. 2; and Ezek. viii. 16, 17, will show the lapse of the Jews in after ages into the Sabæan worship.

of these is in the third verse, 'God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made,' Heb. בָּרַךְ וְקִדְּשׁ, literally, created to make. The creation, and making, are not identified as one act, they are rather individualised, and distinguished from each other, and the creation put antecedently to the making, a position well according with a creation in the beginning, and subsequent making on the days.

The second phrase is in the fourth verse, 'These *are* the generations^o of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens;' this also distinguishes between the creation, and the making, and seems to show that the account of Gen. i. refers principally to the days; this appears from the continuation of the passage in the fifth verse, 'And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew,' evidently alluding to the eleventh verse of the first chapter. I think it worth remarking, that this passage gives us reason only to expect so much of our planet's history as was absolutely necessary, or, if not so, why the particularisation? 'In the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,' why not a detail of everything concerning the earth, consecutively to, 'these *are* the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created?'

Before concluding, it will be necessary to consider a difficulty, which to many minds has presented itself, from the fact of the discoveries of geology having shown the existence of physical suffering and death amongst the brute creation, throughout ages long antecedent to the introduction of sin into the world by our first parents. This difficulty appears to arise, from a too hasty generalisation of those passages which denounce death as the penalty of sin, for instance, Gen. ii. 17, Rom. v. 12, vi. 23, James i. 15, etc., but upon examination of these, nothing will be found in them to warrant anything farther than the belief that sin brought death upon the *human* race. There is one passage, Rom. viii. 20—22, which it will be necessary to consider a little more in detail: we here find, 'For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected *the same* in hope, Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.' It is evident that the

^o The expression, 'These *are* the generations of the heavens and of the earth,' obviously means their history at the times alluded to; the family registers of the Jews often began similarly. See Gen. x. 1; xi. 10; xxv. 12, 19; xxxvi. 1, 9; Ruth iv. 18.

inference to be drawn from this passage, depends upon the interpretation given to the Greek word *κτίσις*, rendered in the English translation by both the words 'creature' and 'creation,' whether it signify the whole animal creation, or only the human. That the latter signification is the true one seems probably to be the case from the use of the same word, and with the same term of universality conjoined which it has ver. 22; in Mark xvi. 15, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' Gr. *πᾶσιν τῇ κτίσει*. So also, Col. i. 23, 'If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature,' Gr. *πᾶσιν τῇ κτίσει*, 'which is under heaven.' As indisputably the meaning of *κτίσις* in these two passages must be limited to the human creation, it appears credible that it should be also so limited, Rom. viii. 20-22.^p

An inference, as to a connection between the suffering and death of the merely animal creation, and human sin, has also been drawn from the passages, Is. xi. 1-9, and lxxv. 17-25. It is obvious that these passages must relate to some future period if they are to be taken in their literal signification, the time has not yet arrived when animals that are now carnivorous, and those that are herbivorous, live together without hurting or destroying each other, and 'the lion' eats 'straw like the ox.' But even if these things were literally to happen, I think that we cannot reason from the case of a world which had both sinned and been redeemed, to that of one which had neither sinned nor been redeemed, a work so great as that of the sacrifice of the Son of God, *may* have been made the means of conferring a greater degree of happiness upon the former, than was possessed by the latter. But farther, that from these passages taken in their literal signification even, no deduction can be drawn as to any connection between human sin, and the suffering and death of the brute creation, appears from the latter one, Is. lxxv. 20, 'There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner *being* an hundred years old shall be accursed.' The narrative then goes on to detail the blessings of this future period, and terminates in the twenty-fifth verse with 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust *shall be* the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the LORD.' We see, therefore, that this supposed original and paradisaical state of the brute creation, coexists with sin, death,

^p The phrase *πᾶσα κτίσις* is used, besides the cited passages, I believe, but twice more in the New Testament, Col. i. 15, and 1 Pet. ii. 13. See Whitby's comment upon Rom. viii. 20-23, who refers this passage to the human creation only.

and the curse, upon the human race, therefore it is more than probable that there is no necessary connection between human sin, and the suffering and death of the brute creation, or this state of things could not exist, but, on the contrary, the reverse, as regards the brute creation, must be the case.

Hitherto I have argued upon the supposition of these passages being taken in their literal signification, but feel little doubt that they are only figurative, and descriptive of the peace, harmony, and union, which should prevail amongst men, and in the Church of Christ, in the latter times. This metaphorical application of these passages, has the sanction of the most celebrated commentators of both ancient and modern times, viz., Theodoret, Jerome, Calvin, Vitringa, Michaelis, Leclerc, Lowth, Henry, and Jahn,^a and indeed the ninth verse of the eleventh chapter, which assigns the earth being 'full of the knowledge of the glory of the LORD,' as the cause of the previously described state of blessedness, will go far to prove that the preceding expressions are to be taken in reality with respect to men, and not to the brute creation, how could this latter be 'full of the knowledge of the glory of the LORD?' That men are sometimes, in scriptural phraseology, compared to beasts, will appear from Ps. xxii. 20, 21, Ezek. ii. 6, and 2 Tim. iv. 17.

M N.

^a See the Commentaries of Leclerc, Lowth, and Henry; and Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament*, from which I have cited the other authorities, upon Isa. xi. 1-9, and lxxv. 17-25. Lowth expresses himself with caution, and says upon Isa. lxxv. 25, although admitting the metaphorical sense of these expressions, 'Since the renovation here spoken of extends to the whole creation (see Rom. viii. 21), they' (these expressions, ver. 25) 'may imply the correcting the noxious qualities of fierce or venomous creatures.' I have endeavoured before to show the credibility of the application of Rom. viii. 21, to the human race alone.

JOSEPHUS AND THE BIBLE.

1. *Fl. Josephi Judæi Opera Omnia*. Vols. VI. Edidit M. CAROL ERNEST RICHTER. Lipsiæ. Sumtibus E. B. Schwickerti. 1826-7.
2. *Flavii Josephi de Bello Judaico Libri Septem*. Ad Fidem Codicum emendavit, variis Lectionibus instruxit, et Notis, partim Aliorum, partim suis illustravit EDVARDUS CARDWELL, S. T. P. Aulæ Sancti Albani Principalis. Vols. II. Oxonii, E. Typographeo Academico. 1837.
3. *The Works of Flavius Josephus, the Learned and Authentic Jewish Historian, and Celebrated Warrior*. Translated by WILLIAM WHISTON, A.M., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge. In six vols. London. Tegg, 73, Cheapside. 1825.
4. *The Works of Josephus; a New Translation*, by the Rev. ROBERT TRAILL, D.D., M.R.I.A., and late Rector of West Schull, with Notes, Explanatory Essays, and Pictorial Illustrations. Edited by Isaac Taylor, Author of *Natural History of Enthusiasm*. Vol. I. London. Houlston and Stoneman. 1847.

WE scarcely know whether we can participate in the satisfaction which we observe expressed in a former number of this Journal,^a at the suspension of Mr. Isaac Taylor's labours on Traill's Josephus^b—a satisfaction professedly grounded on the superior value of Mr. Taylor's original compositions. Our sense of the importance of a thoroughly good English translation of Josephus is such that we have our doubts whether even Mr. Taylor's talents could be more profitably employed than in this way. The learned Principal of St. Alban's Hall laments the hard fate of Josephus in some of the editors he has met with;^c still greater has been his infelicity in some of his translators. We question whether more grievous injustice has been done to any ancient author, whether by editors or translators, than 'the learned and authentic Jewish historian and celebrated warrior' has suffered at the hands of our own countryman, Whiston. Of the pedantic formality

^a See No. VII., p. 165.

^b See note A at the end of this article.

^c 'Infelix Josephus qui Editorem nactus sit Havercampum, copias istas in unum corpus conjecturum et cæteris omnibus laudem Josephi nova forma proferendi prærepturum.'—*Pref.* v.

which

which marks the phraseology of this translation, the few words we have just copied from the title-page are specimen sufficient; of the miserable slovenliness with which its sentences are put together, every paragraph affords proofs.^d Owing to the utter absence from the six volumes of all qualities which constitute readable composition, we fear that to a large majority of English readers Josephus is still an almost unknown author. This is to be regretted, whether we regard the interest or the instruction to be derived from his works. It would not be wise, perhaps, to claim to rank Josephus among the classics of antiquity; but none will deny him the praise of felicity in the selection of his materials, of a competent judgment in the combination of them, of a more than average power in narration and description, and of a fair command of the attractions of style.

We propose to devote a few pages to an attempt to develop and estimate his value in relation to the Bible. The dead body of Patroclus can hardly have been contested with a fiercer animosity than has been the historical credit of Josephus in this point of view. Christian advocates, and impugnors of Christian truth, have been accustomed to extol or to disparage his testimony with almost the same eagerness as if the Gospel verity itself were concerned. We can only say for the conclusions to which it will be sought in this paper to conduct the reader, that they have been arrived at from no *à priori* bias, but are judgments which have arisen in our mind on evidence furnished by the historian himself.

We learn from our author (*Vit.* § 1) that he was born in the first year of the Emperor Caligula—little more, consequently, than four years after the ascension of our Saviour. His notices of himself extend down to the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, *i. e.*, according to our present era, to A.D. 93, embracing a period of fifty-six years (*Antiq.* xx. 12, § 1). His family was respectable: on his mother's side he was descended from the Asamonæan Princes, while on his father's he was allied to the sacerdotal order, and belonged to the first of the twenty-four courses mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiv. (*Vit.* § 1). His modesty does not prevent his informing us of his unusual mental precocity, which he represents to have been such that even the leading men of his nation sought opportunities of conversation with him. As he grew up, his inquisitive turn of mind led him to make trial, in succession, of each of the three Jewish sects, as well as to undergo a voluntary seclusion of three years, with an ascetic of the name of Banus, whom he describes as noted alike for his austerities and ablutions. At the expiration of this course of discipline he was

^d See note B. at the end of this paper.

nineteen years of age, when he decided on adhesion to the party of the Pharisees (*Vit.* § 2).

The next account which we have of him is his undertaking a journey to Rome in his twenty-seventh year, with a view to effect the release of some priests of his acquaintance, whom Felix, the Roman procurator, had sent thither in confinement. In this mission he was successful, chiefly through the influence of some friends at court, who gained him an introduction to the emperor's wife, Poppæa (*Vit.* § 3).

On his return to Jerusalem he found the mass of his countrymen ripe for a revolt from the Romans, and did his best to dissuade them from a contest certain to prove so unequal. His remonstrances, however, appeared only likely to render himself an object of odium and suspicion, and he thought it necessary to his personal safety to modify his politics (*Vit.* § 4, 5). If it was not possible to prevent an insurrection, it was important to preserve the direction of it to the proper authorities, and not to allow the strength of the nation to be dissipated or mis-spent in premature outbreaks. Entertaining these views, our author accepted soon afterwards, in conjunction with two others, an appointment to the administration of Galilee. His instructions seem to have borne that he should compose, if possible, the rising discontents of that province, and prevent any demonstration against the Romans—or, if this were found impracticable, that he should put the province into the best possible posture of defence (*Vit.* § 7). In the execution of this trust he discovered, it must be allowed on all hands, no common vigour, prudence, and address. He succeeded to a large extent in gaining the confidence of the inhabitants of the province, a felicity to which he was in more than one instance indebted for escape from plots against his life (*Bell.* ii. 20). Other plots of a like nature he was enabled to defeat by his personal tact and readiness of invention (*Bell.* ii. 21, § 3, 5). Finding that a war with the Romans was inevitable, he set himself with energy to fortify the principal towns, as well as to provide the necessary apparatus of warfare, not neglecting favourable opportunities of checking the operations of the enemy in the field (*Bell.* ii. 20, § 6; *Vit.* § 71, 72). He was finally obliged to shut himself up in Jotapata, which he defended against Vespasian with extraordinary spirit and courage for forty-seven days, when, through the treachery of a deserter, it was taken by assault (*Bell.* iii. 7, § 33). Josephus himself came into the power of the Roman general, who at first thought of sending him as a prisoner to Rome, but was afterwards induced by the intercession of Titus to retain him in his own custody. His treatment, while in these circumstances, was more than usually lenient, which he himself ascribes

ascribes to the favourable impression he had made on Vespasian by predicting his accession to the empire, but it is quite as likely that the general himself, in common with his son, had the magnanimity to respect distinguished skill and valour even in an enemy (*Bell. iiii. 8, § 9*). Josephus subsequently accompanied Vespasian to Alexandria, whence he returned to the siege of Jerusalem with Titus. During the whole of this siege he was present, acting in more than one instance as the organ of communication from the besiegers to the besieged (*Bell. v. 9. § 3, 4; vi. 2, § 1*). He appears from the first to have considered the circumstances of his countrymen as desperate, on which account he wanted little inducement, when Jerusalem was taken, to pursue his fortunes with the two emperors at court. Here, he informs us, he continued to receive from each many flattering attentions, not without some more substantial marks of favour (*Vit. § 76*). Vespasian assigned him apartments in his former private mansion, made him a Roman citizen, with the addition of a fixed pecuniary revenue, and presented him with an estate in Judea. These grants and privileges Titus, on his accession to the sole sovereignty, confirmed, and showed equal generosity in refusing to listen to the calumnies with which the envy of his enemies assailed him. Domitian added to former benefactions an immunity from any land-charge for his Jewish estate, and even had some of his accusers punished. We have no means of ascertaining how long he survived this latter prince, but he was certainly alive after the death of the second Agrippa (*Vit. § 65*).

The leisure which our author enjoyed at Rome he appears to have employed in the composition of his historical and other treatises. His first work was an account of the 'Jewish war' in his vernacular language, drawn up for the use of his countrymen beyond the Euphrates (*Bell. Pr. § 2*). This work he afterwards translated into Greek for the use of general readers, which is the work which, under the twofold title of the 'War of the Jews'^e or 'History of the Destruction of Judea,' we now have (*Vit. Pr. § 1*). It is composed in seven books, and embraces the period of Jewish history, extending from the insurrection of the Jews against Antiochus Epiphanes to the subjugation of the country by the Romans. The first part of this period is treated more cursorily, the latter more at length, the whole of the last five books being devoted to the details of what may be called the Roman war. The next work undertaken by Josephus was what he styles his 'Jewish Antiquities,'^f which was composed in the thirteenth year of Domitian's reign (see *supra*, p. 293). It is comprised in twenty

^e Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου, ἢ, Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἱστορίας περὶ ἀλώσεως (λόγου).

^f Ἰουδαϊκῆ ἀρχαιολογία.

books, of which the first eleven, a small portion of the last excepted, are devoted to the facts of the Old Testament History, the remaining nine bringing this history down to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero (*Ant. xx. 12, § 1*). In this work also Josephus is proportionably copious in the latter portion of the history, assigning no less than six books to the last hundred years. He is curious enough to tell us how many lines the whole twenty books contain, which he makes to be sixty thousand. This work is, like the last-mentioned, in Greek, in order to qualify himself for accurate composition in which he spared, he tells us, neither pains nor expense, putting himself under the tuition of suitable teachers (*Bell. Pr. § 5, Antiq. xx. 12, Contra Ap. 1, § 9*). After this, he composed a brief autobiography, giving the particulars of his ancestry and education, which we have already abbreviated, and detailing more at length the series of his military and other movements and operations in Galilee. His remaining works are two books against Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria, which are chiefly of an apologetic nature, designed to vindicate the authenticity of his former publications, and a sort of diatribe or declamation on the virtues of the Maccabean period,⁸ both these also being composed in Greek. The whole have come down to us perfect, with the exception of the second book against Apion, in which there is a lacuna, embracing about four sections.

It must be obvious, even from the above hasty review, how valuable an assistance the works of our author are likely to prove to the biblical student. As it regards their matter, they travel over precisely the same ground, geographical and chronological, which our two Testaments traverse, being inclusive also of the interval between the two. As it regards their diction, the Greek of Josephus is also precisely the Greek of the apostolic age—a circumstance which will not be thought unimportant by those who know the gradual changes which time effects in the significance of language. Josephus wrote Greek just as the majority of the writers of the New Testament wrote it, not as his native tongue, but as a language which he had acquired, and acquired principally in the business and intercourse of life. We consider his value as a writer to a student of the original Scriptures to be mainly fourfold—first of all, to *authenticate* the inspired narrations; secondly, to *supplement* them; thirdly, to furnish aids for *criticism*; and, lastly, aids for *interpretation*. Under more general heads we might represent this value as partly *historical*, partly *philological*.

The authentication which Josephus supplies to the facts of Scrip-

⁸ Εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος, ἡ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμῶν.

ture must plainly respect almost exclusively those of the *New Testament*. Here his testimony is most valuable. A reference to the account already given of his life and writings will show that he was a contemporary of many of the New Testament authors, and that the later portions of his histories embrace pretty much the same period as theirs. The narratives in the gospels, if we leave out of consideration the brief sketch which two of them furnish of the childhood of our Saviour, commence with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius (*Luke* iii 1), not more than eight years before the birth of our author. The apostolic memoirs in the Acts reach to about the eighth year of Nero, the same point, as we have seen, within a few years, at which he breaks off the account in his 'Antiquities.' To a large extent, therefore, both he and the sacred writers would witness the same state of society, and have the same 'times passing over them.' The same actors, so to speak, on the national stage, and the same scenes would engage their attention; the same changes and commotions in the popular mind. At the same time, with mental tastes and views so different as were theirs respectively, we must not expect more than very occasional confirmations to each other's statements. It was with very different eyes that the sacred penmen and the Jewish historian looked on the events which were going forward around them. With the latter the political aspects of things were the principal, the religious the subordinate; with the former the religious aspects were the principal, the political the subordinate. Many events which were of the first importance in the sacred historian's view—the facilities, *e.g.*, or obstacles which presented themselves to the diffusion of the gospel, with the various degrees of success its principal ministers experienced, are not deemed worthy of notice by Josephus. The court cabals and intrigues, on the other hand, which he describes with so much minuteness, were almost wholly devoid of interest to them.^b Still there will always be points where secular

^b A sufficient indication of the very different aims and associations of these writers is to be found in the geographical terms which occur in their respective works. Few, comparatively, of the names of the spots which our blessed Saviour dignified by his ministry and miracles—names so familiar to every reader of the Gospel histories—meet us (or meet us in more than the most incidental way) in the pages of Josephus. We are not aware that the reputed place of our Lord's birth, and which afterwards furnished Jewish scorn with an opprobrious epithet for his disciples, is mentioned once in his writings. Instead of such names as Nain, Chorazin, Bethsaida, names instinct with interest to Christian sensibility, we are treated either with the names of military fortresses—Herodium, Masada, Machærus,—or of some semi-Gentile cities, Sepphoris, Seythopolis, &c. As we travel from one of these classical localities to another we scarcely feel as if the land before us were the identical one

'Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage to the bitter cross.'

Little

lar and sacred history, the annals of the world, and of the church, will cross each other's track; and we may select the following among other instances of corroboration which the statements of Josephus afford to the notices of the evangelical history.

§ 1.

Almost the first vivid impression which is fixed on our minds, as we peruse the narrations of the New Testament, is that of the barbarity of Herod. His cold-blooded massacre of the infants of Bethlehem, simply from motives of state precaution, has made his name a byword in the general mind for whatever is hard and unscrupulous in despotism. Now this impression of his disposition and character is most amply confirmed by what we read in Josephus, who is nowhere more circumstantial in his history than in his accounts of this prince. The picture which he gives of the domestic jealousies which poisoned his private happiness is exactly of a piece with the evangelist's representation of his political jealousy. It appears that, from motives of this description, he put to death, at different times, the following members of his family:—The most beloved of his wives, Mariamne; one of her brothers, whom he had himself raised to the high priesthood; her grandfather, Hyrcanus; and, lastly, two of their joint sons, Aristobulus and Alexander (*Bell.* i. 22, § 2, 5; 27, § 6). We do not reckon among the victims of his suspicions another son, Antipater, because there seems evidence that, in this case, the suspicions were not unjustifiable (*Bell.* i. 33). We learn from our author that for many years the palace of Herod was one constant scene of domestic feuds and animosities, the credulity with which he listened to calumnious reports supplying him with unceasing matter for disquietude. Almost the last act of his life, Josephus informs us, was to order that a number of representatives of the principal families in his dominions, whom he had collected together in the hippodrome at Jericho, should be put to death as soon as he expired, the sole pretext which he alleged being his desire that his own decease might be the occasion of a general mourning (*Bell.* i. 33, § 6).

§ 2.

The succession of Archelaus to the throne of Judea, on the death of Herod (*Matt.* ii. 22), is certified by Josephus. This succession is by no means to be regarded as a thing which would take place of course, the family of Herod being numerous, and

Little remains even in the topography of the holy city itself—such are the military and political predilections of our author—which a Christian reader can identify. Here, again, such names and spots as Bethesda, Calvary, Gethsemane, give place to a more classical nomenclature—either, as before, the names of military towers, Phaselus, Hippius, Psephinus,—or those of commercial thoroughfares, such as the Tyropæon,—or those of the divisions of the city itself—Acra, Bezetha, &c.

another

another son being, in point of fact, at the period of the removal of our Lord to Egypt, the presumptive heir. This was Antipater, whom we mentioned under the last article, and whose death, the penalty of a conspiracy against the life of his father which was imputed to him, preceded that of the latter only five days (*Bell.* i. 33, § 8). Antipater was the son of Herod by his first wife Doris, Archelaus by Malthace his fourth wife (*Antiq.* xiv. 12, § 1, xvii. 8. § 1; *Bell.* i. 22, § 4). Although, on the putting to death of Antipater, Archelaus stood next in succession to the sovereignty, yet, as all depended on the testament of Herod, to whom Augustus had left the nomination of his successor, it was by no means certain that he would succeed. In point of fact, the first inclination of Herod was, as soon as he had resolved on disinheriting Antipater, to appoint Antipas, a younger brother of Archelaus, his successor, and the substitution of Archelaus's name in his will was but a short time before his decease. The caprice shown in this change was afterwards the occasion of much trouble to Archelaus, his brother Antipas disputing the validity of his title, and following him to Rome to prevent, if possible, the confirmation of his appointment (*Antiq.* xvii. 6, § 1; 8, § 1; 9, § 4: *Bell.* i. 32, § 7; 33, § 7; ii. 2, § 3).

§ 3.

We do not meet with the *name* Antipas in the Gospels; but with the *person* whom Josephus so designates we are all familiar, as *Herod the tetrarch* (see *Matt.* xiv. 1; *Luke* iii. 1, 19—ix. 7; *Acts* xiii. 1). The application of this title to a member of the Herodian family is another of the facts respecting which this author furnishes us with useful information. In consequence of the dispute hinted at in our last of the two sons of Herod before the Roman emperor, that prince was induced to divide the dominions of their father. One half of these, consisting of Idumea, Judea, and Samaria, he confirmed the possession of to Archelaus, giving him the title of Ethnarch; the other half, Josephus tells us, he subdivided into two portions, assigning to Antipas Perea and Galilee, and to his brother Philip, Batanea with Trachonitis and Auranitis (*Antiq.* xvii. 11, § 4). Each of these portions he styled a *tetrarchy* (*Bell.* ii. 6, § 8), agreeably to which we find our author, in subsequent notices of Antipas, frequently speaking of him as the *tetrarch* (*Antiq.* xviii. 5, § 1, 3—7, § 1). The incidental confirmation which we have in the above account to the brief notice of Philip, which is given us in *Luke* (see ch. iii. 1), is scarcely needful to remark. That the coincidence between the two authors is undesigned is quite evident from their want of coincidence as to the precise territory of Philip; a difference, however, which is easily susceptible of reconciliation. More difficulty

is occasioned by the Jewish historian's total silence respecting Lysanias in his account of the transactions of the time; but that this omission is quite casual, and does not militate at all against the accuracy of the evangelist, appears afterwards from his incidental mention twice, at much later dates, of Lysanias's tetrarchy. These passages are in the 18th and 20th books of his *Antiquities* (xviii. 6, § 10—xx. 7, § 1), where he is stating what dominions were conferred on the two Agrippas by the emperors Caligula and Claudius respectively. An intermediate passage (*Antiq.* xix. 5, § 1) determines the tetrarchy named to have been the district of Abilene.

§ 4.

Herod the tetrarch has acquired a very unenviable notoriety with the readers of the New Testament, from his incestuous intrigue with Herodias, and from his execution of John the Baptist (see Matt. xiv. 2-13). Both these facts are distinctly deposed to by our author, who also gives us some particulars, otherwise unknown, as to Herodias's descent and connections. She was the granddaughter, it appears, of Herod the Great and Mariamne, being the daughter of Aristobulus, one of their two sons (see § 1). Her first husband Philip was not the Philip mentioned in the verse of Luke already considered (ch. iii. 1), the tetrarch of Iturea, but another Philip, son of the first Herod by a second Mariamne, and therefore half brother of Herodias's second husband, Herod the tetrarch. Josephus, in a few words,¹ intimates the disapprobation felt at the connection, although he does not, like the evangelist, attribute the tragical end of John to his faithful remonstrances respecting it.

§ 5.

We take one more instance of the agreement between the evangelic narratives and those of our author from the Herodian history. The Herod mentioned in Acts xii. was not the same prince who has passed more or less under our review in the last three articles, and who, as we learn from both our authorities, was stained with the double guilt of adultery and murder. This might be inferred from the title of *king*, under which he is introduced (v. 1) to the reader's notice, the former Herod being always spoken of as Herod *the tetrarch*. The present prince, who comes before us in Scripture nowhere else than in the chapter just cited, was brother of the infamous Herodias, and father of the Agrippa before whom Paul pleaded (Acts xxvi.). Agrippa was his own distinctive name also, and the one by which Josephus generally speaks of him (*Bell.* i. 28, § 1—ii. 9, § 5, 6). This historian affords us very satisfactory evidence of the minute

¹ —ἐπὶ συγχύσει φρονήσασα τῶν πατρῶν.—*Antiq.*, xviii. 5, § 4.

accuracy of the sacred writer, in calling him king. It appears that his dominions comprised at first only two tetrarchies in the north of Palestine; but they were afterwards enlarged by the additions of Judea and Jerusalem, as also of Samaria, the whole being made to constitute a kingdom, by the Emperor Claudius (*Bell.* ii. 11, § 5). The most striking confirmation furnished, however, is that which respects the circumstances of his death, both the place, occasion, and cause of which are narrated by Josephus almost in the same terms as by the sacred historian. By way of accounting for the fatal flattery offered, Josephus tells us that the effect of the magnificent apparel which he wore, and in which silver was largely inwrought, was much heightened by the reflection of the solar rays which fell on it with dazzling brightness.

§ 6.

Mention is made, in Acts xxi. 38, of an Egyptian impostor, who excited the people to revolt, allying with himself a band of men who are called *murderers*. This latter term is more specific in the original than our own word *murderers* would suggest. A more appropriate rendering of it would be *assassins*, the term literally importing 'men armed with a *sica*,' an instrument which is explained in the dictionaries to mean a *short dagger* or *stiletto*. The difference between such assassins and murderers would be that the former would use *sudden* and *secret violence* rather than open. Now the writings of Josephus abound in notices of a class of men of this sort who infested Judea in the latter days of its political existence (*Antiq.* xx. 8, § 5, 6; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 13, § 3—vii. 8, § 1). In the last two passages he uses precisely the same word as the evangelist (*σικάρτοι*), describing the men in the former as a class of robbers who wore short swords under their clothes, and mingling with the people during the public festivals, slew any who were obnoxious to them in broad daylight, and in the open streets. Their blows were so sudden that no one could divine the quarter whence they came. Josephus connects with the mention of them, as does the evangelist, the mention of an Egyptian demagogue, who, he says, after assembling as many as thirty thousand followers in the wilderness, led them round to the Mount of Olives, in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, where he encouraged them to expect that the walls of the city, like those of Jericho, would fall down of their own accord, enabling them without difficulty to overpower the Roman garrison (*Antiq.* xx. 8, § 6; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 13, § 5). The discrepancy which is found between the numbers above given and those of the evangelist is not really greater than obtains between the two accounts, when compared with each other, of the Jewish historian himself. Thirty thousand is the number at which he estimates the force of the insurgents in
the

the *War*; but in the *Antiquities*, when relating their dispersion by Felix, he represents *four hundred* only as slain, and *two hundred* as taken prisoners, proportions which are evidently far more suitable to the statement of the evangelist than to his own. A simple explanation of the matter is, that the whole of the thirty thousand who had at one time congregated in the wilderness were not of the class of sicarii; large numbers of them, there is reason to suppose, as was the case with many of the partisans of Absalom (see 2 Sam. xvi. 11) were rather the dupes than the accomplices of the Egyptian; these would naturally fall away from his standard when the hollowness of his designs became apparent, so that when at last attacked by the Roman forces he might not have more than four thousand about him. It creates a further difficulty, that Josephus makes this occurrence to have happened during the procuratorship of Felix, whom the evangelist does not mention as governor till 'after those days' (see ch. xxi. 38); but it is sufficient to reply to this that the procuratorship of Felix extended, accordingly to Gresswell, over a period of eight years, viz., from A.D. 50 to A.D. 58, full five years more therefore than the space which it occupies in the narrative of the Acts.

§ 7.

The most important corroboration furnished by Josephus of the authenticity of the contents of the New Testament, is doubtless his account of the final siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, as well as of the devastating and troubles which preceded that catastrophe. This account we have already stated that he has given us in a work devoted to this especial subject, and embracing little besides; the portions of the gospel narratives bearing on the subject are, of course, the predictions of our Lord: had the books of the Jewish historian been written expressly to attest the completion of the latter, it is scarcely conceivable that they could do this in a more remarkable manner than they now do. It is only a few of the more striking verifications for which we can find room in the present paper.

(1.) The rise of successive impostors and false prophets (Matt. xxiv. 5, 24) in the country is repeatedly borne witness to by Josephus. Besides the Egyptian impostor noticed in the last article, he expressly mentions a pretended prophet of the name of Theudas^j (*Antiq.* xx. 5, § 1), and more than once speaks of similar fanatics in the plural number. See especially *Bell.* ii. 13, § 4, where we have the expression^k 'impostors and deceivers who,

^j This is not the Theudas who is named by Gamaliel (Acts v. 36), but an impostor of the same name who rose some years later. The reference of Gamaliel (v. 37) to another insurgent, 'Judas of Galilee,' is very fully confirmed by Josephus. See *Antiq.*, xviii. 1, § 1.

^k πλάνοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀπατεῶνες προσχήματι θεισμοῦ νεωτερισμὸς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγματοῦν.

under pretence of divine inspiration, aimed at innovations and changes,' and *Antiq.* xx. 8, § 6, where the similar statement occurs that 'impostors and deceivers persuaded the people to follow them into the wilderness, promising that they would show them manifest signs and tokens of the will of Providence.' Such impostors abounded, Josephus informs us, especially towards the close of the siege of Jerusalem, being in many cases instructed to act this part by the zealots, who were then in possession of the city. (*Bell.* vi. 5, § 2, 3.)

(2.) The complete military investiture of Jerusalem is a circumstance foretold by our Lord. (See Luke xix. 43.) This was by no means a necessary incident of the formation of the siege, for Pompey had taken the city without such an investiture (*Bell.* i. 7, § 3), and so had Herod (*Bell.* i. 17, § 8, 9). Titus himself had not in the first instance contemplated an entire circumvestiture, and was only induced at last to resolve on it by the impossibility which he found of repressing effectually otherwise the egresses of the besieged. His expression, in coming to this resolution, is worth quoting. 'If we are to combine,' said he, 'security with dispatch, we must wall the city entirely round.' (*Bell.* v. 12, § 1.)^m

(3.) The utter destruction of the temple was another of the incidents of the siege which our Saviour foretold. We have spoken of it as an incident, because, for a long time, the chances *against* the destruction seemed at least equal to those *for* it. It is well known that Titus was extremely desirous to spare the temple, and that, if possible, it should not be involved in the general overthrow of the city. He looked on a structure so magnificent with the eye of a man of taste, and considered justly that its preservation would be a fairer monument to his fame than its destruction. Under the influence of these feelings he all along professed his wishes and intentions both to friends and enemies to spare it, which intentions he persisted in, notwithstanding the strong opinions of many of his own council to the contrary (*Bell.* vi. 2, § 4, 3). The destruction of the temple was, in fact, at last, in direct opposition to his orders. The sudden impulse of a soldier set fire to it, and although Titus, as soon as he heard the news, hastened to the spot, and by voice and signal did all he could to stop the flames from spreading, the soldiers, excited and enraged, either did not understand or pretended not to understand his directions, and rather aided than repressed the conflagration. (*Bell.* vi. 4, § 5.) Josephus, accordingly, ascribes the event to the irresistible power of fate, remarking on the coincidence that it

¹ γόητες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἐπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐπεσθαι. Δείξιν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργὴ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοιαν γεινόμενα.

^m Δεῖν γε μὴν εἰ καὶ τῷ τάχει μετ' ἀσφαλείας βούλοιο χρήσεσθαι, περιτεγχίζειν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν.

should

should have taken place on the same month and the same day as the former destruction by the Babylonians. (*Bell.* vi. 4, § 8.) He further relates that Titus, on completing the capture of the city, gave orders to dig up the whole to its foundations^a (*Bell.* vii. 1, § 1), orders which were so precisely executed that nothing was left, he afterwards tells us, on the ancient site but the encampment of the Romans.^o (*Bell.* vii. 8, § 6.) Could scepticism itself exact a more rigidly verbal fulfilment of prophecy than this? (See *Matt.* xxiv. 2.)

(4.) Our Lord's language is very strong as to the magnitude and extent of the calamities which would be involved in the final excision of the nation. He speaks of the loss of life, and of the degree of suffering which would take place as unparalleled (see *Matt.* xxiv. 21, 22), and with scarcely less emphasis of the general abduction of captives which would follow. (See *Luke* xxi. 24.) Prophets who had preceded him, in foretelling either this or a similar era, speak of unnatural extremities to which the pressure of famine would reduce the inhabitants, amounting even to an extinction of the strongest instincts of our nature. (See *Deut.* xxviii. 56, 57; *Jer.* xix. 9.) All these horrors were abundantly realised in the progress and final issue of the siege. The Jewish historian details an act of cannibalism by a mother for which even former similar atrocities in the history of his country (see 2 *Kings* vi. 28, 29) do not seem to have prepared him. (*Bell.* vi. 3, § 4.) He computes the number of those slain during the course of the siege at 1,100,000, and the number of captives taken throughout the war at 97,000. (*Bell.* vi. 9, § 3.) He deliberately professes his conviction that all the calamities which had happened to other nations from the beginning of the world were not comparable, in amount, to those which befel the Jews at this time.^p (*Bell.* Pro. § 4.) In a sentence elsewhere he expresses somewhat singularly his belief to the same effect. Had the calamities of the siege, he says, been but instances of prosperity, even though they had been distributed through the whole past history of his people up to the earliest date, they would have made them objects of envy.^q (*Bell.* vi. 8, § 5.)

(5.) We mention only one further particular—the celestial omens which, according to our Lord, would announce the coming catastrophe. (See *Luke* xxi. 25.) Now of some of these the

^a κελεύει τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν νεὸν κατασκάπτειν.

^o Προῤῥιζος ἐκ βῶθρων ἀνήρπασται καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς μνημεῖον ἀπολέλειπται τὸ τῶν ἀνηρηκῶτων αὐτὴν στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐνοικεῖν.

^p Τὰ γοῦν πάντων ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἡττᾶσθαι μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ σύγκρισιν.

^q πόλει τοσαύταις χρησαμένη συμφοραῖς κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὅσοις ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἀγαθοῖς κεχρημένη πάντως ἂν ἐπιφθόνος ἔδοξεν.

notoriety had become such as to reach even foreign historians. (See *Tacit. Hist.* v. 13.) The following are among those mentioned by our author:—A star in shape like a sword, together with a comet, stood over the city a whole year. At the feast of the passover, three hours after midnight, such a light illumined the altar and the temple that for half an hour it seemed like clear day. The eastern gate of the temple, though ordinarily requiring twenty men to shut it, opened one midnight of its own accord. Soon after the festival above mentioned, armed chariots and squadrons were seen in the clouds. At the feast of Pentecost, some of the priests who went by night into the interior of the temple heard a voice proclaiming, 'Let us remove hence.'—All these prodigies, except the first, are reported by the classical historian referred to. (See *Bell.* vi. 5, § 3; *Tacit.* l. c.)

With so many points of coincidence between our two authorities, it cannot be thought surprising that there should be some points of collision. The most serious of these respects the date assigned to the census or enrolment under Cyrenius (Luke ii. 2). According to the Evangelist, this census was synchronous with the birth of our Saviour at Bethlehem. According to the Jewish historian it took place ten years later, viz., after the deposition of Archelaus, and not in the reign of Herod. (*Antiq.* xvii. 13, § 2, 5.) It is generally admitted that this latter date must be accepted as the true one, and we fully concur ourselves in the opinion of its accuracy. Our reasons for thus deferring to the uninspired statement are the following.

(1.) No motive, of any conceivable force, existed to induce the author of the *Antiquities* to deviate from the truth in this matter. If he had vanity, as a literary artist, there was nothing in the misfixing of a date which would be likely to call this feeling into exercise. No political ends appear which would be likely to be served by such a transposition. We can understand how the idea that a Roman census was a national humiliation, might influence a Jewish writer to suppress the fact altogether; but no purpose of nationality could be answered by an insertion of the fact in this reign rather than under that. No court flattery could well find any room for its play in such a particular. A falsehood told therefore on a point of this nature would be a gratuitous falsehood, prompted by no urgency, and leading to no advantage. It is not the custom of witnesses of the least approved veracity wantonly to damage their credit in such instances.

(2.) The date of this census was a point on which an historian like Josephus would be likely to have correct information. It was a point of purely political annalism, just the sort of point which

which he would be likely to have investigated. It was just the sort of point on which the authorities he consulted would be competent to inform him. As far as these authorities were living observers, it was a fact which would come within the sphere of their knowledge; as far as they were written documents, it was the sort of fact which they would record. Precisely for the same reason that we attach weight to the Evangelist's testimony in directly *religious* matters, do we allow weight to our historians in *political*.

(3.) The date assigned to the census by Josephus must be acknowledged to fit in excellently well with the other historical data of the period. Our author states the assessment to have taken place on the banishment of Archelaus to Gaul, and the reduction of Judea to a Roman province. What more likely than such a transaction at such a time? A census of their own subjects, whether that census respected *persons* only or *properties*, would be much more probably the matter of a 'decree' with the Roman emperors than a census of the subjects of others. Now, at the birth of our Saviour, Herod the Great was the acknowledged sovereign of Judea—not a mere viceroy or delegated sovereign, although of course subordinate; he had even been entrusted, as we have seen, with the power of appointing his own successor. Was it likely, during the lifetime of such a prince, that Roman taxgatherers would be sent into his dominions to override his own authority? Was it likely that so important a power as that of assessment of his subjects would be lodged in other hands? Our historian, it must be confessed, has, in this instance, verisimilitude on his side. It cannot be said of this part of his narrative—

‘ There is no composition in the news
To give it credit.’

On the contrary, it mortises in most naturally to the rest of the narrative; not the slightest appearance of interpolation or patch-work is visible. The antecedents of the fact are such as naturally prepare us for its introduction; the consequents of it such as it would naturally lead to. The immediate sequel of the event, in Josephus, is the insurrection of Judas the Galilean (see note, p. 302); this is expressly said in the Acts (ch. v. 37) to have taken place in the days of the *taxing*; now as there is no Scripture evidence of any such insurrection in the infancy of our Saviour, the presumption is that both it and the taxing were later than that time.

We feel, accordingly, compelled to seek some means of accommodating the Gospel to the *Antiquities*, and, on the whole, no solution commends itself so much to our judgment as that which makes the census reported by Luke (ch. ii. 1, 3, 4), to be merely a preliminary procedure. What took place in the days of Herod was not an actual taxation, but an enrolment with a view to a taxation

ation—with a view to it, that is to say, at some indefinite future period, for no real assessment appears to have been made till the presidency of Cyrenius, ten years afterwards. We thus, with Campbell, and the majority of critics, lay a stress on the verb the Evangelist employs (*ἐγένετο*)—‘This taxing or enrolment first took effect when Cyrenius,’ &c. If it be said that even such an enrolment would be an interference with the jurisdiction of Herod, we must be content to accept an explanation which will mitigate the difficulties of the case without wholly removing them. Evidence^a is producible from Josephus himself that there was at the time an interruption of amity between the Roman emperor and Herod: such misunderstanding might easily suggest to the former a mild practical assertion of his supremacy over the latter, without leading to anything so offensive as a direct edict of taxation.

A comparison of the *Antiquities* of Josephus with the narrations of the Old Testament, affords us some curious revelations as to his literary character. No professions can be stronger than those which he makes of scrupulous fidelity in adhering to these narrations. He declares most solemnly that he has ventured on no deviation from them, either in the way of enlargement or of suppression.^b He allows himself to have altered in some passages the arrangement of his materials, but has neither attempted to embellish them nor made other additions.^c Any departure from the strict truth indeed he would feel, he intimates, to be a matter of the gravest culpability.^d He is indignant with those who had insinuated that he composed his history for the purpose of literary display, reiterating his assurance that he had confined himself simply to the duties of a translator.^e

After protestations^f like these, who would expect to find our
author

^a See *Antiq.*, xvi. 9, § 3. Augustus had been prejudiced against Herod by the representations of one Syllens, an Arabian, and had written to him, somewhat angrily, to say, that, ‘whereas he had hitherto treated him as a friend, he would henceforth treat him as a subject’ (πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται).

^b οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ’ αὖ παραλείπων.—*Antiq. Pro.*, § 3.

^c γέγραπται πάνθ’ ὡς ἐκεῖνος [Μωϋσῆς] κατέλιπεν, οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδ’ ὅτι μὴ καταλέλοιπε Μωϋσῆς. Νεωτέριστα δ’ ἡμῖν τὰ κατὰ γένος ἑκαστα τάξει, σποράδην γὰρ ὅτ’ ἐκεῖνου κατελήφθη γραφήντα καὶ ὡς ἑκαστὸν τι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ πύθοιτο.—*Antiq.*, iv. 8, § 4.

... μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας λέγομεν, μὴδὲ πῖθανοῖς τισι καὶ πρὸς τέφρην ἐπαγωγῆς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνοντες.—*Antiq.*, viii. 2, § 8.

^d — οὐδὲ συγκεχωρημένον ἡμῖν, κατεξανιστάμενοις τοῦ πρέποντος τῆς πραγματείας, ἀδόξους ὑπάρχειν.—*Antiq.*, viii. 2, § 8.

^e Παῦλοι τινες ἄνθρωποι διαβάλλειν μου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπικειρήκασιν, ὥσπερ ἐν σχολῇ μειρακίων γύμνασμα προκείσθαι νομίζοντες. Κατηγορίας παραδόξου καὶ διαβολῆς! Τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίαν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμήνευκα.—*Contra Ap.*, § 10.

^f Protestations of similar kind and in equal number might easily be extracted from

author everywhere taking the most wanton liberties with the sacred documents, either omitting important portions of their contents, or adding to them, or giving them a new gloss and colouring. It is difficult to say in which of these sorts of trespasses he is the greatest offender. To begin with his omissions, the following are but specimens of the Scripture facts which he has altogether left out of his narrative: The compulsory circumcision of the Shechemites (Gen. xxxiv.); the worship of the golden calf (Exod. xxxii.); the murmurs at the judgment inflicted on Korah and his company (Num. xvi. 41-50); the circumcision at Gilgal (Josh. v. 2-10); the sin and punishment of Gehazi (2 Kings v. 20-27); and the perverseness of Jonah when at Nineveh (Jonah iii. iv.). Although he relates the wonderful deliverance which this prophet experienced, he does it in a tone almost indicative of his own scepticism respecting the fact, and tolerant of the scepticism of others. He is similarly indulgent to those who would explain away anything apparently miraculous in the passage through the Red Sea. He will not say whether the receding of the waters was the result of special divine ordinance, or a natural phenomenon.*

A writer so fastidious with regard to the real miracles of Scripture ought studiously to have eschewed the admission of all mere legendary matter from other sources, but anything more rapid than the additions of this kind which he makes to the sacred narrative—anything more deserving of the epithets applied by the apostle to the fables of his time (see 1 Tim. iv. 7), it seems impossible to conceive. We can with difficulty resist the impression that the curse of Rabbinical puerility was already resting on the literature of the nation. Our author is especially liberal in the incorporations which he has made into the inspired account of Moses. Before his birth he relates that his future distinguished merits and services were revealed to his father in a dream. During his childhood such was his beauty that passers-by, as he walked along the streets, stopped to admire him (*Antiq.* ii. 9, § 3, 6). Even thus early he gave indications of his contempt of Egyptian royalty. On one occasion when the monarch in a playful mood had put his own diadem on his head, he took it off and stamped it on the ground (*Idem*, § 7). Josephus sends him, as soon as he had reached the age of manhood, on an expedition against the Ethiopians, and is full of admiration at the ingenuity

from other parts of his works. (See, among other places, *Antiq.*, xvi. 7, § 1; xx. 8, § 3; *Vit.*, § 58.) The superfluous frequency, indeed, with which they occur is such as at last involuntarily to awaken a little suspicion:—

‘Methinks the lady doth protest too much.’

* εἴτε κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ, εἴτε κατ’ αὐτόματον.—*Antiq.*, ii. 16, § 5.

he

he displayed in providing for the wants of this expedition.^a The route through which his proposed march would lie being infested with multitudes of serpents, Moses hit on the expedient of collecting beforehand a number of ibises in baskets and taking them with him! The ibis, it appears, is the natural enemy to the serpent. Our historian brings the war to a satisfactory conclusion by marrying his hero to the daughter of the Ethiopian potentate, who had fallen in love with him as he was besieging the fortress in which she and her father were shut up (*Idem*, 10 § 2)! Who could believe that for this wonderful fabric of adventures there was absolutely no support in the sacred text save the single mention (Num. xii. 1) of Moses' marriage with an Ethiopian woman?^b

Our author is very fond of rounding off the Scripture accounts of a transaction by the addition of minor circumstances which he supposes necessary to their completeness. He will, for instance, introduce conjectural explanations of facts stated in Scripture without the slightest hint that they are conjectural. Thus the longevity of the antediluvians he assigns in part to dietary causes, in part to their merits as inventors of geometry and astronomy (*Ant.* i. 3, § 8). Abraham's visit to Egypt he turns to account by making him teach the natives arithmetic and astronomy (*Ant.* i. 8, § 2). Among other symptoms and effects, which he describes with great particularity, of the pestilence which visited Jerusalem in David's reign (see 2 Sam. xxiv.), he informs us that, in some instances, the bodies of those attacked exhaled altogether away^c (*Ant.* vii. 13, § 3). Hezekiah's prayer for prolonged life, together with God's favourable acceptance of the prayer (see Isa. xxxviii.), he ascribes simply to the monarch's desire of offspring (*Ant.* x. 2, § 1). He is particularly knowing with regard to names, dates, etc., respecting which the Scripture is silent. Thus the name of the prophet who prophesied against the altar in Bethel (see 1 Kings xiii. 1) he tells us was Jadon (*Ant.* viii. 9, § 1), and the widow whom Elisha miraculously relieved (see 2 Kings iv. 1-8) was the wife of Obadiah (*Ant.* ix. 4, § 2). The earthquake in Uzziah's reign which both Amos and Zechariah mention (see Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5) he fixes to the time of that prince's trespass in the temple, giving the impression that it was a judgment on his presumption (*Ant.* ix. 10, § 4). In his account of the

^a ἐνθα τῆς αὐτοῦ συνέσεως θαυμαστὴν ἐπιδείξιν ἐποίησατο.

^b A similar instance of his disposition to improve on the simplicity of Scripture statements is found in his account of Solomon, whom he celebrates for his powers as an *exorcist*, and asserts that some of the formulæ of incantation which he used had come down to his own time! (*Ant.*, viii. 2, § 5.)

^c ἐνίων δὲ καὶ μαραινόμενων τοῖς παθήμασι, καὶ μηδ' εἰς κηδείαν ὑπολειπομένων, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάρπειν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς δαπανωμένων.

tabernacle and its interior furniture he assumes the commentator throughout. The tabernacle itself he will have to be a symbol of the universe;—the four colours of the veil which separated the holy place from the most holy to represent the elements;—the twelve loaves of shewbread, the months of the year;—the seven branches of the golden candlestick, the seven planets;—the high priest's girdle, the ocean;—and the two plates which he wore on his shoulders, the sun and the moon (*Ant.* ii. 7, § 7; *Bell.* v. 4, § 5)!

Few other proofs can be needed of the false colouring which our author gives to Scripture narratives than have been incidentally furnished in some of the above examples. We may just revert to two of these examples to make the nature of the licence which he takes more apparent. The murder of the Shechemites Josephus represents to have taken place during the celebration of a festival! The import of the term Gilgal he explains to be 'liberty,' making it a memento of the deliverance from Egypt, contrary to the plain information which both the original Scriptures and the version of the LXX. gave him.^d He expatiates at great length on the magnanimity displayed by Saul in the last engagement of his life, extolling him generally as a sovereign of more than ordinary integrity, courage, and self-command.^e

The charitable construction which Whiston^f puts on these distortions of the inspired history is, that Josephus had other and better copies of the Scriptures than those which we possess—nay, better and more ancient copies than either the Samaritan Penta-

^d See the true explanation, Josh. v. 9. The offence of circumcision was to Josephus what the offence of the cross is to us.

^e — δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρείος, καὶ σώφρων, εἴ τις γέγονε τοιοῦτος ἢ γενήσεται, τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καρποῦσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἄξιος.—*Ant.*, vi. 14, § 4.

^f See his notes on *Ant.*, ii. 9, § 2; viii. 9, § 1. Elsewhere he speaks of these copies as temple copies (note on *Ant.* viii. 15, § 4). If we might believe the devotion which this translator almost everywhere discovers to the credit of his author to be sincere, it would afford a singular specimen of the credulity which may exist even in a mathematical professor. Few of the futilities of Josephus are so gross but this professor is ready to endorse them, either accepting his single testimony as sufficient voucher for a statement, or seeking to buttress up his authority by that of Chaldee paraphrasts and Rabbins (see note on *Ant.*, ix. 4, § 2). He calls him 'a most religious person' (note on *Vit.*, § 15), and 'one of the greatest lovers of truth in the world' (note on ix. 4, § 3). Scarcely could the courtesy of the Trojan chief to his father's ill-arrived Grecian guest have been more chivalrous or reverential:—

Ἔκτορ, ἐμῷ θυμῷ δαέρων πολὺ φίλτατε πάντων—

—Ὅποτε σὺν ἤκουσα κακὸν ἔπος, οὐδ' ἀσέφηλον·

Ἀλλ' εἴ τις με καὶ ἕλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐνίπτοι

Δαέρων, ἢ γαλόων, ἢ εἰνατέρων εὐπέπλων.

Ἦ ἔκυρῃ, (ἐκυρὸς δὲ, πατὴρ ὅς, ἥπιος αἰεὶ)

Ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραφύμενος κατέρυκες

Σῆ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη καὶ σοῖσ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν.—*Il.* xxiv. 762, 767.

teuch or those from which the LXX translated. We may say of this supposition what Johnson remarked on a similar one by the famous Bentley, that 'it is rash and groundless,' if its originator believed it to be true—'vile and pernicious,' if he knew 'it to be false.' The animus of both the suppressions and additions of Josephus is not very difficult to discover. A Jew himself he was keenly alive to the ridicule which Jewish peculiarities excited, and to the contempt with which Jewish intelligence was regarded. He well knew what materials for such ridicule and contempt, a faithful recital of all the failings of the ancestors of his nation would afford. He had also a perverse ambition to equalise these ancestors to the great men of classical antiquity, even in those departments of excellence which the latter only had sedulously cultivated. Had he taken a right view of things, he would have deemed it sufficient distinction for his people that they had been constituted the depositories of religious truth. To have been favoured with the genuine oracles of God, he would have deemed an ample, and more than ample, equipoise for inferiority in scientific attainment, and a devout faith a far more valuable inheritance than either philologic or artistic skill. He would have been content to leave it to other races and other climes—

'To give more life to marble, and to fill
The glowing tablets with a juster skill,
To shine in fable, and grace idle themes
With all the embroidery of poetic dreams ;'

thankful that Divine condescension had honoured the people of his land—

'to dive into the plan '
Which truth and mercy had revealed to man,
So that while all besides, that plan unknown,
Deified useless wood or senseless stone,
They breathed in faith their well directed prayers,
And the true God, the God of truth, was theirs.'

The simplicity of a sentiment like this was, however, far from the moral taste of Josephus. We find him constantly betraying an anxiety to be admitted with his countrymen to classical fraternization, and apparently grudging Greece and Rome even the monopoly of their mythological traditions. Thus he gravely relates that the descendants of Seth set up two pillars, one of brick and one of stone, in Syria, as memorials of their inventions, the idea being obviously suggested to him by the well-known pillars of Hercules (*Ant.* i., 2, § 3). He contrives to find a place for this hero himself in the genealogical tales of his countrymen! One of the wives of Hercules, if we may receive his testimony, was a granddaughter of Abraham and Keturah; two of whose sons, he

says, Apherah and Japhrah, were coadjutors of the hero in his affair with Antæus! He tells us on the same authority, to which he appeals for the truth of this tradition, that the latter of these youths gave its present name to Africa, another son of the Patriarch being the founder of Assyria (*Ant.* i. 15, § 1)! The three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham, whom he armed for the rescue of his brother (*see* Gen. xiv. 14), are exalted by our historian to the rank of officers or satraps (*ὑπαρχοί*), each having an untold force^g under him (*Bell.* v. 9, § 4)!

It has always struck us as extraordinary, while such perversions and exaggerations of fact remain on the pages of Josephus, that so much should be said of his fidelity as an historian. Among ancient authors we observe no less than four who characterise him by the special epithet 'truth-loving' (*φιλαλήθης*),^h several others commending his trust-worthiness in terms almost equally strong.ⁱ Joseph Scaliger applies the first epithet to him in its superlative form (*φιλαληθίστατος*), which encomium Bishop Porteus adopting adds, 'that he had no prejudices to mislead him in his representations.'^k 'Prejudices' are often understood to signify positive *antipathies*, in which sense we may acquit our author of being actuated by them; but if we explain the term to mean unhappy and unworthy *biases*, we must have been very unfortunate in our collations and transcriptions if we have not shown him to be under the influence of powerful prejudices. We may particularise both national prejudices and individual prejudices as thus biasing his authorship; prejudices which he felt as a Jew, and prejudices which he felt as a would-be man of fashion. He professes to be honourably distinguished from contemporary authors by the impartiality with which he relates the errors and the misfortunes of his countrymen;^m but we have seen him both suppressing facts which he thought disreputable to them, and magnifying others of an opposite order. His prejudices as a man of the world appear in the portraiture which he draws of Old Testament worthies, to whose characters he is apt to transfer the somewhat questionable virtues which he himself admires. The patriarchs, for instance, become under his hand philosophers,

^g δύναμιν ἔπειρον.

^h Sc. Theodorus, Suidas, Theophylactus, and Isidorus.

ⁱ Sc. Eusebius, Sozomenus, and Jornandes. See Cardwell's *Excerpta e Narratione* J. A. Fabricii, p. xv.

^k See fly-leaf of Whiston's translation. The worthy Bishop, it is presumed (if he did not take the character of Josephus altogether at second-hand), had reference mainly in this addition to the *History of the Jewish War*; but some of the transcripts which we have made above will show that even this will scarcely warrant so strong a statement.

^m τὰ δὲ ἡμῶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμπεσόντα δηλοῦμεν οὐ παρέργως, μήτε τὰς συμφορὰς μήτε τὰς ἀμαρτίας διασαφεῖν ἐκνούμετες.—*Antiq.* xx. 8, § 3.

warriors,

warriors, politicians—anything but the men of simple and truthful manners which the pen of inspiration describes them.^a Ancient revelation itself, as he delineates it, assumes somewhat of a heathenish air, the devotional and spiritual element which it embodies disappearing almost entirely. He terms the system of truth which it contains a '*philosophy*.'^o The illustrious Jewish legislator he represents as having had his esoteric and exoteric doctrines—as having, to use his own distinctions, 'taught some truths enigmatically, decently allegorised others, and delivered with naked simplicity of statement only the remaining third.'^p He pretends to find Scripture authority for treating heathen deities with respect,^q and is not unwilling to concede the identity of the Jehovah of Scripture with the Jupiter of classical theology.^r

We must add to these moral weaknesses and untoward prepossessions on the part of our author a degree of literary ambition. This was a constant temptation to him to give a sort of periodic roundness to his narratives, and increase, if possible, their pictorial effect. The places where he had classical models of composition before his eyes are not few. In one passage he professes his intention to gratify, as much as might be, the lovers of an ornate style,^s and although he elsewhere makes numerous professions of an opposite character, viz., of superiority to literary vanity, we must estimate the value of these, as already hinted, in the inverse ratio of their frequency.

We do not know why we should place the veracity of Josephus as an *author* at a higher altitude than he has himself taught us to place it as a *man*. That he was not very nice in his observation in ordinary discourse of the limits of truth and fiction, is inferable from one passage, at least, in his biography, where he relates with some glee the success of a falsehood which he had employed.^t A

^a Compare, for instance, the refined metaphysical arguments which he puts into the mouth of Judah with the artless effusion of pathos we have in the inspired account (Gen. xlv. 18–34). In our author Judah addresses his brother as *στρατηγός*, and dins his ear with a number of ethical abstractions (see *Ant.*, ii. 6, § 8). Moses, in the final admonitions which he delivers to his countrymen, addresses them as his fellow-soldiers (*συστρατιῶται*).—*Ant.*, iv. 8, § 2.

^o *Contra Ap.*, 11, § 4.

^p τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δὲ ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ' ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος.—*Ant. Pro.*, § 4.

^q *Antiq.*, iv. 8, § 10.

^r This bold utterance of latitudinarianism he puts into the mouth of one Aristens, a friend and courtier of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and whose goodwill he thus aims to conciliate towards the captive Jews in his dominions. But it is clear that the sentiment, whether we impute the paternity of it to Josephus or no, is inserted with his full approbation, and that the orations or discourses which he interweaves with his narrations are among the *λόγοι* of which he is willing to undertake the sole responsibility. (See Note A.)

^s *Antiq.*, xiv. 1, § 1.

^t *Vit.*, § 29.

certain admiration of finesse and clever trickery may be traced throughout these memoirs. The transactions which the writer relates with most pleasure are those which displayed his skill in out-manceuvring others—a useful accomplishment, no doubt—but still one not generally very far removed from artifice and deception. We wish we could think that the deception of hypocrisy was wholly alien to Josephus's character. He was capable of accommodating his professed religious sentiments to the exigencies of a particular emergency; nay, not incapable, we fear, of putting a pious gloss on acts of ordinary prudence. We confess ourselves uncharitable enough thus to interpret the account which he gives us of his surrender to Vespasian, in which he would have us believe that he was rather following a sense of religious duty than obeying the law of the stronger.^a We can also attach but little credit to his recitals of the divine communications he received in dreams and of his other religious experiences. A reader would suppose from some of these that his life was not less an object of special divine interposition than that of the apostle Paul, and that, like him, he was a chosen minister to convey the messages of heaven to others.^b

It is not only right, but absolutely necessary, that we should bear these characteristics of our author in mind, when we come to estimate his value as a source of information supplementary to the Scriptures. No one can wish to depreciate the authority of a writer who is almost our only guide for the history of the Jews during some centuries; but after the indisputable instances of his bad faith above given, we should only discover our own indifference to truth, were we to accept his single testimony as sufficient evidence: we might have said also, after the proofs given of his easy credence. A writer, who can forsake the plain path of Scripture narrative to introduce legendary stories, cannot be expected to be very cautious in the admission of such stories, where not checked by Scripture. Some very Apocryphal matter accordingly will be found in that portion of his *Antiquities* which embraces the interval between the Testaments, a few instances of which we subjoin.

§ 1.

The account which Josephus gives us of the transactions

^a Επειδή τὸ Ἰουδαῖον, ἔφη, φῶλον ὑκλασαι δοκεῖ σοι τῷ κτισάντι, μετέβη δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ τύχη πᾶσα καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐπελέξω τὰ μέλλοντα εἰπεῖν, δίδωμι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς χεῖρας ἐκῶν καὶ (ὡς μαρτύρομαι δὲ ὡς οὐ προδότης ἀλλὰ σὸς ἀπειμι διάκονος.—*Bell.* iii. 8, § 3.

^b Compare particularly his account of a dream which he had in Galilee (*Vit.*, § 42) with the apostle's account of a like vision to himself when he was on his voyage to Rome (*Acts* xxvii. 23); also the phraseology of the preceding note with that of *Acts* xxvi. 16.

between

between Alexander the Great and his countrymen savours more than we like of a fondness for the marvellous. We content ourselves here with transcribing the brief notice of this account which we find in Kitto's *Cyclopædia*.¹ 'It is said by Josephus, that when the dominion [of the Syrian provinces] passed from the Persians to the Greeks, Alexander the Great advanced against Jerusalem to punish it for the fidelity to the Persians, which it had manifested while he was engaged in the siege of Tyre. His hostile purposes were, however, averted by the appearance of the high priest, Jaddua, at the head of a train of priests in their sacred vestments. Alexander recognised in him the figure which, in a dream, had encouraged him to undertake the conquest of Asia. He, therefore, treated him with respect and reverence, spared the city against which his wrath had been kindled, and granted to the Jews high and important privileges. The historian adds, that the high priest failed not to apprise the conqueror of those prophecies in Daniel by which his successes had been predicted.' Thus far Kitto, with whom we fully agree in regarding it as a suspicious circumstance, and detracting much from the credibility of the story, that no mention of this visit to Jerusalem occurs in either of the classical historians. It does not diminish this improbability that a like silence is observed respecting it in the books of the Maccabees, and that no commemorative allusion to it is found in any inspired book.² As it regards the internal probability of the account, we cannot but think that the high priest's knowledge of the predictions in Daniel might have superseded the necessity alike of the procession and of the difficulty which occasioned it.

§ 2.

It is now pretty generally agreed that the account, which our author repeats from Aristeus, of the preparation of the Septuagint version under Ptolemy Philadelphus, is, to a large extent, legendary. It is vitiated by the same fondness for the marvellous which we have remarked on in the preceding article.

§ 3.

We have a notable specimen of the carelessness of our author in the use of his authorities in the account which he gives us of some transactions between his countrymen and a celebrated Grecian state. The twelfth and thirteenth books of his *Antiquities* contain a correspondence which they allege to have passed between the Jews and the Lacedæmonians. The purport of this corre-

¹ *Cyclopædia*, art. 'Jerusalem,' vol. ii. pp. 92, 93.

² Such, for instance, as the eleventh of Hebrews contains to the exploits of the Maccabees, the persecutions which occasioned them, and other traditional memorabilia.

spondence is to prove the national affinity of the two people; in short, that Abraham was the true ancestor of the Lacedemonians! Our author first inserts^a a letter received, as he states, by the Jewish high priest Onias from Areus, the King of Lacedemon, in which the latter makes overtures of friendship to the former, and speaks of certain documents which he has lighted on which prove the common lineage of both people. In the following book^b we have the answer of the Jews to this singular epistle. The date of the answer is the high-priesthood of Jonathan the Maccabean, *i. e.* upwards of twenty years from the receipt of the original letter, as a reason for which delay it is politely hinted, that, to have taken the subject up while the political troubles of the Jews continued, might have been inconvenient to their correspondents.^c The claim of national affinity made is, however, recognised, and the wish expressed for mutual intercourse and good offices reciprocated. Now we have, besides the professed copies of these letters in Josephus, like copies also in the First Book of the Maccabees,^d and a comparison of the documents in the two authors leads to results somewhat embarrassing. It is observable that although each author professes to give an exact transcript (*ἀντίγραφον*) of the originals, only a general similarity obtains between their respective copies. Not a single sentence in the two copies of either letter is the same. Nor is the difference solely in the words and phrases employed, in distinction from the contents. The names of the Lacedemonian king in the two copies are different. Sentiments occur in the Josephian copy which are not found in the Maccabean, and others again in the latter which do not appear in the former. In Josephus the letter from Lacedemon has a sort of subscript attesting its genuineness, nothing of which kind is preserved in the copy of the Maccabees. Now what are we to think of additions and omissions of this nature? It being impossible that both of the professed copies should be genuine, which are we to accept as the authentic one? The argument from antiquity is of course in favour of the Maccabean;^e from the books of the

^a See *Antiq.*, xii. 4, § 10.

^b *Ibid.*, xiii. 5, § 8.

^c Πολλῶν δὲ ἡμᾶς πολέμων περιστάντων, οὐδ' ὅμιν οὐτ' ἄλλοις τῶν προσηκόντων ἡμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐκρίναμεν.

^d See 1 Macc. xii. 6-24.

^e Notwithstanding the respectful terms in which competent critics speak of the first book of the Maccabees we cannot but regard the whole of this correspondence as a clumsy fabrication. The chronological difficulties in the way of its genuineness have not, we think, been fully canvassed by those who still receive and quote it. The Onias referred to flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, or, at the earliest, of Ptolemy Philopator (see *Ant.*, xii. 4, § 11). Now the only Areus of Lacedemon who could correspond with a foreign prince died in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and full forty years before Philopator's accession! We confess the whole idea of a community of national origin between the Lacedemonians and the Jews appears to us too ludicrous to deserve serious attention.

Maccabees,

Maccabees, Josephus, it is probable, drew the whole of this part of his narrative, and no alternative remains, therefore, but to believe that he has either given his *exact copies* from memory, or that he has altered and corrupted them to suit his taste.

§ 4.

We spoke of celebrated Grecian states in the singular. In the fourteenth book of the Antiquities we have, however, a documentary record of a transaction, not altogether unlike the preceding, with another such state. This is a professed copy of a decree of the Athenians, made in the archonship of Agathocles, and under the presidency of Dionysius the Asclepiad. The purport of this decree is to honour Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest, with a golden crown, both on account of his other virtues and merits, and more especially on account of the hospitality and friendly attention he had shown to Athenians visiting Judea. It is directed that this decree shall be published in the theatre at the Dionysian festival, when the new tragedies are introduced, and also at the festivals of the Panathenæa and Eleusinia. It is further ordered that a statue of the said Hyrcanus be set up in the sacred enclosure of the Demus and the Graces. The decree is said to have been made in the high-priesthood of Dorotheus, who, Josephus says, put it to the vote.^f A statue to a Jewish high-priest in the most classical of Grecian cities, and of a high-priest whose political imbecility was as notorious as that of our own Richard Cromwell! We are not scholars enough to disprove the authenticity of the above document; but with the knowledge we have of the perverted ambition of our author, of his wish to give to his countrymen a sort of cosmopolitan celebrity, we confess it leaves on our minds an impression much more of the ingenuity of the inventor than of the fidelity of the historian. We observe that, in books of classical antiquities, no other authority is quoted either for the fact of there being a high-priest at Athens, or for the continuance of the competitions of tragedies till that time.

It may seem scarcely consistent with the exceptions thus taken to the trustworthiness of Josephus as an author, to attribute any worth to the historical compositions which he has left us; but we must remember that the least veracious speak truth more frequently than falsehood. Not only is the former naturally more agreeable to the human mind, it is also less laborious, involving less strenuous effort of the mental faculties. Few witnesses will swerve from the truth if they have nothing to gain by the deviation, and there are accordingly few in whose testimony we should

^f See *Antiq.*, xiv. 8, § 5.

not repose confidence under such circumstances. We may apply a like canon to writers as to speakers. Little hazard will be run in accepting their testimony when no sinister bias can be imagined at work to warp or to distort it; we must presume that they will not wilfully mislead us without a motive. This is the extent of the confidence which is due to Josephus. We see no necessity for disputing such of the facts which he hands down to us as have internal probability in their favour; but, happily for the more important of these, we have also external corroborative evidence, so that we simply avail ourselves of his labours to fill up outlines already sketched. We will quote a couple of instances in which the substantial authenticity of his statements is confirmed by New Testament allusions.

§ 1.

The inhabitants of the Samaritan city Shechem speak of their fathers as having worshipped on a neighbouring mountain (see John iv. 20). Now this mountain was Gerizim (see Judges ix. 7), and Josephus explains to us under what circumstances it became a rival religious locality to Mount Zion. About the time of the last Persian monarch, Darius, one Manasseh, the brother of the Jewish high-priest, had contracted a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the Samaritan governor, Sanballat. This alliance was extremely obnoxious to the Jewish people, who refused to allow Manasseh to exercise any of his priestly functions; and to prevent his breaking off the connection entirely, Sanballat was obliged to promise him that he would provide him with the means of discharging those functions elsewhere. Accordingly he obtained permission from Alexander to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim, and got his son-in-law appointed to the high-priesthood of it. He also induced many Jews who had broken the laws of their country either by similar alliances, or in other ways, to give it their countenance.* Josephus states that, 'if any Jew had incurred defilement from forbidden meats, or had violated the Sabbath, or had committed any like trespass, he fled to this temple.'^h The rival worship thus established continued till the time of Hyrcanus the first, who destroyed the temple after it had subsisted two hundred years. We see at once why the Samaritans, in our Lord's time, should have spoken of the worship there as a past occurrence.

§ 2.

In the first year of our Lord's ministry, the Jews at Jeru-

* See *Antiq.* xi. 8, § 2-7.

^h Εἰ δὲ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφύλιας, ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς σαββά- τοις παρανομίας, ἢ τινος ἄλλου τοιοῦτου ἁμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγε.—*Id.*, § 7.

saalem remind him that the temple in which he was standing had been forty-six years in erection (see John ii. 20). No chronological computations seem able to make these numbers square with the edifice reared by Zerubbabel, which, as we learn from Ezra, being commenced in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, was completed in the sixth year of the first Darius (see Ezra i. 1—vi. 15), an interval not amounting, on the most liberal allowance, to the period above mentioned. Dr. Campbell accounts for the difference, by alleging the habit of exaggeration to which the Jews were accustomed; but it is not likely that they would indulge this tendency on such an occasion. Out of the difficulty thus accruing Josephus helps us.¹ He informs us that Herod commenced the re-erection of the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, and that he reigned thirty-seven years.² The building proceeded after his decease; for, further on, Josephus tells us that it was only completed under the presidency of Albinus, *i. e.*, a few years before the destruction of the city.³ Now we have only to suppose with Olshausen,⁴ that at the time the words of the Jews were spoken some principal portion of the temple had just been finished, and we arrive with sufficient exactness at the forty-six years.

We are indebted to Josephus almost exclusively for our knowledge of the changes and successions in the Jewish high-priesthood, of the circumstances under which Jewish sovereignty was resumed, of the princes who enjoyed in succession this sovereignty, of the extensions or contractions of territory which took place under each prince, and of the steps by which the Romans finally acquired the supreme sway over the country. The contributions which he makes to our knowledge are more valuable, because more circumstantial, in proportion as he approaches to his own times. We have already had occasion to acknowledge the obligations we are under to him for information respecting Herod and the various branches of his house. This is probably felt by most readers to be the most interesting portion of his works. His descriptions of the points of weakness and points of strength in the character of Herod—the virulence of his suspicions, the warmth of his attachments—his severity to his subjects, his fidelity to his friends—the degree in which, like Wolsey, he was

‘Unsatisfied in getting, while in bestowing
He was most princely’—

¹ See *Antiq.*, xiii. 9, § 1.

² *Ibid.*, xv. 11, § 1; xvii. 8, § 1.

³ See *Antiq.*, xx. 9, § 7.

⁴ See Olshausen, *On the Gospels*, vol. iii. p. 381 (Clarke's Library).

his disregard of others' wills, his servitude to their opinions,—are all pictures taken closely from the life. Never probably was there a more impressive commentary furnished either on the evils of polygamy or the mischiefs of arbitrary rule than in our author's life of this prince. Our present business with such details is, however, simply as they complete the narratives of Scripture. Josephus is not less serviceable in the information with which he furnishes us respecting the parentage of Herod than we have found him to be (see pp. 298-300) in the accounts he gives us of his descendants.

The father of Herod, Josephus tells us, was one Antipater, a noble Idumean. He had been brought up at the Jewish court, and, on the disputes which arose between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, the two sons of the Jewish queen Alexandra, respecting the succession, took the part of the former, under whom he long held the chief direction of affairs. On account of the eminent services which at various times he rendered to the Romans, he was appointed by them at length to the procuratorship of Judea, which appointment he retained till his death.^o Now, although there is not the slightest allusion to Herod's ancestry in any part of the New Testament, we have an accidental confirmation of the above account in one of the geographical names which occurs. We refer, of course, to Antipatris (see Acts xxiii. 21), which suggests at once to every competent reader the fact of a relation to some public man of the name of Antipater. Joseph informs us that the place was an erection of Herod's, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and that it was so named by him in honour of his father.^p

Having mentioned Antipatris, we may notice that not the least service which Josephus renders to readers of the New Testament is the information which he supplies on geographical points. What we remarked on the native simplicity perceptible in the geographic terminology of the New Testament is, of course, to be understood only in a comparative sense. Even in the Gospels we meet with various names of places which betray marks of a foreign original. As specimens, it may suffice to quote the names of Tiberias, and of the two Cesareas. The very formation of these words suggests that the places must have arisen in some way out of foreign influence; that foreign princes or potentates have had in some way to do with them. Our historian turns these conjectures into certainties, and enables us to fill up the blanks our imaginations had created. Tiberias (which also gave its name to the lake adjoining) (see John vi. 1, 20) was an erection of Herod

^o See *Antiq.*, xiv. 1, § 3; 5, § 1, 2; 6, § 2, 4, 8. ^p *Ibid.*, xvi. 5, § 2.

Antipas,

Antipas, commonly called the Tetrarch, who so named it in compliment to the Emperor Tiberius.^a Cesarea Philippi (see Matt. xvi. 13) would almost explain itself had there been only one prince of the name of Philip belonging to that era. It is the same place which was formerly called Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, and was rebuilt by Philip the tetrarch (see Luke iii. 1), who altered its name to Cesarea, in honour of Augustus.^c The addition of *Philippi* to this name was a necessary affix to distinguish it from the other Cesarea which had been rebuilt on a scale of the utmost magnificence by the elder Herod about twenty years before. This place had been an inconsiderable town, called Strato's tower, on the northern sea-board of Palestine; and it took Herod more than ten years to effect the alterations and enlargements which he made in it. Besides the construction of theatres, temples, and other public edifices, he so improved and enlarged its harbour (lavishing vast sums on its decoration alone), that it became thenceforward the chief port of embarkation for Palestine.^d These pieces of information are the more acceptable to us because they come up incidentally only in our author's history. Respecting other places, such as Ptolemais, in regard to which we both desiderate and look for like particulars, he does not satisfy our curiosity.

Josephus supplies us with useful information concerning some of the distinguished females whose names occur in the New Testament. We read in the Acts, for instance (see ch. xxiv. 24—xxv. 13, 23), of a Drusilla and a Bernice, but have no account of the family relationship of either. It appears from our author that both were daughters of the elder Agrippa, who perished so miserably at Cesarea (see p. 301). Drusilla, who is termed a Jewess, was, it appears, not the lawful wife of Felix, but had been induced by him to quit a former husband, Azizus, king of Emesa.^e The knowledge of this circumstance must exalt our estimation of the apostle's fidelity in choosing such topics of discourse before his auditors, and may explain the pungency of Felix's emotions, while listening to him (see Acts xxiv. 25). Bernice was the elder sister of Drusilla, and sister therefore of the Agrippa with whom she visited Festus. She did not escape the imputation of even a worse species of incontinence than that chargeable on her sister.^f She was first married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis, afterwards to Polemo, king of Cilicia, and finally became the mistress of Titus at Rome, who was, however, forced eventually to repudiate her by the clamours of his subjects.^g

^a See *Antiq.*, xviii. 2, § 3.^b *Ibid.*, xviii. 2, § 1.^c *Ibid.*, xvi. 5, § 1.^d *Ibid.*, xix. 9, § 1; xx. 7, § 1, 2.^e *Ibid.*, xx. 7, § 3.^f See Tacit. *Hist.*, ii. § 81; Suet. *Tit.*, § 7.

As a final instance of the usefulness of Josephus in answering inquiries which the inspired narratives originate, we may mention his notices of the Jewish religious sects. No character is more strongly drawn in the Gospels and the Acts, though, it is probable, with little premeditated intention, than that of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees, especially of the former. We are all familiar, almost as if they were our own contemporaries, with the ostentatious piety of this party (see Matt. vi. 1 sq.), with their haughty self-esteem (Luke xviii. 9 sq.), with their attention to external punctilios (Matt. xxiii. 23; Mark vii. 2), with their reverence for tradition (Matt. xv. 1 sq.), with the value they set on popular veneration (Matt. xxiii. 6, 7), with their influence over the people and especially over the feebler sex (Matt. xxiii. 14; Acts v. 34), as well as with the superior soundness of their views regarding a future existence. (Acts xxiii. 6, 8.) Now we must remember that Josephus was himself a member of this sect, and not likely therefore to put prominently forward the unfavourable aspects either of their tenets or their practices, but it is singular that there is scarcely a shade or a touch in the above delineation which does not reappear in his descriptions. He traces back their rise as far as to the time of Jonathan Maccabæus,⁷ and gives various instances in his subsequent history of the ascendency which they acquired. With the doctrine of immortality he represents them as conjoining a partial belief in the transmigration of souls,⁸ an opinion of which there seems some indication in John ix. 2. He describes them moreover as living sparsely and indifferent to delicacies in diet,⁹ a species of moral attainment which we may easily believe from Luke xviii. 12, that they would, at least, affect the merit of. The warning and argument of Gamaliel (Acts v. 38, 39) may perhaps be considered also as marks of the modified fatalism which Josephus imputes to them.

It is obvious that the two preceding paragraphs, serving, as they do, to authenticate New Testament statements or intimations, might have been attached with as much propriety to a former part of this paper as to the present. The paragraphs which we devoted (see pp. 303, 304) to a transcription of details from our author relative to the siege of Jerusalem, might for a corresponding reason as properly have been transferred hither. If we regard the predictions of our Lord on the subject as but an anticipated history, these details will plainly be authentications of that history; if, on the other hand, we confine them to their rank as prophecies, the details will then form supplementary comment. It is more a matter of taste than of importance under which point of view we

⁷ See *Antiq.* xiii. 5, § 9. ⁸ See *Bell.* ii. 8, § 14. ⁹ See *Antiq.* xviii. 1, § 3.
choose

choose to consider them. Regarded in either light there can be, we should imagine, but one feeling as to the inestimable value of the historical remains of our author.

We have left ourselves no space to illustrate the importance of the writings of Josephus to the criticism of the New Testament, and hardly any to notice their importance to its philology. It is no exaggeration to characterise them as, in this latter respect, 'indispensable to the theological student.'^b It is not merely that the single words of New Testament Scripture occur with more frequency in Josephus than in any other author, he is almost equally serviceable in elucidating its turns of thought and expression. The following instances of such elucidation may serve as specimens of what we intend. They are doubtless to be found in collections of the kind already existing; but to provincial readers who, like ourselves, have alas! small means of access to such collections, their production may be interesting. They all occur in a single chapter of the Jewish war,^c and all in relation to Antipater, the son of Herod. (See p. 298.)

It would not be too much, says Josephus, to call Antipater 'a mystery of iniquity' (*κακίας μυστήριον*). With this compare the expressions of Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 7 (*μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας*), and of James, ch. iii. 6 (*ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας*).

In the same sentence Josephus says of Antipater, that 'by his flatteries he wrought every thing to his purpose.' His expression is 'πάντα κατεργάσατο,' the preposition in the verb importing, as we take it, the removal of impediments out of the way. Compare with this the identical expression of the Apostle (Eph. vi. 13) *καὶ ἅπαντα κατεργασάμενοι στήναι*, Englished by our translators somewhat too loosely, 'and having *done* all things, stand.' The phrase in Josephus seems to determine the Apostle's meaning to be 'having surmounted every difficulty.'

Josephus says, both of Antipater and his mother, in the next section, that they were 'all things' to Herod (*πάντα γὰρ Αντιπάτρος ἦν—πάντα ἦν ἡ Αντιπάτρου μήτηρ*). Compare with this the beautiful expression of the Apostle, Colos. iii. 11, 'Christ is all and in all' (*τα πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός*).

The boast which our author makes of having mastered the difficulties of the Greek tongue, pronunciation excepted, may, with trifling abatement,^d be allowed. He had undoubtedly acquired a very competent knowledge, both grammatical and lexical, of the language. He shows his proficiency in the latter by the

^b See Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography*, art. 'Josephus.'

^c See *Bell.*, i. 24, § 1, 2.

^d See *Ant.*, xx. 12, § 1, and note C., appended to this paper.

freedom which he uses in coining new compounds, many of which are by no means devoid of elegance. Such verbs as ἀποξενολογέω (*Ant.* xiii. 16, § 2), ἐκδυσσωπέω (*Ant.* xv. 4, § 1), ἀντεκκαίω (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 3), ἐναδημονίω (*Ant.* xv. 7, § 7), which we do not find in our own lexicons, nor recollect to have met with in any other author, seem really valuable additions to the Greek vocabulary. The chief defect, to our minds, in the style of Josephus, is its want of logical compactness. Many of his periods are cumbrously complex, and the opposition of clauses in them most unsymmetrical. Thucydides is apparently the model on which he has most formed his own composition; but unhappily he attempts the profundity and condensation of this author without a like store of philosophy to draw from. It is a very common fault with him to group objective and subjective members of a sentence together. Sometimes he will unite, as homogeneous members, a cause and an effect; at other times will represent as alternative contingencies what are really identical. These are, however, defects which it would be difficult to make intelligible without examples, and which detract rather from the concinnity of his style than from its perspicuity. It is an advantage which we have for the latter end that in his different writings he not unfrequently goes over the same ground, so that we obtain light from one of his versions of an occurrence* to remove the ambiguities of another.

We herewith take our leave of our author. Of the two principal treatises which we have had under review our readers will easily gather from our strictures that we attach a far less value to the 'Antiquities' than to the 'War.' The latter history was concerned chiefly with political occurrences, a subject in which Josephus was at home; much of the former was history of religion and of religious progress, a theme to do justice to which he wanted, we fear, the prime qualification—that *of being a religious man*.

O P

NOTE A.

* Only one volume of this work, as far as we are aware, has yet made its appearance. This volume embraces a preface of twelve pages, sixty-four pages of what the author calls 'explanatory essays,' upwards of thirty 'pictorial illustrations,' chiefly topographical; a dissertation 'on the personal character and credibility of

* A comparison of these accounts will often serve for a reply to those who object the discrepancies of our gospels. Quite as serious discrepancies will be found to exist between the 'War' and the 'Antiquities,' or the 'Life' and the 'War' in their statements of an occurrence as any which can be traced between the evangelist's adventures which he gives us in his 'Life' and in the 'War' respectively. Compare, *e. g.* *Vit.*, § 30, with *Bell.*, ii. 21, § 5, and *Vit.*, § 17, with *Bell.*, ii. 21, § 6.

Josephus,' extending to twenty-eight pages, with a translation of the 'Life' of the Jewish author, and the first two books of his 'Wars.' There will be but one opinion, we apprehend, as to the judgment, research, and ability with which the lamented author has executed this portion of his task. We consider the translation in particular a very masterly performance, faulty only (if faulty at all) in being too ornate and rhetorical. A less elaborate symmetry in the structure of the sentences would have approached nearer to the manner of the original. In faithful representation of the sense of the original, the translation leaves little to be desired. We have gone over the Preface to the *Wars* with a view to form a judgment on this point, and have noticed only the two following inaccuracies of any consequence.

In paragraph 4, where the phrase occurs τοῖς δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων λόγοις ἀνατίθεται ἡ διήγησις, Traill translates, 'introducing into the detail reflections on the events.' Now it is certain that διήγησις can by no possibility mean 'detail,' and Whiston has so far better caught the sense, whose rendering is 'Yet shall I suit my language to the passions I am under, as to the affairs I describe.' By combining the reflections of the one translator with the passions of the other, we shall perhaps arrive at the full meaning of the author. Josephus intends to say that while he had faithfully followed the track marked out by events in the narratory portion of his work, he had, in the reflections which he introduced, allowed scope to his feelings. In other words, he had drawn his narrations from *objective*, his reflections from *subjective* sources.

In the next paragraph Traill explains τὰ προἰστορημένα to mean 'events already recorded,' in this following his predecessor Whiston, who, however, on the authority of a dubious reading, gives quite an opposite turn to the sentence, by inserting in his rendering the adverb 'not.' There can be little doubt that both translators have here mistaken the meaning of the participle; misled, it is probable, purely from want of reflection, by the resemblance of the Greek and the English words. The primary meaning of ἱστορεῖν in Greek is to 'ascertain by inquiry,' from which the sense to 'write history,' i. e., 'to relate the results of such inquiry,' is only a secondary meaning. Here, accordingly, without question, the correct version would be 'events previously investigated or ascertained.'

It is a disappointment to the critical reader in passages like the above that he does not find at least a brief footnote. As we presume that a proportion of the notes promised in the title-page would be vindications of the version, we are at a loss to understand why none such appear in this volume.

NOTE B.

The fidelity of this translation is not greater than its elegance. We append a few instances in which Whiston appears entirely to have mistaken the sense—

Ant. xvi. 8, § 5. ὑπὸ τῶν χυρόνων κατακινούμενος, he translates 'as flattering himself with finding things in so bad a condition'

understanding χυρόνων to be the neuter comparative, and giving a middle voice meaning to κατακινούμενος.

We consider the more simple, and at the same time the more just construction of the words to be, 'being flattered by the worthless.' The flattery consisted in leading him to think that his severe treatment of his son was justifiable. The parallel expression in the 'War' seems to leave no doubt of the preferableness of this explanation. Josephus states the παραμυθία there to be the conviction that he had not acted with injustice (τὸ μὴ δοῦν ἄδίκως). (See *Belh.* i. 24, § 8.)

2.

xvi. 11, § 4. τὸ γὰρ προδοκούμενος πάθος ἐκείζουσιν πάντα ἰσχυροὺς ὡς αὐτοῦ λαλοῦν.

Here Whiston takes πάντα as a neuter and plural, and translates 'the expectation they were in of so great an affliction, put a force upon them to speak of Tero whatsoever they pleased.'

It is difficult to see how the licence of expression thus assumed with regard to Tero can consist with the kindly feeling which just before is said to have been entertained

entertained towards him. We are not sure indeed that we understand Whiston's meaning in the phrase, and are doubtful whether he did himself.

The sentiment expressed by Josephus in the passage is not clear; but we consider it to be, that 'so afflictive an event as that expected would have led every one (if not restrained by considerations of personal safety) to express his mind freely.' We think ourselves justified in introducing the parenthetical clause we have, both from the preceding context and from the parallel expression in the 'Wars' (see i. 27, § 4), *οὐδὲ ἴσα μὴ φιλομένῳ τοῦ ζῆν ὑπογίγναι τὸ πάθος*. It seems to us that the use of the imperfect tense (*ἰσαζέτω*), rather denotes a powerful impulse felt than an actual constraint. We submit these strictures, however, with diffidence, confident only of one thing that Whiston's version cannot be a correct one, and that *εἰς* should be constructed with *δορυκαῖον* in the singular.

3.

A strange instance of Whiston's negligence is found in his translation of the passage:

Ant. xvii. 1, § 2. 'Ἀρχιλάου συλλαφεμένου τοῖς θυγατρῶν βασιλῆος ἀδελφῆς, καὶ Φερόρας τῇ αὐτῇ λαφεμένου τὴν θυγατέρα τετραρχῆς ἢ καὶ οὗτος ἦν.

This he renders 'Archelaus, a king, would support his daughter's sons, and Pheroras, a tetrarch, would accept of one of the daughters as a wife to his son.' Now only three sentences before Josephus had stated that 'it was a daughter of Pheroras who was to marry one of Alexander's sons,' not a son who was betrothed to one of his daughters—indeed it would appear that Alexander had no daughters. Into this strange negligence Whiston was evidently led by taking *Φερόρου* like *Ἀρχιλάου* for an absolute genitive instead of construing it in regimen with *θυγατέρα*. The true sense of the passage is as follows:—

'Archelaus would, no doubt, support his daughter's sons (and that effectively), being a king himself, and being about to receive as a wife to one of the sons (τῇ υἱῇ) a daughter of Pheroras, himself a tetrarch.'

The idea is plain. Alexander's children, as they grew up, would have a double resource. They might reckon on the support of their grandfather, who was a king, and his care of their interests would be backed by the whole power of Pheroras.

4.

Whiston is equally unfortunate in his translation of the next sentence.

Ἐσθλύνει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἰδὼν μὴ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὀρφανοὺς χερόμενον, μίσην δὲ τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ πάντα ἔκαγαγὼν οὐκ ἀπαλλαγμένοι κακουργίας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Here Whiston appears to consider the *τὸ* as in concord with the *ἔκαγαγὼν*, and refers the *ἀπαλλαγμένοι*, as if the neuter participle, to the *πᾶν πλῆθος*. His version is as follows:—

'What provoked him also was this, that all the multitude would so commiserate these fatherless children, and so hate him for making them fatherless, that all would come out since they were no strangers to his ill-disposition towards his brethren.'

Surely the meaning of the writer is more to the following effect:—

'He was further urged by the compassion the people bore the orphans, and their hatred to himself, to give practical expression to his jealousies, for his former malignity towards his brothers had not abated.'

Notwithstanding Antipater's foresight of the obstruction which the projected marriages would cause to his ambitious plans, he would yet, the writer intimates, have dissembled his uneasiness, had not the popular odium irritated him into action.

5.

One more example from the same book may suffice:—

Ant. xvii. 3. § 3. *Οὐ μὴν Ἡρώδης, ὡς μμαίνεται τὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνου γινώμην προσηρημένος ἢ ἐχμ,* in which passage Whiston strangely supposes the reference of *ἐκείνου* to be to Herod, and by making *γινώμην* the object of *προσηρημένος* leaves *μμαίνεται* without any regimen. He thus translates:

'Yet

'Yet did not Herod so retain his hatred to Pheroras; but remitted of his purpose not to see him which he before had, and that for such great causes as have been already mentioned.'

We render as follows:—

However, Herod did not imitate Pheroras in the disposition (*i. e. in the resentment*) which he thus discovered, having altered the previous opinion which he had of him.*

NOTE C.

The chief solecism which we have discovered in his Greek is his use of the participle with the article instead of the infinitive, of which we have continual examples in the *Antiquities*, *e. g.*

xvii. 9, § 6. — *ταῖς αὐταῖς ἵται βουλὴ τοῦ θειοῦτος* (ν. *θεμῆν*) *eis ἄλλα συγγινῆ*.

xvii. 12, § 2. — *ἐν μὲν τοῖς περιελισσάμενοι τοῦ μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἑμὶ ἀπάτη χρησαμένον* (ν. *χρησάμενον*).

xviii. 3, § 4. — *πυλῶνται πανταίως ἐπὶ τῇ λαβόμενῃ* (ν. *λήψιμα*) *τὴν ἀνδροπύην*.

xviii. 6, § 2. — *ἐν περιτοῖς τοῦ μεταστέλλοντος* (ν. *μεταστήσειν*) *αὐτοῖς*.

But it is remarkable that scarcely an instance of this anomaly occurs in his *War*. A few other cases of peculiarity in his diction or construction may perhaps interest some of our readers.

(1.) The verb *ἀπαλλάσσειν* is of frequent occurrence in his *Antiquities* in the sense of *to cease* or *leave off*, particularly in the form of the participle *ἀπαλλαγμένος* (see Exam. 4 in Note B, also *Ant.*, xvii. 2, § 4; 3, § 1; 11, § 2). This latter participle he elsewhere uses with much of the force of an adjective (see *Ant.*, xvii. 6, § 4; xix. 3, § 1).

(2.) A very favourite construction with him is to use the verb *ἀνακρίναι* with the preposition *eis* following, by way of signifying the *direct tendency* or *certain issue* of an action. This combination occurs especially in the formula *ἀνακρίναι eis ὁδόν*, or, *eis τὸ θανάτῳ* (see *Ant.*, xvii. 6, § 2; xviii. 6, § 10; 8, § 9). Like combinations are the formulae *ἀνακρίναι eis σωτηρίαν* and *eis ὄλεθρον* (*Ant.*, xviii. 9, § 4; xix. 3, § 1). It is not difficult to trace the fundamental idea which lies at the basis of these combinations, a good illustration of which may be seen in xviii. 3, § 4; but we have not ourselves met elsewhere with the derived phrase.

(3.) *Ἐκφραζέειν* followed by a dative, is frequent with our author in the sense of *to resolve on* (see *Ant.*, xvii. 5, § 6; xviii. 3, § 4; xix. 2, § 2). Classical usage, if we mistake not, gives this verb in the active the sense of *putting to the vote*.

(4.) Almost innumerable instances occur of the employment of *εὐχχάμενος* in the simple sense of *ἵμαι*. See two examples in one sentence in *Ant.*, xviii. 1, § 3. Other instances are, *Ant.*, viii. 3, § 3; xv. 11, § 3.

(5.) Our author joins the prepositional phrase *ἐπὶ τοιαύτοις*, or *ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ*, to a substantive, where an adjective in concord would be the more natural construction (see Exam. 5 in Note B, also *Ant.*, xix. 1, § 4; 2, § 4).

(6.) A very favourite adverbial formula with him is *ἐν τοῦ ἔξωτος*, in the sense of *presently* or *forthwith* (see *Ant.*, xviii. 3, § 1; 4, § 5; 6, § 5, 10; 8, § 4). Sometimes this formula is varied by the prepositions *ἀπὸ*, or *μετὰ*.

(7.) We have *ἀναίως* used with a genitive after it, just as *ἄξιος* would be (*Ant.*, xviii. 6, § 3).

(8.) A still more anomalous genitive is sometimes found expressive of 'the manner' (see *Con. Ap.*, 1, § 6).

J. T. G.

* A correspondent informs us that he has an English translation of Josephus by Drs. Thompson and Price, published in the year 1777, in two thick quarto volumes, which he considers much superior to that of Whiston.

**ON THE HYPOTHESIS WHICH IDENTIFIES SILAS
WITH THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK OF ACTS.**

In a work entitled, *The Literary History of the New Testament*, published a year or two ago, the opinion is advanced, 'that the same internal evidence upon which the authorship of the Book of Acts has been ascribed to Luke, enables us to identify Luke with Silas or Silvanus, St. Paul's chosen companion after his separation from Barnabas.' The Author was not aware at the time, that he had been anticipated in this conjecture or hypothesis by any preceding writer; but, in Dr. S. Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii., 'the hypothesis which identifies Luke with Silas,' is cursorily noticed as having been embraced by 'one or two recent writers, among whom is Hennell, the deistical author.' No other writer is named, the learned Doctor forbearing, perhaps, to put the author of the *Literary History* in such bad company. Hennell's work, which I had not seen, appeared in 1838.* He contents himself with very briefly indicating his opinion, that Luke and Silas probably designate the same individual; and though he does not seem to put it forth as an original suggestion, he makes no reference to any preceding writer as having held the same hypothesis. The opinion, that Silas was the writer of the memoirs of which the latter part of the Book of Acts consists, is referred to by Dr. Davidson as having been 'recently adopted and defended by Schwanbeck,' and also as favoured by De Wette. Instead, however, of regarding Silas and Luke as the same person, Schwanbeck supposes that 'the editor of the Book of Acts' only availed himself of the account furnished by Silas, and made some alterations in it. This notion does not appear to differ very widely from the supposition adopted by Dr. Davidson himself, with regard to the earlier portion of the narrative, that the historian made use of written documents. He nevertheless 'gladly dismisses it,' with the remark, that not a single proof is adduced in its favour. Yet, the reason for such an opinion may deserve notice. It is grounded upon the conclusion, that the language employed in some portions of the sacred narrative can have proceeded from no other than Silas; and if Silas was not the writer of the Book of Acts, this hypothesis, intended to meet a real difficulty, in a case which admits only of a probable conclusion, would seem to merit more considerate treatment.

* An Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity. By Charles C. Hennell. 8vo. London. The second edition bears date 1841.

In Dr. Eadie's *Biblical Cyclopædia* (1849), under the article 'Luke,' the supposition that the evangelist was the same with Silas, is noticed at considerable length, as having been maintained by 'a recent writer in his *Literary History of the New Testament*;' and it affords a curious instance of the slender grounds upon which critics of undoubted learning are sometimes found to base their most assured conclusions, that, while apparently anxious to prove 'the theorist mistaken in identifying Lucas with Silas,' the writer of this article adopts as more probable the fanciful notion, that Silas is the same person as Tertius, mentioned Rom. xvi. 22; alleging, that 'Silas and Tertius have in their respective tongues the same signification.' Although this etymological discovery has the learned sanction of Lightfoot, it will not bear examination. Between the Hebrew 'Shalishee,' third, and the Greek appellative Σίλας, there is no plausible resemblance. In the Syriac Version, the name appears in the form of *Shilo*, which would admit of no other probable derivation in that language, than from the verb *Shi lo*, to cease or rest. The Arabic Translator spells the name *Sila*, which, as a learned friend suggests, might in like manner be derived from the corresponding verb, *Sala*, to rest. But the notion, that Silas was a Syriac name, of which Silvanus was the Romanised form, is alike improbable and gratuitous. The writer in the *Cyclopædia* asserts, indeed, that Lucanus is 'only the Grecised form of the Syriac Lucas, as Sylvanus is merely the Grecised form of Silas.' This is a mere dictum: nor is there the slightest reason to regard Lucas as a Syriac appellative. That Silas and Silvanus denote the same person, is not doubted; and these must therefore be regarded as varied forms of the same name, like Apollos and Apollonius, Epaphras and Epaphroditus, Artemas and Artemonius, Prisca and Priscilla. In each of these instances, the shorter appellative appears to be a conventional contraction, not the original name. It is possible, indeed, that both Silvanus and Lucanus may have been Greek and Latin forms of a Jewish or Syriac appellative of identical import; as we have Peter and Cephas, Thomas and Didymus, Tabitha and Dorcas. The apparent derivation of Lucanus from *lucus*, and of Silvanus from *silva*, is, I find, noticed by Hennell; and the coincidence of meaning is too striking to be peremptorily set aside as undeserving of consideration. The correspondence in derivation and import between the two names, would not, indeed, prove that they belonged to the same individual; nor is it adduced as having, *à priori*, and by itself, much argumentative weight; but it deserves attention as giving some additional probability to an hypothesis resting upon other arguments, that the two names were borne by the same person; and
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the correspondence is certainly more apparent than that between Silas and Tertius, or between Lucas and Lucina.

The Rev. T. R. Birks, in his *Horæ Apostolicæ*, supplementary to Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, has also referred to the hypothesis 'lately started by an able and ingenious writer (*Lit. Hist. New Test.*), that Silas and Luke are only two names of the same person,' and assigns what he deems decisive reasons for rejecting 'the novel theory.' In common, however, with all who have hitherto undertaken to prove it to be erroneous, he has neither fairly stated the argument nor met the real question. It forms no solid objection to an hypothesis, that it is not free from difficulties. Let it, however, be borne in mind, that the only position which is thought to be established by internal evidence, is, that Silas was the writer of the Book of Acts. But, as the 'former treatise' referred to by the historian, is certainly the Gospel which tradition ascribes to the Evangelist Luke, it is in order to reconcile the induction from internal evidence with the tradition, that the hypothesis has been proposed, which identifies the Evangelist with Silas, the chosen colleague of St. Paul. Let me be allowed, then, in the first place, briefly to state the positive argument.

The Book of Acts appears to have been composed about two and thirty years after Our Lord's ascension, with an account of which it opens; terminating abruptly in the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome. The narrative naturally divides itself into three parts; the first embracing the period from the Pentecost of A.D. 30, to the first persecution, A.D. 37; the second, from the Conversion of Saul to the Council of Jerusalem, A.D. 50; the third, from the union of Paul and Silas, A.D. 51, to their arrival at Rome, A.D. 61. Throughout the first and second portions, the historian never employs the first person, or speaks as an eye-witness of the transactions. Yet, in the earlier chapters, in which a peculiar prominence is given to the Apostle Peter, the precise information is such as must have been obtained by some one resident at Jerusalem, and in close connection with the Apostles. The first twelve chapters, indeed, may be said to be occupied chiefly with the acts and discourses of Peter; and the scene is always either Jerusalem or some part of Judæa, with the exception of Saul's memorable journey to Damascus. After the council held to consider of the questions submitted to the Apostles by the Church at Antioch, Paul and Barnabas were, on their return, attended by two chosen men of the Apostolic company, namely, Judas Bar Sabas and Silas; and the latter was subsequently chosen by Paul as his colleague in his Apostolic mission, when he separated from Barnabas, who had insisted upon taking with them his nephew, John Mark. From this point in the narrative, the actions

actions and adventures of St. Paul are brought before us with much greater distinctness and minuteness, while those of the other Apostles are lost sight of; and thus, the historian, who appears in the first part of the Acts as the biographer of Peter, henceforth seems to stand in the same relation to Paul. The supposition that he first became acquainted with the latter Apostle, or was first associated with him, at Troas, even were it more than a gratuitous conjecture, would leave unexplained these marked features of the historical narrative. Nor would the suggestion, that, in the former portions of the book, the historian made use of written documents, furnish any explanation of this peculiarity, that it is only the speeches and discourses of St. Peter that are thus minutely recorded. Besides, who so likely to have committed these to writing at the time, as the historian himself, who in that case must have stood in intimate relation to that Apostle? If, indeed, as Dr. Davidson assumes, 'Luke had no written sources in the second part of his history,' there can be no necessity for supposing that he had written sources for the first part, unless it were his own notes. Credner's supposition, that Luke got by far the greater part of the information contained in the first twelve chapters from John Mark, though treated by Dr. Davidson as 'improbable,' would be the most natural and satisfactory explanation, were it not obvious, that one who was familiar with John Mark, must also have been personally acquainted with Peter, as belonging to the same Apostolic company.

Now, in the First Epistle of Peter, two of his associates are mentioned, and only two; namely, Silvanus, a 'faithful brother,' and 'Marcus, my son.' Both of them must have been with St. Peter when he wrote that Epistle, which was sent from Babylon or Seleucia (as I conclude) about A.D. 48; and we must suppose them to have accompanied him thither. After being miraculously delivered out of the hand of Herod (A.D. 43), Peter, to evade the rage of the tyrant, had quitted Jerusalem; and although he may have returned in the interim, we find him in A.D. 48 at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11), probably on his return from more distant parts. John Mark had accompanied his uncle Barnabas and Paul on their return from Jerusalem to Antioch, and had afterwards attended them on their mission (A.D. 45) as far as Perga, in Pamphylia, whence, for some unexplained reason, he returned to Jerusalem. But, as we find him at Antioch, after the Council of Jerusalem, in A.D. 50, there is nothing to forbid the supposition that he had been associated with Peter in his visit to the Jews of Babylonia in the interval. Silvanus, or Silas, if sent forth on his mission to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus and the other provinces of the Peninsula in 48, might have returned to Jerusalem by

by the time that we find him there, together with Peter and the other Apostles, in A.D. 50. Having been chosen, with Judas Bar Sabas, to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, it pleased Silas to remain there till he set out with Paul on his second Apostolic circuit; and thenceforward we find him associated in the narrative with that Apostle.

In this arrangement of the brief indications to be gathered respecting Silas, we have all that is required as an explanation of that marked feature of the history; that the writer of the former part appears as the companion, or at least as the biographer of Peter, and, in the latter part, as the colleague of Paul. We find him, moreover, both in the Epistle of Peter and in the Acts, associated with John Mark, 'sister's son to Barnabas,' and the adopted or spiritual son of Peter; so that any peculiar information which Mark could supply, Silvanus would have access to. And if John Mark was the same as Mark the Evangelist, (which is the opinion of Lightfoot, Wetstein, Lardner, Hug, and others,) who more likely to have committed to writing the remarkable transactions of the early days of the Church, than the Author of the second Gospel?

Every unbiassed reader of the first part of the Book of Acts must, however, receive the impression, that the historian is recording facts of which he was personally cognizant, and which he did not learn at second-hand. The fabulous and contradictory accounts of Luke the Evangelist, which make him to have been a Syrian or Greek, a native of Antioch, or of Philippi, or of Cyrene, or of Troas, and a Gentile convert or Hellenist, if any credit could be attached to them, would make against his being the author of the Book of Acts.

To possess the personal knowledge which the Historian displays, and to which he lays claim at the opening of the Gospels, he must have been a resident at Jerusalem, and one of the Apostolic company. Accordingly, it has been supposed that Luke was one of the Seventy. It has been observed, too, that the Author of the Gospel of Luke appears to have been in possession of some peculiar information that must have been derived immediately from the Mother of Our Lord herself, who resided at Jerusalem till, as it is said, to avoid the approaching catastrophe, she removed with the Apostle John to Ephesus—if, indeed, she survived so long. Everything forbids our supposing that the Gospel of the Apostolic Historian was the work of a mere compiler from written documents, a personal stranger to the memorable events which attended the foundation of the Christian Church, and occupying the subordinate position of an amanuensis, or a simple attendant upon St. Paul, who had joined him in the course of his Apostolic travels.

Tradition

Tradition has associated the Evangelist with Paul, and has even fabulously represented him to have written his Gospel under that Apostle's direction ; whereas he tells us himself, in the dedication to Theophilus, why he undertook it ; and it is certain, that he could not have derived any of the materials for his Gospel, or for the first part of the Acts, from Saul of Tarsus. Under the name of Lucas, he is mentioned only three times in the New Testament ; viz., Col. iv. 14 ; 2 Tim. iv. 11 ; and Philemon 24 (three of the Pauline Epistles written from Rome). But, whether ' Luke the beloved physician ' is the same as Luke the Evangelist, is regarded by Calvin as doubtful. In the Epistle to Philemon, however, we find both Marcus and Lucas mentioned as the Apostle's fellow-labourers ; while Silas is never once referred to under that name. We have thus to find a reason, if Silas and Lucas were not the same, both for the total absence of any reference to Luke in the history, and for the equally inexplicable silence respecting Silas in the Epistles in which Luke is mentioned. In the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, we find St. Paul associating both Silvanus and Timotheus with himself in the opening salutation ; and in the first chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, Silvanus, though not included in the salutation, (probably as not being with the Apostle at the time of writing it,) is mentioned at v. 19 as his colleague—' who was preached among you by me, and Silvanus, and Timotheus.' Silvanus is also plainly designated at ch. viii. 17, as ' the brother whose praise is in the gospel in all the churches, who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us.' This could apply only to either Barnabas or Silas ; and the former cannot be here intended. It is remarkable, that the subscription to this Epistle (although these ancient notes, being sometimes palpably erroneous, cannot be depended upon) states the Second Epistle to the Corinthians to have been ' written from Philippi by Titus and *Lucas*.' It was, in fact, transmitted by Titus and *Silas*, in the autumn of 57 ; and they were joined by the Apostle himself at Corinth, towards the close of the same year. (Acts xx. 3.) On leaving Greece for Syria, ' there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea, and, of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus ; Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus ; and, of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. These going before,' says the historian, ' *tarried for us* at Troas.' Now, in this enumeration, is it likely that Silas should have been omitted, had he not been the writer ? Or can any other than Silas (Timotheus being named) be plausibly supposed to be connected with Paul by the plural pronoun, unless it were Titus ? It seems to me quite incredible, that the historian should have adopted this form of expression, instead of saying—' *tarried for Paul* at Troas,' had he not stood in the relation to the
Apostle

Apostle of a principal colleague. It may indeed be said, that Silas is not named because he had previously left the Apostle. This is on every account improbable.

No such explanation can apply, at all events, to a previous instance of the use of the first person plural by the historian, in which, notwithstanding all the attempts that have been made to evade or weaken the force of the argument, it seems to me irrational to suppose that Silas was not at least *included*. In the 'Literary History of the New Testament,' the argument is thus stated:—

'In this same journey, St. Paul was first accompanied by the writer of the Acts; and at ver. 10 (of ch. xvi.), the historian first associates himself with the Apostle, not simply as his companion, but *as his colleague in preaching the Gospel*. "After he had seen the vision, we immediately endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the Gospel unto them." The vision appeared to Paul at Troas; and, accordingly, it has been assumed, that he was there joined by the writer of the history; but there is nothing to warrant the supposition. On the contrary, the altered determination to go into Macedonia, bears a relation to the previous purpose to go into Bithynia, *before* arriving at Troas; which must be understood of the same parties. Besides, if the writer had attached himself to Paul at Troas, *this would not have justified his speaking of himself as Divinely called to preach the Gospel*. The only individuals to whom this language could apply, were Paul and Silas, who had been specially "recommended by the brethren to the grace of God," on setting out from Antioch, and Timothy, who was added to them at Lystra. Accordingly, in the Epistles to the Macedonian Christians, Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus are associated in the opening salutation as having together preached the Gospel to them; and it is scarcely to be supposed that the writer of the Acts, who speaks of himself as called to preach the Gospel to these same Macedonians, would have been omitted in the salutation, had he been a different person from Silvanus or Silas. In the subsequent narrative, Paul and Silas are alike spoken of in the third person, conformably to the general practice of the sacred writers, both of the Old and the New Testament, in speaking of themselves. Yet, in the midst of the recital, we meet with an incidental transition to the use of the first person: "As we went to prayer;" and, "The same followed Paul *and us*;" which must be understood of Silas and Timotheus; otherwise the writer would assuredly have said, "Paul and Silas."—pp. 57, 58.

The manner in which Dr. Davidson endeavours to dispose of this argument, is scarcely worthy of his literary reputation. 'It is,' he says, 'inexplicable how the author could change the third and first persons as he does on this hypothesis. . . . Here (in ver. 10), the first personal pronoun means Paul, Silas, and Timotheus; so that there is a sudden transition from the third to the first person, the individuals continuing the same.' That there

is this transition, is undeniable, apart from all hypothesis; nor is there the slightest difficulty in explaining it. The vision had appeared to Paul alone; and therefore, the writer says, 'After *he* had seen the vision.' But the interpretation of the vision concerned equally Paul himself and Silas his colleague; and certainly, they would confer upon its meaning. It is, therefore, added, '*We* immediately endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the Gospel to *them*.' However 'arbitrary may appear the alternations of person' on the part of the sacred writer, they are found in the text; and the only question is, could any writer but Silas feel authorized to use this language, or even use it with truth? What they gathered from the vision was, not that Paul and Silas had been called to preach the Gospel, (for their Apostolic commission assuredly required no such confirmation,) but that, having been, by Divine intimation, forbidden to preach the word in Asia and Bithynia, they were to proceed to Macedonia. If Luke is the writer, and he is not to be identified with Silas, how comes it to pass, that we are not informed when *he* was Divinely called to the apostolic mission, or how the vision which appeared to Paul authorized him to assume that *he* was so commissioned? How are we to account for his suddenly, in this part of the narrative, speaking of himself as the Apostle's colleague in the mission? It is strange, that neither Dr. Davidson nor any writer who has noticed the theory or hypothesis which alone affords an explanation of the language, has attempted to account for its impropriety, on the supposition that a nameless narrator (for Luke is never named in the history) should therein have arrogated to himself an equality with the Apostle, such as is implied by the words, 'The Lord had called *us*.'^b Neither Timothy nor Titus would have felt entitled so to speak of himself; and yet, it were more reasonable to suppose that Timothy used the expression, than any one who is not even referred to as having been joined to the Apostolic missionaries. There remains the somewhat desperate expedient of supposing, with Schwanbeck, that the language is that of Silas, cited by Luke from some written memoir, and that the confusion in the use of the first and third persons, is chargeable upon the editor of the Silvanian document. This hypothesis admits the difficulty, but only substitutes a greater in its room.

The conclusion, then, to which we are led, is not, primarily, that Silas is the same as Luke, but that Silas, or Silvanus, was the writer of the Book of Acts. What then are the objections

^b The writer in Eadie's *Dictionary* says, 'Luke seems never to have held any official public station, and so could not with propriety be associated with Silas and Timothy in the apostolic salutations.'

adduced in disproof of this conclusion? To all the considerations in support of this opinion, Dr. Davidson deems it a sufficient reply, that the words found in Acts xv. 22, 'render it most improbable that the writer should so speak of himself.' Mr. Bickersteth, Mr. Birks, and some others have insisted upon this same objection. Whether an assumed improbability of this kind can be allowed to weigh against the inductive evidence we have adduced on the opposite side, I might leave the reader to judge, without attempting to argue the point: but it may be proper to see how far the objection is sustained by scriptural usage. The words of the historian are, 'Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. . . . ἐκλεξαμένους ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι. . . . Ἰούδαν τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Βαρσαβαν καὶ Σίλαν, ἄνδρας ἡγούμενους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς'—'leading men among the brethren.' The historian gives this evidently as the reason why they were selected; and in stating this fact, why should he not have applied that designation to himself in common with his colleague? We read, Matt. ix. 9, that 'Jesus saw a man named Matthew sitting at the receipt of custom, and saith unto him, Follow me; and he arose and followed him.' Does any one doubt that the Evangelist is here speaking of himself? In the Gospel of John, we find the writer, in several passages, referring to one of the Apostles under the peculiarly honourable designation of 'The disciple whom Jesus loved.' Yet, no one questions that the Apostle John is here referred to, or that he was himself the writer of the Gospel. The same Evangelist has in one place used the first person plural: 'And we beheld His glory' (John i. 14). Again, the Book of Ezra was unquestionably written by the distinguished priest whose name it bears; yet, we find him thus spoken of in the third person: 'This Ezra was a ready scribe in the law of Moses.' (vii. 6.) Subsequently, the sacred narrator employs the first person plural; but, in chap. x., we find the third person again occurring:—'Now, when Ezra had prayed.' 'Then arose Ezra,' etc. With these and other instances which might be adduced,* in which the sacred writers speak of themselves in the third person, and that in honourable terms, though in a manner quite compatible with all the requirements of good taste and modesty, we have only to compare the mention made of Silas in the passage in question, in order to see that the alleged improbability is a groundless assumption. The same remark applies to the explanatory clause in ver. 32—'Judas and Silas, being prophets themselves.' We might, indeed, have expected that Silas, being so much more prominent in the history, if not of otherwise greater eminence, would have been named by

* It is unnecessary to refer specifically to Moses, Samuel, &c.

any third person before Judas ; but, if Silas was the writer, we see the reason why he puts himself second. Less could not have been said, under the circumstances, of the two deputies selected by the Apostles and brethren, than that they were leading men and gifted teachers, that being the reason they were chosen ; and it would be difficult to show how this could have been more simply or more modestly intimated. The undue stress laid upon this unsubstantial objection goes far to show, that the theory proposed is not assailable upon any solid ground. It is not easy to divine why it should have been captiously and fretfully quarrelled with.

The writer in Eadie's *Cyclopædia* raises some other difficulties, however, which I have no wish to evade. 'It is strange,' he remarks, 'if Silas were the author, that he gives us no account of his first journey with Paul. No mention is made of his progress, till, having gone through Syria and Cilicia, he came to Derbe and Lystra. The progress was continued through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and no record of the enterprise is left. Is not this a strange omission, if Silas were the author?' But, if Silas was *not* the author, in what respect would the omission be less strange? Could not Luke have learned the particulars of this journey from Paul or Timothy, as well as those of the previous mission of Paul and Barnabas? To call it an omission, is presumptuously to find fault with the sacred narrative as not containing all that it ought to have comprised. In the case referred to, however, the alleged omission is easily explained, since, as the ground had been travelled over before, we may reasonably suppose, that, with the exception of Paul's adopting Timothy at Lystra, no special circumstance requiring to be recorded had occurred. Again, it is urged by our objector, that Silas was absent from Paul during his visit to Athens, 'yet, of this visit we have a full narration, with a report of Paul's famous oration on Mars' Hill.' 'Strange mode of procedure,' it is remarked, 'if Silas were the author ; that he is silent, or at least *brief*, in reference to scenes in which Paul and he were the only associates, and so full and circumstantial as to other incidents, visits, and addresses when he himself was absent. Does this conduct resemble nature or probability?' This is strange criticism. The sacred historian is narrating the acts of St. Paul, referring only incidentally to those who were associated with him ; and, upon any supposition, the greater part of the facts detailed, must have been derived from other sources than the writer's actual and personal knowledge. The account of the first journey of Paul with Barnabas, is quite as full as the narrative of the journey of Paul and Silas into Macedonia, after their leaving Troas, where Luke is supposed to have

have first joined them. The speech of Paul at Mars' Hill, is not more fully 'reported' than the speech at Lystra. If Silas was not with Paul at Athens, what reason is there to suppose that Luke was? The Apostle appears to have been alone; for 'they that had conducted Paul, having brought him to Athens, departed.' It is easy to raise difficulties, by asking, who reported this discourse of Peter, or that oration of Paul; but we see no difficulty in supposing, that St. Paul, on being rejoined by Silas and Timotheus at Corinth, would give them an account of his visit to Athens,—an event in itself highly memorable,—and of the substance of his address at Areopagus. The last mention of Silas by name occurs, Acts xviii. 5—'When Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia' (to Corinth): this was A.D. 52.⁴ Their names appear together accordingly in the two Epistles written to the Macedonians of Thessalonica, from Corinth, after they had joined the Apostle. Paul sailed from Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla, and proceeded by way of Ephesus to Jerusalem. He returned by way of Antioch, through Galatia and Phrygia, to Ephesus, where he spent between two and three years. There, he appears to have been rejoined by Timothy, between the time of his writing the First and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians; and he is supposed to have remained at Ephesus from the autumn of A.D. 54, till the summer of 56 or 57. Although Silas is not mentioned in the history as having joined the Apostle at Ephesus, yet, we find from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, that he must have done so, since he is plainly referred to as having accompanied Titus to Corinth; which accounts for his not being associated with Timothy in the opening salutation. Paul subsequently 'came into Greece,' and may therefore be supposed to have rejoined Silas at Corinth some time in A.D. 57. Did he leave him there? 'We read afterwards of Timothy being associated with Paul,' remarks the objector, 'but no mention is made of Silas in the list, while Luke shows himself in the use of the first person plural.' Now, it is precisely because no mention is made of Silas in the list, that a presumption is afforded in favour of his being the writer who employs the first person plural. How Luke, as Luke, so shows himself, or how the writer shows himself to be Luke and not Silas, our critic does not explain, for no such person as Luke is ever mentioned or referred to in any part of the history. 'Silas does not appear again, but the author of the Book of Acts identifies himself with the history, and came to Rome with Paul.' Precisely so. I will now lay before the reader Mr. Birks's reasons for rejecting the 'novel theory':—

⁴ *Lit. Hist.* p. 253.

⁵ *Horæ Apostolicæ*, No. XXIV., p. 349.

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‘First, the writer describes himself to have been the constant companion of the Apostle throughout the nine latest chapters of the history; yet the name Silas never once appears, and he indicates his presence only by using the first instead of the third person. We may safely infer, by every rule of natural induction, that he follows the same practice in the earlier chapters.’

In reply, we ask, in the first place, how a writer who only indicates his presence by using the first person, can be said to *describe* himself as the constant companion of the Apostle? The places in which the first person is used in the chapters referred to, occur in describing the voyage from Troas to Ptolemais and the subsequent journey to Jerusalem (ch. xx. 5-15; xxi. 1-18), and again in the voyage to Italy (ch. xxvii. xxviii.); and all that we learn respecting the writer is conveyed in the expression, ‘We that were of Paul’s company.’ No occasion occurs for referring by name to Silas or to any other companion of the Apostle; and the practice of the writer in the preceding chapters, is, to mention Silas, Timotheus, and others, only where the narrative requires it, his own presence being indicated simply by the use of the first person. Mr. Birks means, perhaps, that Luke nowhere mentions himself; but this is a begging of the question: he, confessedly, never refers to himself *under that name*, and this is one reason for supposing that he may be referred to under some other appellation; for why should so particular an enumeration of the whole of Paul’s company be given in ch. xx. 4, 5, and the historian not have named himself, but have intimated his being the only companion of Paul not named, by the words ‘tarried for *us*,’ unless the narrative had previously designated him? How can we otherwise account for there being no mention of Silas in the list, or for Silas *not* accompanying Paul to Jerusalem, which he must have had every natural motive for re-visiting?

Mr. Birks proceeds:—

‘Next, the two proofs of identity alleged above are both of them nugatory and deceptive. A Divine call to accompany Paul and Silas might be given in many ways, though the writer, observing his usual modesty, has not paused to acquaint us with the details. He might have come from Antioch, by a special intimation of the Spirit, to join them on their leaving Galatia, or he might have been already at Troas, and the Apostle have been directed to take him for a companion, as he had done before with Timothy. Again, the absence of his name in the two letters to Thessalonica is no proof whatever of his identity with Silas, since the history, by its use of the pronoun, implies clearly that he stayed at Philippi. How then could his name appear in the superscription to the Thessalonians?’

A very few words will dispose of this second reason. St. Paul,
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in writing to the Thessalonians, speaks of the Gospel as having been preached to them by himself, and Silvanus, and Timotheus. There is not the slightest proof that the writer 'stayed at Philippi;' and if he did, that would only have rendered it the more natural to refer to him. The whole series of suppositions in the first part of this paragraph, are swept away by the consideration, that one who had received a 'Divine call,' a 'special intimation,' even if not named in the history, *would most assuredly have been mentioned in the Epistle* as having, concurrently with Paul, and Silas, and Timotheus, preached the Gospel to them.

'Thirdly,' continues Mr. Birks, 'on this hypothesis, Luke or Silas was at Corinth when both letters to that Church were written, and during the whole stay of Apollos. But this is refuted by the entire silence of both letters on the subject, and the absence of any allusion, however slight, to these long continued labours among them, apart from the Apostle. His name is introduced only as a companion of St. Paul on his first visit. This fact is a clear proof that Silas did not remain at Corinth, as the hypothesis requires.'

Now, I submit, that this 'proof,' like the former two, is at once *inaccurate* in statement and loose in reasoning. The hypothesis requires no such supposition, but rather excludes it. That Silas was with St. Paul when he wrote his second Epistle to the Corinthians, is evident from 2 Cor. viii. 19; and that he had previously preached among them, is expressly declared, 2 Cor. i. 19. Silas was one of the bearers of that Epistle; and towards the close of the year in which it was written, Paul himself followed, and rejoined his colleagues; (for the Epistle to the Romans was sent from Corinth;) and it is on Paul's return to Greece that the historian again employs the first person plural.

Mr. Birks has yet 'another reason equally decisive;' to wit, that, in the Epistles, when Silas is mentioned, he takes precedence of Timothy; but, when Luke is named, it is only in the salutations at the close. What stress is to be laid on this apparent difficulty, will appear hereafter: to term it a decisive argument, is a little too positive.

To come, then, to the only real difficulty. 'If Silas were the same person as Luke,' objects the writer in Eadie's *Cyclopædia*, 'he was at Rome with St. Paul, and is yet associated with him in no salutation, (not even in the Epistle to the Philippians,) while Luke is incidentally mentioned, and,' adds the critic, 'in such a way as his humbler station warranted.'

It is certainly remarkable, that neither the name of Silas nor that of Timothy appears in the salutations at the close of any of the Epistles, with the single exception of that to the Romans, in which

which we read, 'Timothy, my workfellow, saluteth you.' The Epistle to the Ephesians, the first of those written from Rome, bears the name of Paul alone in the opening salutation, and contains no messages of salutation at the end. If it was accompanied (as suggested, *Lit. Hist.* p. 394) with the second Epistle to Timothy, this may partly account for the omission of such references. In the latter Epistle, we find this incidental mention of Luke,—'Only Luke is with me.' Yet, his name does not occur among those who sent salutations to Timothy—'Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia, and all the brethren.' Nor should we have been able to ascertain what capacity he sustained, had not another Epistle (that to Philemon) ranked him with Marcus, Aristarchus, and Demas, as 'fellow-labourers' of the Apostle. Again, in the Epistle to the Colossians, we read, 'Luke the physician, my beloved, and Demas, greet you.' In both the Epistles last mentioned, as well as in that to the Philippians, the name of Timothy is associated with that of the Apostle in the opening salutation; indicating his having joined the Apostle at Rome subsequently to his reception of the second Epistle, urging him to come speedily, and to bring Mark with him. It may be fairly asked, why the name of Silas or Silvanus, if he was with the Apostle at Rome, does not appear together with that of Timothy? I do not deny that we might have expected this, more especially in the Epistle to the Christians of Philippi; and I have therefore been led to suggest, that, possibly, when this was written, the hand that had carried down the Apostolic narrative so far, had been arrested by death.¹ In the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon of Colosse, the omission does not admit of the same explanation, supposing them to have been visited by Paul in company with Silas; but it is in these Epistles that we meet with the salutations from Lucas among other fellow-labourers of the Apostle. That Luke the Evangelist is intended, we cannot learn from the New Testament. Who Marcus was, we know; Aristarchus of Thessalonica is enumerated among St. Paul's companions, Acts xx. 4; but, as to Lucas and Demas, the history is silent. If Luke the Physician and Luke the Evangelist were different persons, as Calvin conjectures, then, the latter is never once mentioned in the New Testament, and we have no ground whatever, save the tradition respecting the Four Evangelists, for ranking him among the companions of St. Paul. Yet, when we find St. Paul speaking of Luke with so much affection and honour in one of his latest Epistles, is it not reasonable to suppose that he may be referred to in the history under some other name? And

¹ *Lit. Hist.*, p. 435.

since, upon distinct grounds, we are led to regard Silas as the writer of the books ascribed by tradition to Lucas, does not the apparent similarity of the names, Silvanus and Lucanus, give some plausibility to the conjecture, that the same individual may have been known under both names? How improbable soever this conjecture may be deemed, it seems the only way of reconciling the tradition respecting Luke, with the internal evidence that the history is from the pen of Silas; and the rejection of it, therefore, would only lead us to doubt the authenticity of the tradition, and to substitute the name of Silas for that of Luke as one of the Four Evangelists. For surely no one will insist upon our receiving the tradition, venerable as it is, as an article of faith.

Far be it from me to wish to break the chain which links indissolubly in our most sacred associations, the evangelical quaternity, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. It is almost impossible to doubt that the tradition is founded upon truth. It has always appeared to me, however, matter of surprise and regret, that, while two of the Evangelists are known to have been Apostles of Our Lord, and a third to have been so immediately connected with both Peter and Paul as was the nephew of Barnabas, tradition should have given us no certain or consistent information respecting the pretensions or qualifications, the country, personal history, or official character of the fourth. We are required to believe, indeed, that Luke wrote his Gospel under the direction of St. Paul, although St. Paul could not personally testify to any of the facts which Luke records in his Gospel, nor to those which occupy the first eight chapters of the Book of Acts. We are told, that he was a disciple and follower of St. Paul; but, how he became such, and in what capacity he attended him, neither tradition nor the history itself informs us. That it is not of essential importance we should know who Luke was, I admit. Had even the names of the Four Evangelists not been handed down to us, the authenticity, genuineness, and authority of the Gospels would nevertheless have been susceptible of the most satisfactory proof, both from historical and from internal evidence. Still, the value and interest of the Gospel of John are immeasurably enhanced by our knowing that it is the authoritative and inspired testimony of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.' And so, the satisfaction inspired by the perusal of the evangelical and apostolic histories would be heightened by a more certain knowledge than tradition affords respecting the qualifications of the writer. It is upon this ground alone, that I attach the slightest importance to the hypothesis which I have endeavoured to vindicate from hasty or ill-considered objections. In the Silvanus of the Epistles and the
Silas

Silas of the history, the 'faithful brother' spoken of by Peter, the beloved colleague of Paul, one of the chief men of the church at Jerusalem,—like St. Paul, a Roman citizen, but of the Jewish nation, and a 'prophet' or gifted instructor in the Christian church,—who must, therefore, from his position and connections, have had every opportunity of obtaining 'perfect understanding of all things from the very first,' and have united every qualification for the task of an historian,—I have pleased myself in believing, that we may recognise the Evangelist who is consecrated to our earliest and most hallowed associations under the name of Luke. If tradition has blundered so far as to make even Silas and Silvanus different persons,^s no wonder that it should have failed to preserve any link of connection between Silas and Lucas, or any authentic biographical trace of either. In such a case, an approach to certainty is unattainable, and confident assertion on either side would be unbecoming. If it is not easy to account for St. Paul's referring to Silas under the name of Lucas, neither is it easy to guess why he never calls Silvanus Silas, nor why the history never gives to Silas his full Roman name; nor why, in writing to the Galatian Greeks, St. Paul should speak of Peter under the Syriac name of Cephas, while, in the fifteenth of Acts, he is mentioned by that of Simeon; nor why Nathanael is never mentioned by three of the Evangelists under that name, although there is strong ground to believe him to have been one of the Twelve, and he is generally supposed to be the same as Bartholomew; nor even why Saul was also called Paul. At all periods of their history, the Jews were accustomed to adopt Gentile appellatives. Alexander, Jason, Menelaus, Crispus, Justus, Niger, occur as Jewish names in Josephus, as well as in the New Testament. Lucanus and Silvanus are clearly Roman names; and as they seem in meaning almost convertible, one may have been the *alias* of the other. Why should this be deemed more unlikely than that the same Apostle should be referred to under the names of Thaddæus, Lebbæus, and Judas or Jude? Yet, the assumed improbability of this supposition is the only ground for rejecting what must at all events be regarded as an interesting hypothesis.

The tradition was doubtless founded on truth, that the third Gospel and the Book of Acts were the work of the faithful companion of St. Paul. Such Silas was, as we learn from the history: that Luke was, the history does not tell us. Origen supposed Luke to be referred to, 2 Cor. viii. 18; a supposition which appears to have taken its rise from an erroneous interpretation of the words, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, as referring to a written gospel. Mr.

^s They are distinguished in the Greek Calendar. Silas is there made bishop of Corinth, and Silvanus bishop of Thessalonica!

Birks has adopted this exploded notion. Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Calvin suppose Barnabas to be referred to;^h but, inasmuch as the commonly received opinion makes Luke to be one of those who bore the epistle, the great Reformer is disposed to think that Luke may be intended by the third party at ver. 22.ⁱ That Barnabas was associated with Paul at this time, and that he was sent by him to Corinth, is in the highest degree improbable. The opinion seems to have been suggested by what is mentioned in Acts xi. 30. But, if this opinion cannot be reconciled with the Apostolic narrative, the only brother chosen of the churches to travel with the Apostle, and held in esteem throughout the churches, to whom the words can point, is Silas; and it seems strange that this should have been overlooked. If so, then, we have an explanation of the circumstance, that an epistle which was really transmitted by Titus and Silas, is, in the ancient subscription, said to have been sent by the hands of Titus and Lucas. So completely had Silvanus merged in Luke, that not a biographical trace of Silas is to be found in Patristic tradition. It is scarcely less singular, that Mark, the companion of Paul and Barnabas in their first circuit, and afterwards associated with Paul at Rome, should be in like manner merged by tradition in Mark the disciple of Peter, who, nevertheless, is made to have been a different person.

Upon what evidence the Gospels of Mark and Luke were attributed to those Evangelists, it is difficult to collect from any extant documents. At the beginning of the second century, it is mentioned by Papias as a tradition, that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote exactly whatever he remembered; thus resting the authority and credit of Mark's Gospel upon its being a true and faithful relation of the discourses of Peter. Clement of Alexandria adds, that Mark wrote his Gospel at the request of Peter's hearers at Rome. The whole of this legend is clearly apocryphal, being disproved by the close relation which the Gospel of Mark bears to that of Matthew, and by the fact, that Mark, when at Rome, was the companion, not of Peter, who probably never visited Rome, but of Paul.^k By Papias, Luke is not referred to. An ancient writer of uncertain date, whose remains have been confounded with those of Justin,^m says, that both the writers of the genealogies were Hebrews, and took their accounts from the public registers, but does not name the Evangelists. Lardner

^h See Lardner, vol. v. p. 282.

ⁱ Probably Erasmus. *Lit. Hist.*, p. 320.

^k The ingenious author of the *Essay on the Voyage of St. Paul* has started the hypothesis, that the Gospel of Mark was in fact written by Peter in Hebrew, and translated by the Evangelist.

^m Lardner's Works, vol. ii. p. 129.

infers, that, as the writer 'supposed Luke to have been a Jew, it is likely that he did not think him to be the physician mentioned by the Apostle Paul.' But it is not certain that he ascribed the third Gospel to Luke. Irenæus (A.D. 178) is the earliest of the fathers who gives a distinct account of the writers of the Four Gospels; and his account is so full of inaccuracies as greatly to diminish our confidence in his means of information, since (as cited by Eusebius) he tells us, 'that Matthew wrote a Gospel for the Jews in their own language, while Paul and Peter were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there; that Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by Peter; and Luke, the companion of Paul, put down in a book the Gospel preached by him (Paul).' Such a statement as this affords decisive evidence that, while the churches had faithfully preserved the sacred documents, what must have originally been known as to the circumstances of their authorship and composition, not being preserved in a written record, had been lost, and that every biographical record of the Evangelists had perished. But this very fact supplies a strong argument in favour of the early date, and consequently of the genuineness, of the Gospels; since, if, by the close of the second century, the traditional knowledge of their literary history had assumed the shape of an incoherent legend, we may be certain that they could not have been the production of post-apostolic times. Moreover, their early, universal, and unquestioned reception demonstrates, that the authorship of these (to us) anonymous documents must have been known to the primitive churches, or that they had the seal of apostolic authority. Thus, the authenticity and canonical authority of the Four Gospels, it is important to bear in mind, do not in any degree rest upon the correctness of the tradition respecting them. The authorship of the Gospel of John is, indeed, clearly indicated by internal evidence; and it is manifest, that it could not have been the first Gospel, since it partakes so obviously of a supplemental character. From internal evidence, also, a very strong presumption may be established, that the Gospel of Mark, though written after that of Matthew, was from the pen of an eye-witness, and, if not the work of Peter, was written under his inspection; and it may be the fact, that the Evangelist was the translator or the amanuensis of that Apostle. The notion, that Paul wrote or dictated a Gospel, seems to have arisen from a misconception of the phrase which repeatedly occurs in his Epistles, 'According to my gospel' (Rom. ii. 16; xvi. 25; 2 Tim. ii. 8). And Luke is made to have been his disciple and follower, without the slightest evidence or reason. Lardner concludes, that Luke was an 'early Jewish

Jewish believer.' He might, indeed, have composed his Gospel before he became associated with Paul ; for, although the Acts could not have been finished before A.D. 62, there is nothing to forbid our supposing his Gospel to have been written even ten or fifteen years before.^a Whoever Theophilus was, his name by no means indicates a Greek or a Gentile convert, since this was the name of one of the sons of Ananus, whom Vitellius appointed high-priest, A.D. 37.* It is remarkable, that, in one place, Irenæus seems to rest the proof that St. Paul was an apostle upon the testimony of the Evangelist Luke, rather than to make the authority of Luke rest upon that of the Apostle.^p It appears to me evident, that the unquestioned reception given to both the Gospel and the Acts by all the churches (for which, in the absence of authentic records, the various legends were intended to account), prove the Author to have been of much higher standing than is ordinarily assigned to the Evangelist Luke. J C

JEWISH COMMENTARIES ON ISAIAH

CHAP. LII. 13—LIII.*

Introduction.

THE section of Isaiah's prophecies which is contained in the last three verses of the 52nd chapter, and the whole of the 53rd, has afforded subject of much disputation. It has been interpreted either of some individual, or of a body of men personified. Of those who adopt the former view, some have attempted to apply it to Hezekiah or some other Jewish king, to Jeremiah, to Isaiah himself, and even to Moses ; but by far the largest proportion of Christian expositors, and several also of the Jewish, particularly the most ancient, have explained it of the Messiah. Those interpreters who maintain the latter of the two views above mentioned, pretty generally agree in the opinion that the section relates to

^a Theophylact and Euthymius assert, that Luke wrote his Gospel with Paul's permission fifteen years after our Lord's ascension (Lardner, vol. v. p. 357). Clement of Alexandria says the Gospels containing the genealogies were first written

^o See Greswell's *Dissertations*, vol. i. p. 348.

^p See Lardner, vol. ii. p. 174.

^q From a valuable American work, but little known in this country, published in 1847, under the title of 'Biographical Notices of some of the most distinguished Jewish Rabbies, and Translations of portions of their Commentaries and other Works, with illustrative Introductions and Notes. By SAMUEL H. TURNER, D.D.' Some further account of it may be found among the Notices of Books.

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the Jewish people, or at least the better part of them, although a few consider it as descriptive of the prophetic body.

Among the defenders of this last view, Gesenius is the most prominent. He regards the Lord's servant as a personification of the Hebrew prophets, whose exaltation is predicted in lii. 13. Heretofore deformed by opposition and sufferings, they shall still at a future period fill the people with joy. Kings shall honour them when unexpected events, not believed when announced, shall have taken place (14, 15 ; liii. 1). Deserted, despised, and afflicted, God allowed them to grow up among the people (2, 3), and sent them subjected to sufferings, which they bore patiently as an offering (7). But they bore them for the sins of the people, which the Lord laid upon them (4, 5, 6). They were removed from their sufferings by death, and, although innocent, were buried with transgressors, none understanding the real design of their sufferings (8, 9). As a reward, they shall yet live long, see a late posterity, enjoy the spread of their doctrine, and divide their portion with the mighty (10-12).

The Jewish expositors, from the middle ages down to the present time, explain the section of their own nation. Their existing state of depression and persecution, and their future supposed exaltation and suremacy over all other people, constitute the leading points of the prophecy. Some modern Christian expositors have adopted the same view. The ancients invariably interpret it of the Messiah.

That the section comprehends a reference to the state of the Jewish nation is a view, which seems to have been favourably regarded by some of their expositors at a very early period. The Chaldee Targum, a translation of which on this portion is subjoined to the following Rabbinical Commentary, although it directly declares the Lord's servant to be the Messiah, does evidently, in its paraphrastic exposition, introduce the Jewish nation in close connection with this its prince and saviour. The reader will perceive that the Messiah and the people are brought forward with nearly equal prominence, the transitions from the one to the other being altogether unfounded and strangely arbitrary. Still it shows us, that in the time of its author, a reference to the nation was superadded to the Messianic interpretation. This interpretation seems gradually to have been superseded by it, for Origen tells us, that, on his alleging passages from this section in argument with some learned Jews, he was met by the objection, that no individual, but the whole people were intended by the prophet; a view which he immediately attacks as unsupported.*

* Origen against Celsus, book 1, pp. 42, 43, Hoeschel's edition, 4to. 1605.

It would not comport with the nature of this brief introduction, to examine at any length the grounds on which these various theories of exposition are attempted to be sustained; yet I cannot suffer the present Jewish interpretation to appear in detail, without submitting one or two preliminary remarks.

It is a serious objection to this interpretation, applying also to that of Gesenius, that, in the one case the national, and in the other the prophetic body, are said to sustain vicarious punishment, intended to atone for the sins of others. Surely the prophets are never represented to us in Scripture as propitiating, by any sufferings of their own, for the offences of others. The remark applies also to the Jewish nation; and undoubtedly it must have been felt as a difficulty by Aben Ezra and Kimchi, inasmuch as they put this representation in the mouth of the heathen, and the latter writer in particular guards his reader against any admission of its correctness, by ascribing it to weakness and incapacity, and declaring it to be at variance with other declarations of Scripture. Neither is there in the whole section a single intimation that this is merely the language of the people, and founded in error. On the contrary, it plainly appears to be the prophet's own statement, and the other view of the subject is artificial and forced, and not supported by any analogous portions of Isaiah's prophecy. A construction so wholly arbitrary is hardly worthy of refutation.

Most of the objections to the Christian exposition of the prophecy arise from the mistaken supposition that, as the degradation described in the section is physical and secular, and consequently must be literally understood, therefore the exaltation also must be secular, and consist in superiority ostensibly displayed here on earth. And the same mode of argument is now resorted to, in order to prove a temporal and visible reign of Christ in Jerusalem literally understood. But, against the application of this principle by Jews, it may be sufficient to remark, that Aben Ezra himself, who advances the argument, admits that the current of older Jewish exposition of liii. 12, ran directly the other way, favouring a figurative meaning; and that the words themselves do bear such an interpretation. And if this be allowable here, it is equally so in those other places, where long life and numerous progeny are ascribed to the Messiah. Such interpretations are in harmony with other parts of Scripture, of which it is sufficient to refer to the promise: 'Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children (the Messiah's), whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth' (Ps. xlv. 17). Against Gesenius, who also urges a literal interpretation of the promised exaltation, it is sufficient to remark, that such an exaltation is hardly compatible with the character

character of the prophetic body, and rather implies royal distinction.

This learned writer allows that the Messianic exposition was the commonly received one in the age of the New Testament, and by its writers. Such a consideration, however, has but little weight with him in support of its correctness. But with those who regard the New Testament as a record of inspired truth, it cannot fail of receiving the profoundest deference, and, even as a source of historical evidence illustrative of the opinions of its age, it is not to be disregarded. It becomes necessary therefore to examine how this section of Isaiah is quoted in the sacred books of Christians.

In appealing to this source of evidence, there is one view of it, in which even the Jewish reader ought to acquiesce. To the Christian, any argument legitimately drawn from assertion, reasoning, or necessary implication, clearly shown to be contained in the New Testament, ought to be decisive. But at present I quote it merely as an historical record of fact, and as such its claims on all, Jews as well as Christians, are equally imperative. Its antiquity, as a production of the first century, exhibiting the views and sentiments of its age, and its claims to respect arising out of its general character, are incontrovertible. As giving views of its own age among the people to whom it was originally addressed, of whom its writers were a part, no other document can be adduced, worthy of superior, if of equal credit.

In the New Testament, passages are quoted from this prophecy, in such a connection as to show, that no other application than that to an individual person, and that person the Messiah, was thought of. St. Matthew (viii. 17) employs the language of the fourth verse in reference to the Messiah's healing diseases. Whatever difficulty may be supposed to be involved in the application, has no bearing on the point here under consideration. The quotation proves that the writer understood the prophecy to refer to the Messiah; and the writer was a Jew, who lived 1800 years ago, and wrote especially for the benefit of his own nation. Either then we must assume him to have been wholly ignorant of their views on this subject, a supposition confuted by the whole tenor of his book, or we must grant that his Jewish readers recognised the application of this text in some way to their expected Messiah.

Two other biographers of our Lord's life, themselves also of the Jewish nation, make a similar application of the words in the 12th verse: 'He was numbered with the transgressors' (Mark xv. 28; Luke xxii. 37). They must have known that their brethren would not hesitate to regard the quotation as intended
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of the predicted Messiah. There is nothing in the connection in which these passages stand, that authorizes the expositor to resort to the principle of accommodation.

The representation of Jesus as a pattern of patience under unmerited suffering is illustrated by St. Peter (1 Peter ii. 22, 24), with an evident view to the language of this section. He speaks of the Messiah as 'bearing' our sins, and 'healing us by his stripes,' quoting the very words of the prophet (ver. 4, 5). It is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the Jews of his day referred the section to the Messiah.

St. Paul also, in his Epistle to the Romans (x. 16), applies the first words of the 53rd chapter, 'Who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?' to the want of faith in the Gospel of Christ. This learned disciple of Gamaliel, second to none of his race in acquaintance with Jewish tradition and literature, does not seem to have ever heard of the notion of 'the wise Rabbi Abraham,'^b that this is the language of the ignorant heathen, respecting their own unbelief in predictions of Jewish national elevation. He cites it without the least hesitation, and so also does St. John (xii. 38), as a prophetic description of want of faith in the true Messiah. Any other application of the prophet's language seems to have been entirely unknown to them.

There is yet another place in the New Testament in which this section is quoted in direct and unequivocal reference to the Messiah. The evangelist Philip is directed to join the Ethiopian nobleman on his return from Jerusalem. He hears him reading this prophecy of Isaiah, and is addressed with the inquiry, 'of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other man?' (Acts viii. 34). That the inspired seer intended to exhibit a personification of the class of persons to which he himself belonged, or of the nation in general, is certainly an idea which never occurred to the Ethiopian. He understood the prophet in accordance with common sense, and most naturally inquired of what individual he was speaking. His companion, too, had no other impression of the prophecy, and immediately applied it to the Messiah. 'Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus' (v. 35).

The evidence afforded by the New Testament clearly proves, that the Jews of that period explained the prophecy of the Messiah. And the result thus obtained from this most unexceptionable source of information is confirmed by other Jewish writings.

It ought not to escape notice, that Aben Ezra, in his intro-

^b See the reference to Aben Ezra in Kimchi on Isa. liii. 14.

ductory remarks on this section, expressly declares that many of the old Rabbies did explain it of the Messiah. His objections disclose the very pith and germ of the rejection of this application. 'What then is the meaning of—he was despised and rejected of men? He was taken from prison and from judgment?' It introduces a suffering Messiah; an idea which the Jewish mind, from before the Christian era to the present time, has either rejected with scorn, or endeavoured to evade, by introducing the figment of two Messiahs; a son of Joseph and a son of David, allowing that the former shall be subjected to suffering and death, but claiming for the latter immunity from affliction, and unprecedented worldly prosperity and regal honour. And it is particularly worthy of observation, how carefully the Chaldee Targum applies to king Messiah whatever of reward or glory appears in the section, while the afflictions and degradation therein depicted are represented as the appropriate punishment of his enemies. Still, there were Israelites at a very early age, whose views of their promised anointed one were not so entirely secularized. From the time that the venerable Simeon intimated the sufferings of the son in announcing the anguish of the mother (Luke ii. 35), there have not been wanting others of his nation who knew that, in accordance with the revealed will of God, 'it behoved the Christ to suffer' (xxiv. 46), and then to receive his reward of glory. These Jews did not scruple to apply texts in this section to the Messiah, who was to atone for the sins of the men and to bear their diseases. In the Talmud we meet with the strange assertion, that the Messiah is called leprous, or the leper, on account of the word smitten (the original of which is sometimes used of leprosy), applied to him in liii. 4. 'Leper is his name, as it is said, but he bore our sicknesses, and our sorrows he sustained them, and we regarded him smitten, stricken by God, and afflicted.'* The book *Pesikta* represents the Messiah as redeeming mankind, and applies to him the same words. The *Midrash Tanchuma*, an old commentary on the Pentateuch, explains the first verse of this section of Isaiah, respecting king Messiah, whom it describes as more exalted than Abraham, than Moses, than the ministering angels. The reader may find these and other equally pertinent passages, quoted from ancient Jewish books, in *Hengstenberg's Christology*,^d a work worthy of all commendation for its deep religious tone, its profound learning, and philological accuracy.

This section, then, describes the sufferings and exaltation of

* Bab. Tal. Treatise Sanhedrim, fol. 98, 2. The reader may see the whole context of this remarkable passage quoted in my Essay on John vi. pp. 86-88.

^d Vol. i. pp. 484-486, Keith's Translation.

the promised Messiah. There does not appear to be positive proof that any other idea was intended. If, however, a more comprehensive view of it can be taken, which, while it maintains the Messiah to be the direct and primary subject of the prediction, does also disclose in the background, as it were, of the picture some faint delineations of another, less prominent, but still connected with it; such a view would undoubtedly harmonize with several other prophetic representations.* Then, the graphical delineation of the great prophet might represent also, though faintly, the character and state of the whole prophetic body; the marked description of the earthly humiliation and celestial dignity of the universal king might trace out, yet not without some indistinctness, the similar condition of his true Israel, ultimately united to him by a living faith. In such a view the application to the inferior object must of course be very general.

A clear and full development of the principle of prophetic interpretation here suggested would extend this introduction to a disproportionate length, and have no necessary connection with its main purpose. The truth of it can hardly be questioned by the Christian interpreter, though its application requires caution and judgment, combined with competent knowledge of holy Scripture.

COMMENTARY OF RABBI SOLOMON JARCHI,

ON ISAIAH LII. 13—LIII.

13. Behold, my servant: behold, in after times, my servant Jacob shall prosper, (that is), the righteous among them.

14. As many people were astonished at them, when they saw their state of humiliation, and said to one another, how much more deformed¹ than man is their appearance! See how dark (contemptible) is their form compared with that of other men!

16. So, as we see with our own eyes 'סוּן יִי.² So now indeed he, his hand shall be great, and he shall put down the horns of the nations who scattered him (Zech. i. 21) 'אֶפְסָן. They will shut their mouths through the greatness of their astonishment, for they shall see in him honour such as was not told them of any man—'הִתְבַּהֲלוּ, they will understand. LIII. 1. Who hath believed

* The following references may be taken as a specimen of such:—2 Sam. vii. compared with Heb. i. 5; Hos. xi. 1 with Matt. ii. 15; Deut. xviii. 9-22 with Acts iii. 22, 23, and various passages quoted in the New Testament from the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, especially Matt. iii. 3, with the parallel places in the other Gospels, and in 1 Pet. i. 24, 25, from Isa. xl. 3-8.

¹ Lit. corruption. 'Marred,' Eng. trans.

² 'So shall he sprinkle many nations,' Eng. trans.

our report? Thus will they say to each other: if we had heard from the mouth of others what we see, it would not have been credible.—And the arm of the Lord; to whom hath it been revealed, up to this time, in greatness and majesty like this?

2. And he shall grow up like a plant before him. Before this people attained such greatness,^b they were in a very low condition, and grew up among their trees (as it were),ⁱ like a sucker among suckers of the oaks. And like a root: (which) grows up from a dry ground. No form: at the beginning he had neither form nor glory.^k And when we shall see him, (there is) no beauty that we should desire him: and when we saw him at the beginning, without (beautiful) appearance, how should we desire him? That we should desire him, is expressive of admiration.

3. He was despised and rejected of men. It was the usage of this prophet to speak of all Israel as one man: (as), fear not, my servant Jacob; and now hear, my servant Jacob (xliv. 1, 2); and also in this place, behold, my servant shall prosper, he speaks of the house of Jacob, and the word יִשְׁכֵּל expresses prosperity, as—and Daniel prospered in all his ways (1 Sam. xviii. 14).—וּנְמֻכְתָּר. Through the greatness of their shame and degradation, they as it were hid their faces from us; they bound up the face by concealing (it), that we should not see them, as a wounded man hides his face and fears to be looked at.

4. But our griefs he bore: The word אָכַן is always used in the sense of but. But now we see that his degradation did not come upon him through wrath, but he was chastised with chastisements, in order that all the nations might be atoned for by the chastisements of Israel. Sickness which should have come on us he bore. And we regarded him: we supposed that he was hated by God.

5. But he was not so, but was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him: there came on him the chastisements whereby our peace was attained,^m since he was chastised in order that there might be peace to all the world.

6. All we like sheep have gone astray. Now it appears that all the heathen nations have erred.ⁿ הִפְתִּיעַ בּוֹ. He was entreated through him, and was reconciled as respects the iniquity of all of

^b Lit. before this greatness came to the people.

ⁱ I have introduced the expression, as it were, to illustrate what I suppose to be the author's meaning. The passage is not clear. Breithaupt, in his Latin translation of Jarchi, says, that one of the two manuscripts which he collated read מִלְּאֵי, from the land, instead of מִלְּאֵי, from his trees.

^k 'Comeliness,' Eng. trans.

^m Lit. the chastisements of the peace which was for us.

ⁿ 'Hath laid on him,' Eng. trans.

us, so that his world should not be destroyed. It is a term of supplication, in French *espriér*.^o

7. He was oppressed (or exacted^p); behold by exactors and oppressors: and he was afflicted (or he answered^p) by fraudulent declarations, in French *surparler*.^q And he opened not his mouth: he bore and was still, like the lamb which is led to the slaughter, and like a sheep which before her shearers is dumb. The words—he opened not his mouth—refer to the lamb led to the slaughter.

8. From prison and from judgment was he taken away. The prophet proclaims^r that the nations will say this in after times, when they shall see that he was taken away from the prison in which he had been confined by them, and from the judgment of the chastisements which he had hitherto borne. And his generation: the years that passed along over him;^s who will relate the distresses which befel him?—For he was cut off: he was (so) at the beginning when^t he was taken away captive from the land of the living, that is the land of Israel. Because for the transgression of my people, this stroke fell upon^u the righteous among them.

9. And he gave^v with the wicked his grave: He delivered up himself to be buried according to all (or, in any way) that the wicked among the nations determined concerning him, who condemned them^w to death, and the burial of asses in the bowels of the dogs. At the sentence of the wicked he preferred being buried to denying the living God. And with a rich (man^x in) his death: At the sentence of the ruler he delivered himself up to all kinds of death which he pronounced against him,^a because he would not venture to deny^b (God, would not) do wickedness and commit violence, like all the nations among whom he sojourned. And no deceit (was) in his mouth in venturing on false worship with (or to) God.^c

10. And it pleased the Lord: the holy blessed God was pleased

^o The French word now employed is *prier*. Whether this or the other were in more common use when Jarchi wrote, I am unable to say. Breithaupt tells us that one of his manuscripts reads *ד'ישפריי'א'ייר*, which he expresses by *desprier*. He intimates that the text may be corrupted.

^p *שול* means, to oppress and also to exact; and *ענה*, to afflict and to answer.

^q I have followed the reading of one of Breithaupt's manuscripts, *שורפ'ליר*.

^r Lit. announces and says.

^s This is a literal translation, to which I can attach no clear meaning.

^t Lit. and.

^u Lit. came to.

^v The English translation is, 'and he made.' The literal version is, *and he gave*, or *they gave*, that is, people gave, allotted. Such indefinite usage is very common.

^w The original is plural.

^x The original is in the singular number.

^a Lit. decided upon him.

^b Lit. take on him denial.

^c The printed reading is *באלוה*, but Breithaupt's manuscript has *לאלוה*, which he prefers.

to bruise him, and to turn him to good; therefore he put him to grief (or he made him sick).—If^d and so forth. God says, I will see if his soul be devoted^e and delivered up to my holiness, (so as) to return it to me (as) a trespass offering on account of all his faithlessness. I will recompense it to him, and he shall see his seed and so forth. *נָסַח* denotes atonement which a man makes to one whom he has offended, in French *amende*; as it is said of (or in') the Philistines, ye shall not return it empty, but shall return to him a trespass offering.

11. Of the travail of his life: He ate and was satisfied, and neither plundered nor committed violence. By his knowledge will my righteous (servant) do justice to: My servant gave true judgment to all who came before him for judgment. And their iniquities he bore, according to the way of all the righteous,^f as it is said—thou and thy sons shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary (Num. xviii. 1).

12. Therefore: on account of his having done this, I will divide to him an inheritance and lot among many (or, the great): with the most ancient fathers.—*הִשָּׁקָהּ*. He poured out his life to death, (as) the word (is used elsewhere); she poured out (emptied) her pitcher (Gen. xxiv. 20).—And he was numbered with the transgressors. He bore chastisements as if he had sinned and transgressed; but on account of others he bore the sin of the many.—And he made intercession for the transgressors: on account of chastisements which were inflicted^h on him, kindness hath come to the world.ⁱ

COMMENTARY OF RABBI DAVID KIMCHI,

ON ISAIAH LII. 13—LIII.

13. BEHOLD, my servant shall prosper. This section relates to the captivity^k of Israel, and he calls them my servant, as he says—thou Israel my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen (Isa. xlv. 1). He says, behold the time shall come that my servant Jacob shall

^d The English translation has *when*.

^e Lit. given.

^f Or, it may be translated, as was said by the Philistines. The reference is to 1 Sam. vi. 3.

^g That is, as they are accustomed to do.

^h Lit. have come.

ⁱ The reading given by Breithaupt is much more intelligible than the ordinary one, and for this and other reasons I have not hesitated to translate from it. It is as follows:—*עַל יְדֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁבָנוּ אֵלָיו בָּאָה טוֹבָה לְעוֹלָם*.

^k The Rabbies often use the term captivity to express the dispersed and subjected condition of the Jews subsequently to the destruction of their civil and religious polity by the Romans.

prosper,

prosper, and be exalted and raised up and be very high. וְצִלָּהּ, he shall prosper, as—and David prospered in all his ways (1 Sam. xviii. 14); and thus the Targum of Jonathan, (which translates it) וְצִלָּהּ. And he says, shall be exalted and be raised and be high, employing a term of elevation in every word, because his elevation should be exceedingly great. And now I will explain the section according to the explanation of my respected father, whose memory be blessed, in the book Haggalui.^m

14. As (many) were astonished: (it is) expressiveⁿ of wonder, as—astonished among them (Ezek. iii. 15). He says, as they wondered at the greatness of thy humiliation. And they were right to wonder, for they saw that he was more deformed than any man; his appearance and his form more than the rest of the children of men. And, inasmuch as (the prophet) speaks sometimes in the second person, as when he says—at thee; and sometimes in the third, as when he says—his appearance and his form;—this is the usage of Scripture in many places, as we have written. And the wise Rabbi Abraham explains (the place thus,) that—so deformed more than man (was) his appearance—are the words of the nations who wondered at Israel, and said that their appearance was more deformed than (that of other) men. For how many nations are there in the world who think that the Jew's form (appearance) is different from (that of) all others. Indeed there are some of them who inquire whether a Jew has a mouth or an eye. Thus he in the land of Ishmael and in the land of Edom. מִשְׁחָה: The mem is with chirek, and it is an adjective (or concrete); and thus (in) הַעֲרִים הַמְבְּרֻלֹת, the separate cities (Josh. xvi. 9) the ם has chirek and (the word is) an adjective.^o—וְהָאֵרֶץ is with cholem, on account of the Aleph.

15. כִּן יִהְיֶה. It conveys the meaning of discourse, like יִדְבֹּר, it shall drop, which expresses the idea of sprinkling and also of discoursing: (as) they dropped water (Judg. v. 4); in the sense of sprinkling: they shall not drop—they will drop;^p in the sense of discoursing. Thus יִדְבֹּר means discourse; and it is a transitive verb in Hiphil, in French parler. He says, as they wondered at his humiliation, so shall they wonder at his greatness, and shall speak of it continually.—Kings יִקְצֹצוּ their mouths at him: Even to kings their glory shall appear to be great glory: and accord-

^m This book is said to have been written in opposition to Christianity. The word may mean, the revealed. See Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, vol. iii. p. 423.

ⁿ Lit. a matter.

^o That is, the Hebrew word, though a participle, is used like an adjective. It is rendered in the English translation 'separate,' not separated.

^p So shall he sprinkle, Eng. trans.

^q Micah ii. 6.

^r The English translation has 'prophesy.'

^s Shall shut, Eng. trans.

ingly

ingly he says, and the nations shall see thy righteousness and all kings thy glory (Isa. lxii. 2). פתח is a word expressive of opening, as—skipping (Song Sol. ii. 8) upon the hills—which is the opening of the steps in springing, and also of shutting, as—thou shalt not shut^a thy hand. And both these ideas may be comprehended^t in the word; (as if he had said), they opened their mouth to recount his greatness, or, they laid (their) hand upon (their) mouth through the greatness of their wonder.—For that which was not told them shall they see; they will see more of his greatness than had been told them, and more than they had heard will they at that time understand of his greatness.

LIII. 1. Who hath believed: The nations will then say, who believed the account which we heard respecting him from the mouth of the prophets, or from the mouth of those who speak in their name? We did not believe what we now see with our eyes.—And the arm of the Lord for whom hath it been manifested—like as it hath been manifested for this (people?) Or, for whom^u—may be interpreted in the way of (ironical) contempt: for whom hath it been manifested as it hath been manifested for this (people!) meaning, who was there for whom the arm of the Lord was manifested?^x

2. And he shall grow up as a sucker.^y Of^z—his branches shall spread;—as the root which is in a dry ground: and he shall grow up as a sucker; from him who (or that which) had neither form nor beauty:^a so this (people) was. And in my opinion the explanation is (as follows). Now this (people) went up from the captivity in the presence of God, and they went up from the captivity in an extraordinary way, as if a sucker should grow up from a dry ground, or if a root of a tree or an herb should be found which sprouts in a dry ground, which would be extraordinary: so their going up from the captivity was extraordinary. And the same thing is repeated in different words.—No form to him: while he was in the captivity he had neither form nor honour;

^a Deut. xv. 7. It is hardly necessary to say, that in this and the former reference, the original word is the same as that employed by Isaiah.

^t Lit. explained.

^u He means, the whole clause beginning with these words.

^x The meaning of Kimchi seems to be this; that the nations will either be amazed at the evident manifestation of God's power in favour of the Jews, or else they will deride them for the want of it with bitter sarcasm. In the former case, the reference will be to their expected restoration and prosperity; in the latter, to their previous degradation.

^y As a tender plant, Eng. trans.

^z That is, of the same sort as, corresponding with. He means, that the original word פתח *sucker*, is the same as that rendered *branches* in the passage quoted from Hos. xiv. 7 (6).

^a Lit. honour.

meaning ornament, beauty. And we saw him and no beauty: and we looked at him, and his appearance was not beautiful, but shocking and different from the rest of mankind. That we should desire him: (that is), and we did not desire him, but loathed him. The negative particle, which is here introduced, qualifies both the expressions.^b

3. He was despised: It were unnecessary to say that we did not desire him; as the contrary,^c he was despised in our eyes.—*והדל אישון*. Who was less (or, more despicable) than the sons of men: or the meaning is, he was rejected by men, who did not associate with him.—A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief (or sickness): the sorrows and the grief (or sickness, signify) the distresses of the captivity; and the meaning of acquainted is, that he knew and was accustomed to put on^d the yoke of the captivity.—*ובכסתר פנים*. As, through great aversion, we hide the face from that which we do not like to look at; because we loathed him, and did not at all regard him.

4. But our griefs (or sicknesses): The prophet Ezekiel writes, the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son (xviii. 20); how much less (then) one man (in general) that of another, and how much less a people that of another people. If (it be) so, how is this—our griefs he bore; he was wounded for our transgressions, and by his stripes we are healed? And is not this like that which Jeremiah says in the Book of Lamentations? Our fathers have sinned and are not, and we have borne their iniquities (v. 7). For that corresponds with—visiting the iniquity of the fathers on the children (Exod. xx. 5), and takes place^e when the children continue to practise^f the works of their fathers, as he says—of them that hate me (Exod. xx. 5); for it is right with God^g that the son should bear his iniquity, the iniquity of the father. But what Jeremiah says, he says in the language of the lamenting: for, in the midst of their distress, their words would not be with judgment and gravity. But this is what the nations will say; truly he hath borne our griefs and such like, is their own language: not that Israel did bear the iniquity of the nations, but they thought so when they knew, as they saw in the time of the deliverance, that the religion which Israel clung to was true, and the religion which they clung to was false; and they said, truly our fathers inherited lies, vanity and nothingness, and so forth (Jer. xvi. 19). They

^b Lit. *לֹא*, which he has mentioned (or recorded), stands at the place of two; meaning it qualifies both *בְּרֵאשִׁית* and *בְּחֵסֶד*.

^c Lit. but also (or even).

^d Lit. to put over on him.

^e Lit. this is.

^f Lit. hold fast in their hands.

^g Or, it is a judgment from God.

say, according to their own conjecture, if so, what was the distress which Israel bore in the captivity? behold, it was not on account of their iniquity, for they clung to a right religion, and we, because we enjoyed^b peace, and quietness, and rest, and confidence, we clung to a false religion. If the grief and the sorrow which should have come on us came thus on them, and if they were a ransom and expiation for us, and we did consider them,ⁱ when in captivity, as stricken and smitten by God, and afflicted by the hand of God, on account of theirⁱ iniquity; now indeed we see that this is not on account of theirⁱ iniquity, but on account of ours; this is what he means.^k

5. And he was wounded. מְחַלל is a verb of the quadriliteral form,^m of the same meaning as חָלַל, to be in pain as a travailing woman, and from the same root. And—smittenⁿ—corresponds withⁿ—hath smitten my life down to the ground (Ps. cxliii. 3). 'עַל כָּל שְׁמוֹנֵי כוֹסֵי שָׁעִי is like בָּלָנוּ, we *all*; like הִנֵּחַ שְׁלוֹמִים, it shall be *wholly* carried away captive (Jer. xlii. 19); like נָלַח שְׁלוֹמִים, that is to say שְׁלֹמָה, the *whole* captivity (Amos i. 6, 9). The chastisements which should all have come on us came on him.^p But some explain it from שָׁלוֹם, peace, namely, that we were in peace, and the chastisement should have come on us on account of our iniquities, but it came on him.—And by his stripes: corresponding with, stripe for stripe (Exod. xxi. 25), only the one is dagedshed and the other not. And the (expressions) *stripes* and *stricken* are figurative (representing) the distresses of the captivity. And the meaning of—we are healed—is like, for I am the Lord that healeth thee (Exod. xv. 26).

6. All we like the sheep, have gone astray: He means to say, like sheep without a shepherd, therefore he says, like *the* sheep, with a patach under the caph to denote^q the definite article, for it is the stray sheep that has no shepherd.—Hath laid (or, caused

^b Lit. there was to us.

ⁱ In the original the number is changed from the plural to the singular, because the verb here quoted from the fourth verse has the singular suffix.

^k Lit. says. The verb *to say*, both in the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament, is often used to express *intention*. In this sense it appears to be employed in Gal. iii. 16; 'he does not mean of seeds, as of many, but as of one.' That is, the promise just quoted relates to one particular class of descendants of Abraham, and not to his posterity in general. Many commentators have supposed the apostle to be reasoning from the use of the singular number in the original Hebrew, and have thus embarrassed themselves in a difficulty of their own making; whereas he rather appears to be merely explaining its meaning in the passage quoted, with the view of applying it to his subject.

^m That is, it is quadriliteral in the form here used, in Piel. The *vau*, it must be remembered, is radical.

ⁿ Eng. trans. 'bruised.'

^o Lit. of. See note * on p. 357.

^p Kimchi considers the original as expressive of *completeness*.

^q Lit. for.

to fall): It is the punishment which falls on them, and it is God who causes (it) to fall, for he sends the evil on them. The meaning of נָפַץ is, punishment of iniquity; as—for the punishment of the Amorites is not yet full.

7. It was exacted,* and he was afflicted: It was exacted in money: like—he exacted the silver—he shall not exact of his neighbours (2 Kings xxiii. 35; Deut. xv. 2). He was afflicted: in body, for they afflicted his body with stripes. And notwithstanding[†] he did not open his mouth. He was not permitted to cry and to murmur on account of what we were doing to him, but was like a lamb that they lead to slaughter, that doth not open its mouth, and doth not cry, or like the sheep that is dumb before its shearers. And the comparison of the lamb refers to him humble in body and to his innocence; and the comparison of the sheep refers to exaction of the money, which is—according to the comparison—the fleece. And he compares him to רֶכֶל and not to a כֶּשֶׁת, on account of its greater weakness,[‡] for in all species (of animals) the female is weaker than the male: thus Israel in the captivity were exceedingly weak. נֶאֱלָמָה, is dumb: it is milel,[§] and preterite Niphal. And he doth not open his mouth; neither on account of the body (afflicted) nor the money (exacted).[¶]

8. From oppression: From the oppression of the captives who

* Gen. xv. 16. The meaning of נָפַץ in this passage is most probably iniquity, as our translators have rendered it. Yet there can be no doubt that the word is often employed in the sense of punishment, distress, as the best critics and lexicographers have shown. It is thus used in Ps. xxxi. 11 (10), 'my strength faileth, because of my punishment or grief;' and in 2 Sam. xvi. 12, 'it may be that the Lord will look on mine affliction.' And in this sense it ought to be understood in Ps. xl. 13 (12), as the connection and parallelism evince: 'innumerable evils have compassed me about;—my distresses have taken hold upon me.' Thus, one objection to understanding this Psalm of the Messiah is removed.

† He was oppressed, Eng. trans.

‡ Lit. with all this.

§ The former word denotes properly a female sheep that is a mother, and the latter a sheep a year old and upwards. Gesen.

¶ This is a Chaldee term denoting that the word is accented on the penultima.

¶ When the reader calls to mind the intolerable exactions practised on the richer Jews in the middle ages, and the most iniquitous persecutions to which they were subjected, he will not be surprised that their commentators should apply such passages as the above to outrages, of which they were the unhappy witnesses, if not the miserable victims.

¶ The English translation is 'from prison,' but that of Kimchi is far better. The former involves the Christian exposition, which explains the whole chapter of the Messiah, in some difficulty, whilst the latter is entirely in harmony with it. The word is used for oppression, trouble, in Ps. cvii. 39, 'brought low through oppression.' The next word, rendered 'judgment,' most probably means judicial sentence, as in 2 Kings xxv. 6, 'they gave judgment upon him.' The preposition is not unfrequently used in the sense of *by*, as in Gen. ix. 11, 'by the waters of a flood,' Job vii. 14, 'by dreams, by visions.' The verb is used of dying, whether by a violent death or otherwise. If, then, we allow a hendiadys in the first part of the verse, the translation will be as follows, 'by an oppressive sentence he was taken off.' The correctness of the application to Jesus, the true Messiah, needs no illustration.

were oppressed there, and from the sentence of the prisoners which the judges passed on them: he was taken away and delivered from all this.—And his generation who would declare? who would have said that his generation should be so great!^a And it is like—who would have said unto Abraham (Gen. xxi. 7).—*אמר* has the sense of speaking: as^b—of the work of thy hands I will speak.^c And they are of the quadriliteral form of verbs quiescent *ain*.^d—For he was cut off from the land of the living; when he went into captivity from his land, which is called the land of the living, as—I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living (Ps. cxvi. 9): and how should we have supposed that he would have attained such greatness?—For the transgression of my people: every nation will say thus, that on account of its transgression the stroke had come on them, not on account of their own transgression.

9. And he gave.^e They put him to death—in the captivity, as they put to death the wicked on account of their wickedness, and (yet) he did no violence, and did not speak deceit with his mouth; and they put him to death, as if he had done evil, and they oppressed him with the wicked. And the meaning of, and he gave, (is,) that he delivered up himself to death; for they would have liberated him, if he would have denied his law and turned to their law. But he delivered himself to death, and would not deny his law; and thus it says, for thy sake are we killed all the day (Ps. xlv. 22). And the meaning of—and with the rich in his death—(is this), that indeed he enriched those that put him to death on account of his riches, and he was put to death not on account of wickedness which was in him, but on account of riches which he possessed. And (as to) the meaning of *במחיתו*: the word is plural, for they inflicted on them many (various) deaths; some of them were burned, and some of them were slain with the sword, and some of them were stoned; and they deliver themselves up to all (kinds of death), on account of the unity of God.

10. And the Lord was pleased to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: In his sorrows and in his distresses in the captivity, we only see God was pleased; for he adhered to his law, which is the law of truth, and he delivered himself up on account of it. Since (it was) thus, we see no reason for his sorrows, but, either he was seized on account of his iniquities, or, God was pleased thus to bruise him, and to put him to grief: and the pleasure of God we do not know.^f *החלי*, *aleph*, which is the last radical of

^a Lit. to such a degree in greatness.

^b Lit. and thus.

^c Ps. cxliii. 5. Our English translation has, 'I will muse.'

^d That is, the middle radical *van* is quiescent. ^e And he made, Eng. trans.

^f That is, we cannot fully comprehend the motives which led him thus to act.

the verb, is wanting, and it is called (or read) like verbs in aleph, although the root is most frequently with He.—וְנָתַן; If his soul shall make a trespass offering: But this we see, that a good recompense is (given) to him on account of the evil which he bore; and since his soul (or life) put itself in the place of a trespass offering, as he says—with the wicked—now he shall see great posterity: as the prophet Zechariah says respecting them—they shall increase as they have increased; and he says, I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon, and (place) shall not be found for them (x. 8, 10). And Ezekiel says, I will increase them (with) men like a flock (Ezek. xxxvi. 37).—He shall prolong his days: as it is said in this book, like the days of a tree are the days of my people (lxv. 22); and the prophet Zechariah says, and every man with his staff in his hand for great age (viii. 4).—‘And the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.’ Behold, in the captivity, it was the pleasure of the Lord to bruise him; but the recompense is this, it shall prosper in his hand; God was pleased to increase him, and to benefit him exceedingly.

11. Thus far (we have) the words of the nations: hereafter the words of God.—Of the trouble of his soul: (that) which he bore in the captivity, he shall have a retribution, because he shall see and be satisfied; that is, he shall see good with which he shall be satisfied.—By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify (or make righteous) many: My servant, that is, Israel, as we have said in the beginning of this section. And the exposition of, by his knowledge, corresponds with what is written, that the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord (Isa. xi. 9), and it is written that they shall all know me (Jer. xxxi. 34): and behold, my servant Israel, who was righteous and knew the Lord, shall make many nations righteous by his knowledge; as it is written, and many nations shall come and say, come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his way and so forth (Isa. ii. 3; or Mic. iv. 2).—And he will bear their iniquities: He, by his righteousness, will bear (away) the iniquities of the nations, for by his righteousness peace and happiness shall prevail in the world, even among the nations.

12. Therefore will I divide to him among many: Many and strong; these are Gog and Magog, and the nations that will come with them against Jerusalem, as the prophet Zechariah says: and the wealth of all the heathen round about shall be gathered together, gold, silver and apparel in great abundance (xiv. 14). And this shall be his recompense, because he poured out his life unto death; since he delivered up himself unto death
by

by the hand of the nations in the captivity, he shall have all this glory, and their money shall be instead of his money which they took, and their life instead of the life of him whom they put to death there; all the wealth of Gog and Magog, as it is written: *השירה*, he poured out his life to death; and thus, she poured out (emptied) her pitcher (Gen. xxiv. 20); it has the meaning of pouring out, but the form of the word is different.—And he was numbered with the transgressors; as we have explained (the clause), and he gave with the wicked his grave. And he bore the sin of many: it may be explained of the captivity; and he means (by) sin of many, that which the nations sinned against him, and he bore and carried their distress. And this is like,^s and the sin (is in) thine own people (Exod. v. 16). And he made intercession for the transgressors: And although he thus supplicated on account of the transgressors who had transgressed against him, and he was sought by them to bless their country; as it says, and seek the peace of the city whither I have carried you away captive and so forth (Jer. xxix. 7). And thus (it is used) in Hiphil,^h in the meaning of supplication and seeking—made intercession to the king (Jer. xxxvi. 25), and—wondered that there was no intercessor (Isa. lix. 16).

This section may also be explained in reference to the time of the redemption, and the interpretation will be as we have interpreted (the words)—and their iniquities he will bear. And (some of) our Rabbies explained it respecting Moses our master, on whom be peace, and they said: because he poured out his life unto death, (that is) since he delivered himself up to death, as it is said, and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written (Exod. xxxii. 32). And he was numbered with the transgressors, because he was numbered with those who died in the wilderness. And he bore the sin of many, because he made atonement on account of the work of the calf. And he made intercession for the transgressors, because he sought mercies on account of the transgressions of Israel.—But Jonathan interprets *יְשַׁכֵּל עַבְדִּי* thus: my servant Messiah shall prosper: and he explains *כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׂמָּה* (thus): as the house of Israel waited for him and so forth.

COMMENTARY OF RABBI ABEN EZRA,

ON ISAIAH LII. 13—LIII.

And behold my servant shall understand. This section is very difficult. Our opponents¹ say that it refers to their God, and they

^s Lit. according to the way of.

^h Lit. and like it of the grave conjugation:

¹ He means the Christians.

explain—

explain—my servant—of the body.^k But this is unfounded, for—shall understand—cannot be said of the body, even although the man were living. And further, what will be the meaning of—shall see seed, shall prolong days—while of the former he had none, and the latter is inapplicable to him! And further, he shall divide the prey with the strong. And the proof is complete, for (it is said) previously, that the Lord will go before them (lii. 12), meaning Israel, and afterwards, sing, O barren (liv. 1), meaning the congregation of Israel.^m And observe—my servant—means every (or any) Israelite in the captivity; and he is the Lord's servant. Many also explain it of the Messiah, on account of what our forefathers of blessed memory said, that on the day when the house of the sanctuary was destroyed, Messiah was born, and bound in fetters. But observe (that in this case) many verses would be without meaning; namely, he was despised and rejected by menⁿ—he was taken from prison and from judgment—and he gave with the wicked his grave: and what (then will be) the sense of—he will see seed—he will prolong days? And the Gaon, Rabbi Saadiah, whose memory be blessed, beautifully interprets the whole section of Jeremiah. Thus, the words, he will sprinkle many nations, will mean—by his mouth, in the course of his prophecy. Also he (Jeremiah) writes in the beginning of his book, as (if he were) a suckling before him, for he was young when he prophesied.^o And the Lord caused to meet on him—and he bare the sin of many: for thus he writes: remember that I stood before thee to ask good for them.^p—Like a lamb to the slaughter he

^k Aben Ezra appears to use this term to express our Lord's human nature, and to have had very indistinct ideas of the doctrine of the incarnation. Christians never predicated intelligence of the body of Christ, but of his soul. Even those sectaries who held that the Logos took the place of the soul, did not maintain the absurdity here implied.

^m Aben Ezra's objections are easily answered. The seed or posterity mentioned, are not natural but spiritual progeny, and the length of days is the everlasting life of the exalted Messiah in heaven. The division of the prey is figurative of the happy result of conquest. He acknowledges that interpreters in general had given such a figurative interpretation. See him on ver. 12, and the note there. And although the section does stand in connection with prophecies relating to Israel, both preceding and following, yet it is natural and according to Isaiah's manner, to introduce the Messiah either speaking or spoken of, inasmuch as he is intimately connected with the true Israel.

ⁿ Or, ceasing to be of men, as he afterwards explains it. These expressions, to which the wise Rabbi Abraham can attach no meaning if applied to the Messiah, are sufficiently plain to any one who remembers that the prophecies of the Old Testament represent him as a man, subjected to humiliation, disgrace, and death, preparatory to his exaltation to universal supremacy.

^o Aben Ezra alludes to Jer. i. 6, at the same time accommodating the words of Isaiah in liii. 2. He means, of course, when Jeremiah began to prophesy.
^p xviii. 20. The Hebrew is, to speak good; and thus also our English translation. It is possible that Aben Ezra may have confounded with this text Jer. xxix. 7, 'seek the peace of the city.'

is brought: and thus he writes—but I (was) like a lamb (or) an ox (that) is brought to the slaughter (xi. 19). And the words—he shall divide the spoil with the strong—may be explained in reference to the portion of food and the reward which the captain of the guard gave him.^a Still, however,^b it is evident to me that there is an intimate connection in this portion (of Isaiah's prophecy); and what reason can be assigned for introducing Jeremiah in the midst of consolations preceding and following? And observe, he speaks of any servant of the Lord who is in the captivity; or—my servant—is equivalent to—Israel my servant: the latter view is the more accurate.^c

LII. 13. And behold my servant יְשַׁעְיָה shall understand; for he will yet be exalted and raised up: נִשָּׂא is Niphal.

14. As (many) were astonished at thee: like—and your enemies shall be astonished at it (Levit. xxvi. 32); and the sense is, that every one who shall see the servant of the Lord shall be astonished; and the word—many—refers to the nations;^d and—so—is equivalent to, so it was.^e

14. So deformed than man: מְשוּחָה is an adjective (or concrete), and מְשוּחָה is of the same form as מְשוּחָה.^f And this (that the prophet here states) is a matter well known; for how many nations are there in the world who think that the Jew's form (appearance) is different from (that of) all others, and inquire whether a Jew has a mouth or an eye. Thus in the country of Ishmael and of Edom.

15. So shall he sprinkle. This conveys the same idea as shall be exalted and elevated. As our people were in such a condition,^g that their appearance was deformed in the eyes of beholders, so there shall come a time when they will be avenged on them; shall sprinkle being equivalent to shall pour out their blood.^h

The

^a xl. 5. The perversion of such a text as this of Isaiah to a circumstance so trivial as that referred to in the life of Jeremiah, is a melancholy proof of the effect of prejudice in degrading the intellect. Candour compels the admission that such degradation is not limited to Jewish expositors.

^b Lit. but.

^c Lit. and this is nearer than that; that is, it approaches more closely to the prophet's idea.

^d Lit. the meaning of many (is) the nations.

^e Lit. the meaning of so is as if he had said, *he was so*.

^f Lit. goes according to the way of.

^g Lit. as our nation was thus.

^h With this brief, though quite intelligible, language of Aben Ezra, let the reader compare the following passages from the popular lectures on the Prophecies relative to the Jewish nation, by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A., Lond. 1838. 'It is copiously predicted, that the cup of the Lord's anger shall continue in the hands of the Jews until the time appointed of the Lord, not merely to take it out of their hand, but also to transfer it into the hands of those who, till then, will have oppressed them: Edom, the Assyrian, and Babylon, were the great types of all the subsequent

The kings shall shut their mouths; and indeed at him, that is, on account of him.—What had not been told them shall they see; what had not entered into the heart of the nations (namely), that Israel should be delivered.

LIII. 1. Who, then the nations will say, who believed? who was there that believed that it should be according to this report which we heard? And the arm of the Lord to whom was it revealed? (that is), of old, as it hath been revealed to these?

1. And shall grow up: and lo, whatever Israelite serves the Lord—or, all Israel—grows up before the blessed Lord, like a tender plant or (branch); like—his branches shall spread (Hos. xiv. 7. 6).—And as a root out of a dry ground, which neither produces fruit nor becomes large.—He hath no form: this is to be explained like—and his form (was more deformed) than the sons of men.—And (when) we shall see him (there is) no beauty; the negative^a qualifies the word with which it is connected, and also the clause that follows;^b and thus he was, and we did not desire him. It is like—a gift in secret pacifieth anger.^c

3. He

subsequent enemies of the chosen nation, whether Romans, Turks, or professing Christians. The day of Jerusalem's recovery is the day of their ruin. In that day it will be a righteous thing in the servants of the Lord to execute unsparing destruction upon his and their enemies.—The Hebrews are now kept in dispersion and degradation till the iniquities of the modern mystical Edom and Babylon shall be full, and then fury shall be poured forth and vengeance executed both by their own hands, as in the case of Joshua's exterminating conquests, and by a greater hand than theirs, stretched out to fight for them.'—Lect. 11, pp. 69, 70.

It is evident that by enthusiastic and gloomy devotees, such representations might be employed in defence of any imaginable degree of fanatical butchery. To those, however, who believe that the restoration of the Jews to God will rather illustrate the character of the true Messiah as him who 'shall speak peace unto the Heathen,' (Zech. ix. 10) it is a consolation to think, that these sentiments of the popular lecturer will hardly do much mischief, as it is not probable that they will ever be practically verified. As for our Rabbi, happily he wrote in a language not understood by his Christian superiors, who, if they could have read his commentary, would probably have made him pay dearly for his exposition.

^a See note ^b, p. 358.

^b Lit. qualifies itself (or its substance) and another with it.

^c Prov. xxi. 14. It is particularly worthy of attention, that the Jewish commentators presume as a matter of course that every reader of their works is familiar with the Old Testament. Hence it is, that they frequently illustrate a passage by imperfectly quoting a similar one, leaving the omitted portion to be supplied by the memory. The lesson that this conveys to Christians, and to not a few Christian ministers, I need not state. The intelligent Jew of the middle ages read his Hebrew Bible, purchased in manuscript at a great price or written out by himself with much labour, without the aid of either dictionary or concordance, and read it so often that he became well acquainted with its contents, and even with its phraseology, so that the citing of a few words suggested to his mind the whole context. We have a striking illustration of this method of quoting in the text. In order to perceive the applicability of the passage in Proverbs to the case in hand, namely, that the negative particle qualifies two things, it is necessary to attend to the latter half of the verse, which runs thus: 'and a reward in the bottom strong wrath.' The one word 'pacifieth' qualifies both clauses of the sentence.

The

3. He was despised and ceased (to be) of men;^d he ceased to be reckoned among men.^e—A man of sorrows; (meaning), the servant of the Lord. And if (it is intended) of the whole (body), the sense of—man—is like—man of war;^f and it approximates to the pronunciation (or form) of *אִישׁ*,^g and is construct. The expression—sorrow and grief (or, sickness—denotes) the affliction of the captivity.—And as what we hide the face from.^h There are people even in the present day who, when they see a Jew, will hide their faces from him: and the meaning is (or the reason is, because) they will not look at him to deliver him.

4. Butⁱ the chief point^k of the verse (or the beginning of the portion)

The reader will not fail to observe several of these imperfect quotations in these selections, to which I add from Maimonides, in his Treatise on Repentance, two remarkable instances. In chap. vii. sect. 8, where he is speaking of the prayer of impenitent sinners being disregarded by God, he cites a part of Isa. i. 15, the omitted portion, however, being essential to the idea intended to be conveyed: 'the man who (in his impenitent state) was not answered, as it is said, yea, when ye make many prayers, and so forth.' The omitted words, 'I will not hear,' must be supplied. And again, chap. x. sect. 4, when speaking of love to God as the motive to study his law, he remarks, 'the wise men say again, (he had just before referred to other declarations of theirs,) delighteth greatly in his commandments.' The last words, which are cited also in the same connection in the Talmud, is an imperfect quotation from Ps. xii. 1, the former part of the verse—'blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, that'—being necessary to give meaning to the whole. One of the most striking examples that I have met with of this method of quoting or referring to a passage is in the commentary of Aben Ezra on Zech. iii. 2, 'is not this a brand plucked from the burning?' The Hebrew for *is not* is *אִינִי*, and it stands at the commencement of the clause; on which the commentator remarks, 'and the sense of *אִינִי* is allegorical,' meaning, the whole passage is so. And in the same way does the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews express himself in xii. 27, immediately after he had quoted from Hag. ii. 6, 'yet once I shake not the earth only, but also the heaven;' 'and this, yet once, signifieth and so forth,' that is, the whole clause of the prophet, beginning with this phrase, expresses the subject to which the apostle applies it. Our translation obscures the sense, by adding to the original the term *word*. Peculiarities in the mode of quotation in the New Testament, whether they relate to the language or the sense, may almost always be illustrated by reference to Jewish writings.

^d 'Rejected of men,' Eng. trans.

^e Comp. Ps. xxii. 7 (6). 'But I am a worm and no man.'

^f I presume Aben Ezra means to say, that the singular noun which is employed in the original is used collectively. In Isa. iii. 2, and Ezek. xxxix. 20, the word is doubtless susceptible of such a sense. But even there it evidently may denote an individual. Still it is well known that singular nouns are often understood collectively.

^g The author probably means that the original word *אִישׁ*, from which comes *אִישׁ*, is somewhat similar in its vowel sounds, or in its form to *אִישׁ*.—If the language, *brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio*, is applicable to any writer, it is most especially so to Aben Ezra.

^h 'And we hid as it were our faces from him,' Eng. trans.

ⁱ 'Surely,' Eng. trans.

^k The original is *אִישׁ*, which bears either of the senses given above. In favour of the latter it may be remarked, that on the 9th verse, the Rabbi uses the phrase *בְּאַחֲרָיו* afterwards or at last, which may be antithetic to *אִישׁ*, the first or beginning.

portion) is this, we were afflicting (or making sick) and he was bearing. Our sorrows—those by which we caused him to sorrow—he was sustaining, and we supposed that he was *smitten* נָנָה, from the same root as—and behold the *plague* is at a stand in his sight.^m—Smitten of God; construct (meaning), whom the Lord hath smitten and afflicted. The proof that the sickness ought to come on us is clear, because our law (or religion)ⁿ is wholly vain, and they have come on Israel, whose law is the law of truth; and the proof (is in the admission,ⁿ) all we like sheep have gone astray.

5. But he was wounded; from the root נָנָה. And the chastisement which shall perpetuate our peace, even it (was) on him; the proof (of which is in the words) and by his stripes we are healed. And the meaning of wounded (is this), that the Lord will visit the nations because they distressed Israel; and thus the Targum of Jonathan on—and I will cleanse their blood which I have not cleansed.^o And the meaning of—the chastisement of our peace—is this: It is well known that during the whole period of Israel's distress in the captivity, there shall also be peace to the nations. Dost thou not perceive that it is written respecting the time of the deliverance—and there shall be a time of trouble (Dan. xii. 1): and again, it is written, when the angel replied that all the earth sitteth still, and is at rest, and the angel answered, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem? (Zech. i. 11, 12). The meaning is, that during the whole period of rest to the nations, thou wilt not have mercy on Jerusalem.

All we: At last they will recognize the truth. And observe (that) this is intimately connected with—stricken, smitten of God; and it is like (what we read elsewhere), our fathers have inherited lies.^p—Caused to meet (or light),^q from the same root as—and he lighted on a place.^r—נָנָה is here equivalent to punishment; as—there shall no punishment happen unto thee—for the punishment

ning. He may intend to say, that at first Isaiah simply represents the nations as afflicting and the Jews as bearing; but afterwards he represents the nations as recognizing the truth, that the afflictions of the Jews were beneficial to themselves.

^m Levit. xiii. 5. The Hebrew reader need not be reminded that the words *smitten* and *plague* are of the same root.

ⁿ Meaning, that of the nations, in whose person the author supposes the prophet to be speaking.

^o Joel iv. (iii.) 21. The Targum is: I will avenge their blood on the nations. But it is difficult to see what bearing this can have on the meaning of wounded in the text, or on anything that can possibly be implied.

^p Jer. xvi. 19. The reader will bear in mind that Jeremiah puts this language in the mouth of Gentiles. He will remember too that Kimchi speaks of this supposed sentiment of the Gentiles as erroneous.

^q Hath laid, Eng. trans.

^r Gen. xxviii. 11. In both texts the original word is the same.

of the Amorites is not full—and the punishment of the daughter of my people is great.*—But some compare it with[†]—and do not make intercession to me—and say, that the exposition of the עַן of us all, should be according to its literal sense,[‡] and that the meaning is, he will intercede in order that there may be peace to the world, agreeably to (what we read)—and seek the peace of the city (Jer. xxix. 7). The word עַן will however be in harsh construction[§] with בָּנֵי הַמִּצֵּי.

7. עַן is in Niphal. Yet he opened not his mouth. This requires no explanation, for every Jew in the captivity is in this situation: for in the time of his affliction he will not open his mouth to speak; how much less the righteous man among them, who will not devote himself to the world, but to the service of God, and will not flatter[¶] prince or great man, in order that he may stand up for him in the breach when man rises up against him.—And he will not open his mouth; meaning, at any time.

8. From prison: Now behold the Lord delivers Israel and the truth^{*} of the righteous ones of Israel.—He was taken: The Lord took him from prison, him who had been imprisoned by a judgment, a vindictive judgment.—And his generation who shall declare? like—or speak (declare) to the earth and it shall teach thee (Job xii. 8): it means, who was there that told the men of his generation that it should be thus? and he was long ago:[‡] as (it is said) he was cut off out of the land of the living. For the transgression of my people: (These are) the words of every nation (who will say) this, that the stroke which fell upon Israel was on account of our transgressions: as—he was wounded for our transgressions; and this is undoubtedly the meaning, and for the transgression of my people the stroke will come upon them: for the word לָמוֹ is equivalent to לָהֶם.^b

9. And he (or they) gave: Some explain this of those among the captives who died, and some say, that the word בְּמוֹתָיו (in his

* 1 Sam. xxviii. 10; Gen. xv. 16; Lam. iv. 6. Compare note * on p. 360.

† Lit. there are some who say it is derived from. Jer. vii. 16, where in the original the word is the same.

‡ That is, iniquity.

§ Lit. go hard. He means, if it be understood in the sense of iniquity.

¶ Lit. know, recognize.

^a The Hebrew is הַאֱמֶת. If pointed thus, הַאֱמֶת, it means *the truth*, and most probably refers to their fidelity or true religious character; but if pointed thus, הָאֱמֶת, it will signify *the nations*. I prefer the former punctuation, as the latter word can hardly be used to express the Jewish people.

[‡] I do not understand this. The Hebrew is כִּבְרָהּ הָיָה, which may be rendered, *and it was long ago*, or, *though it has been for a long time*.

^b That is, the prophet uses the one word for the other, because they are of the same meaning, the former being more poetical.

death),

death), is from the same root as—and thou shalt tread upon בְּמוֹתָיו (their high places), and that it refers to the mausoleum,^c thus making it expressive of—his grave.—And with the rich, עֲשֵׂי, equivalent to the wicked, עֲשֵׂי : and the meaning is, the nations, who are rich in comparison with Israel. It is evident to me, that the sense of the verse (is this), that during the whole period in which Israel was distressed in the captivity, he was willing to die with the nations ; as (Samson says), let me die with the Philistines (Judg. xvi. 30). And the Scripture says—and he gave—referring to his will ; like what is said of Balak, and he warred^d against Israel. And the evidence that this relates to the greatness of the distress is what is said (immediately afterwards), because he had done no violence. For the nations will distress Israel without cause, and not on account of (any) act which they had committed, or evil word that they had spoken. The interpretation may comprehend both the views given.^e And if it be objected, is it not בְּמוֹתָיו? (the punctuation) is not changed in the expression עַל בְּמוֹתָיו,^f and why is it changed in the word בְּמוֹתָיו? it may be replied, that this word has two forms,^g as—eunuchs of Pharaoh—and—eunuchs of the king.^h

10. And the Lord was pleased to bruise him : (in form) like—to speak peaceably unto him ;ⁱ of the pliel conjugation, with dagesh—הָחֵלֵי. He hath put him to grief (or made him sick) ; of (verba) in He. It follows the form of (those in) Aleph ; and we find also—its sicknesses (הַחֲלָוִים), with which the Lord hath made it sick (חָלָה) (Deut. xxix. 21) (22). And behold, he was pleased to bruise him ; to chastise him in the captivity.—When his soul will make an offering for sin ; the fear of the Lord will be upon him,^m He shall see children and prolong days ; for he shall see, he and his children, the salvation (deliverance) of the

^c Lit. the building which is over the grave.

^d Meaning, it was his wish and effort to make war. Josh. xxiv. 9.

^e Lit. for it may be explained in reference to both subjects (or forms). That is, it may comprehend death and mausoleum both, according to the punctuations in בְּמוֹתָיו and עַל בְּמוֹתָיו.

^f That is, the Beth is pointed with Sheva, and not, as in the other word, with Kametz.

^g He means the punctuation here is not altered ; the Beth does not change its Kametz into Sheva.

^h Lit. goes according to two analogies.

ⁱ Gen. xl. 7 ; Esth. vi. 14. The English translation in the latter passage has 'chamberlains,' but the Hebrew word in both places is the same, except that the one has Sheva and the other Kametz, thus making the two forms referred to. On account of this difference Aben Ezra cites the words as analogous to the two under consideration.

^k Gen. xxxvii. 4. He means that the form of בְּרָאָה in Isaiah is like בְּרָאָה in Genesis.

^m That is, he will be under the influence of true religion.

Lord, And observe, he is speaking of that generation which will be converted to the Lord, to the law of the Lord, when the time arrives, the coming of the Messiah. And the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand; this relates to religion, (and it means), that the nations shall be converted to the law of the Lord.

11. Of the travail (labour): It means the reward which he shall receive on account of what he hath borne. He shall see his desire; or, he shall see good until he is satisfied; because by his knowledge he will make many righteous; and these are the nations whom Israel will teach to keep the law. And the meaning of—he shall bear their iniquities—is, that Israel shall partake^a of the distress of the nations on account of the multitude of their iniquities; not as they acted towards Israel.^b Or else the meaning is, that they (Israel) would intercede with God on account of the nations, according to the meaning of—and if the family of Egypt go not up.^c This is evident to me, for it is proved by the subsequent verse.

12. Therefore: All the interpreters say that this verse is figurative, and relates to those who died on account of (the doctrine of) God's unity; and that the term many (רבים) is equivalent to great (גדולים), as—to every great man^d of his house—and refers to the prophets, and—the strong—to the fathers: and (thus) the meaning will be, that the portion of those who have died on account of the unity will be with the prophets. Now we know that this thing is (indeed) true, but (the exposition) does not accord with the meaning of the section.^e It is evident to me, that the sense is this: therefore I will give to Israel a portion, spoil and plunder of many nations; and from the strong, like—as soon as I go out from the city.^f On account of this (he shall have) a reward, because he poured out his soul to death. Some say that it

^a Lit. be associated with.

^b That is, the nations did not participate in or sympathize with Israel's distress.

^c Zech. xiv. 18. This is an imperfect quotation. The author appears to have in mind the punishment threatened against such as shall refuse to go up to Jerusalem to worship the Lord, to avert which Israel is supposed to intercede. See the context in Zechariah.

^d Esth. i. 8. The English translation is—'to all the officers;' but the version of Aben Ezra is much nearer the Hebrew, which is על כל־דבר.

^e I presume the author means, that, as the section in general describes literally the distress of Israel, the language by which the subsequent happiness and reward are described ought also to be understood literally, and therefore must not be explained simply of a future spiritual reward. It is important, however, to note his admission, that commentators had generally so understood it, inasmuch as this figurative meaning developing a spiritual reward, is the only one which accords with the Christian interpretation.

^f Exod. ix. 29. This reference is to show, that מן has the force of a preposition, and means from.

corresponds

corresponds with נָלַל and denotes publicity.¹ But it is plain to me that it is like—and she poured out her pitcher (Gen. xxiv. 20), though the forms are different; and evidence (may be found in the text)—pour not out my soul,² in the same meaning as נָלַל.—נָלַל means the same as נָלַל and with.—Transgressors, because they transgressed against the Lord: thus were Israel accounted. And he bare the sin of many: for their distress procured peace (happiness) for all the nations, and the sin which they should have borne was borne by Israel.—And for the transgressors: on account of the transgressors he interceded with the Lord, agreeably to—seek the peace of the city (Jer. xxix. 7). The expression—for the transgressors—is to be explained of the nations.

I have thus interpreted to thee the whole section. And in my opinion, the expression, behold my servant shall understand, refers to him of whom the prophet says, behold, my servant, I will uphold him,—and he said to me, thou art my servant (Isa. xlii. 1; xlix. 3). And so it is written—by his knowledge shall my righteous servant make many righteous: and it is written, I gave my back to the smiters (Isa. l. 6).—And the deep sense is as I have pointed out through half³ of the book, and observe all the divisions are closely connected.

TRANSLATION OF THE TARGUM,

ON ISAIAH LII. 13—LIII.

Introduction.

The word Targum means interpretation, and is employed to designate certain translations or paraphrases of the Old Testament into Chaldee. In very ancient periods, the Bible was translated into the vernacular languages of Jews who lived out of Palestine, and had lost, either partially or wholly, their knowledge of Hebrew. The Septuagint was prepared for those who were accustomed to the use of Greek, and the Targums for such as had gradually substituted the Chaldee dialect for their own. The most celebrated of these paraphrastic translations are those of ONKELOS on the Pentateuch, and JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL ON

¹ He means, that some interpreters explain נָלַל in this place to *make bare, expose*, like נָלַל, to *reward, disclose, uncover*.

² Ps. cxli. 8. In our English translation—'leave not my soul destitute.' But the Hebrew word is the same as that in Isaiah, and the translation of Aben Ezra is quite exact.

³ Does he mean, through the latter half or portion of Isaiah, from the 40th chapter to the end? The phrase,—*servant of the Lord*—occurs exclusively in this part of his prophecies.

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the prophets. In addition to the books to which we are accustomed to apply this term, the Jews comprehend under it Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. These they call the former prophets, in contradistinction to the others, denominated the later. According to the best Jewish accounts, Onkelos flourished a short period before Christ, with whom Jonathan was nearly contemporaneous. Some critics have endeavoured to prove that the translation ascribed to Jonathan is not of earlier date than the third or fourth century; and that the diversity of its style, in different places, shows it to be the work of several authors. But Gesenius, who has examined this subject with his accustomed accuracy, denies that this representation is well founded, and maintains that the asserted diversity of style is nothing more than the adaptation to different kinds of composition in the Hebrew Bible itself, whether historical, didactic, or poetical, judiciously made by the one translator; and that there is no good reason to deny the Targum the antiquity which the Jews ascribe to it. The substance of his remarks is as follows.

The reasons which have been alleged against the antiquity of this Targum are not satisfactory. 'Were it as old as its advocates maintain (says Eichhorn), it could not have been unknown to the fathers:—it contains fables which came into circulation in a later age:—it attempts to exclude the Messiah from the places which the Christians explained of him (Isa. liii. ; lxiii. 1-5), which proves that controversies against the Christians were not unusual at the time of its composition;—not to urge the consideration, that a Chaldee version was unnecessary at the period assigned to it.' The first and last of these reasons carry their own refutation along with them; for the fathers in general had no knowledge of Jewish works, and the prevalency of the Chaldee dialect in the time of Christ shows that such translations, which were also interpretations, were then undoubtedly necessary. That the explanation of Isa. liii. , lxiii. 1-5, which applies these places to the Messiah, is set aside, is utterly unfounded. In the former it is expressly given, and with the greatest arbitrariness; and if this is not the case as to the latter, the omission need not be attributed to any polemic influence, especially as it cannot be proved that the Christians attached extraordinary value to this passage as referring to the Messiah. At the same time, the Targumist agrees with the Christians in most of the other places which they explained of the Messiah, particularly chapters ix., xi., xlii. The introduction of the later Jewish fables would be a most serious difficulty, were it possible to show with any certainty the time of their origin. Morinus appeals to the name Armillus as applied to Antichrist in Isa. xi. 4; but the general idea of Antichrist is

more ancient than the New Testament, and it cannot be proved that the name *Armillus*, the origin of which is unknown, must be so late. Until stronger evidence therefore is alleged for the contrary, I shall adhere to that designation of the age of this Targum which is marked out by tradition; especially as the Chaldee is pure and like that of *Onkelos*. The doctrine which it contains respecting the Messiah seems rather to be earlier than the New Testament than later, and no definite trace of the government having been overthrown appears in it,⁷ although the author has intermingled references to his own times.

With more certainty still may the unity of this Targum, which many late critics have denied, be defended. 'The work (it is said) is altogether unequal; the historical books are translated pretty literally, but the poetical are paraphrased, and additional ideas often introduced. This shows the version to have been composed by various authors.' Not necessarily, for the author does certainly interpret the historical parts of the prophetic books, for the most part, simply and literally, while he paraphrases the poetical portions of the historical books, and explains the figures contained in them; so that this supposed inequality rather seems to belong to his manner. In the degree in which he acts the paraphrast, he is not entirely uniform; but it would be very unreasonable to ascribe the work on this account to various authors, since the same is true of the *Septuagint*. This want of uniformity is rather to be attributed to the inequality and variable manner of the translator. If some passages, which are probably interpolations, are excluded, I must maintain, that, even with the real varieties which appear in particular parts, the whole translation is the work of one author.

The learned writer then proceeds to examine the character of this version, which he exhibits in the following particulars:—

1. 'This paraphrast often understands his text philologically and exegetically with perfect correctness, and expresses its meaning, especially in historical representations, with literal accuracy; but when the language is figurative, he attempts, in his paraphrastic way, to elucidate it, either by explaining the figures or by introducing something additional.

2. But not unfrequently his exposition is entirely capricious. The grammatical interpretation is abandoned, the true meaning of the figures misconceived, and although the very words of the text may be repeated in the paraphrase, this is done in the most arbitrary connection, and sometimes with an overwhelming flood of fictitious trifling.

⁷ The language in *liii. 5*, may as well be supposed to refer to the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans as by the Romans.

3. He retains for the most part the geographical names, like Onkelos, and but seldom substitutes the modern terms. When he does, however, he is often correct.

4. In common with many ancient translators, the Alexandrine and Saadiah particularly, he willingly rejects those anthropopathic terms* and other expressions used of God, which might give offence. Both of them appear to him inconsistent with the dignity of God and of the sacred Scriptures.

5. Another character of this version, as I have already intimated, is the introduction of matter not in the text. Much more abundantly than the Alexandrine translator, Jonathan arbitrarily introduces into his paraphrase views which belong to a period later than that of his author; also Rabbinical sayings and Jewish theology of his own time, and often in such a way as to show but too plainly the Rabbi of the Pharisees and the learned scribe.

Under this last head Gesenius remarks as follows. The Targumist explains 'the servant of God,' in Isa. xlii. 1, exactly like Matthew in xii. 17-21, showing, that he regarded this place as prophetic of a Messiah, who should be the comforter of the poor, and the instructor of the heathen. And in the same way does he explain it in xliii. 10, while, in other places, he interprets it of the people, and often in the same section. So especially, in the celebrated passage lii. 13, liii., where what is said of the distressed state of the servant of God, is referred to the people, and what is announced respecting his elevation, or at least what he thus considers, is applied to the Messiah. In his doctrine, from the reception of which results happiness, and in the intercession for the people which is ascribed to him, we have evidently the prophetic and high-priestly offices, which, together with the kingly, the Jews thus attached to the character of the Messiah, and which, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we find committed to Christ. The importance of these statements consists in this—they prove that the views of the Talmudist, and, we may say, of the better class of Jews of his age, on these points, are entirely coincident with Christian doctrine; and consequently, that later Jewish expositions wholly different, are an abandonment of the old, orthodox exposition.

These characteristics are all illustrated by ample references, and in such a way as to show that the author has examined the subject with great care and industry. The original German may be found in the introduction to his Commentary on Isaiah, sect. 11, pp. 65-80, and an English translation, in a volume entitled *Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature*, by a Society of

* That is, language used in relation to the Deity, which is founded on human analogies.

Clergymen, published by G. and C. and H. Carvill, New York, 1829; 8vo. pp. 412-426.

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan are exceedingly important in the controversy between the Jews and Christians. The reader may find a list of places in the Old Testament, explained of the Messiah by these very ancient Jewish interpreters, in Buxtorf's Talmudic Lexicon, under that word, col. 1268-1273.

TARGUM OF JONATHAN BEN UZZIEL,

ON ISAIAH LII. 13—LIII.

LII. 13. Behold, my servant, Messiah, shall prosper; he shall be exalted, and become great, and be very strong.

14. As the house of Israel expected him many days, who was mean among the nations;—their appearance and their splendour compared with those of^a the children of men.

15. So shall he scatter many nations; on account of him kings shall be silent; they shall put their hands upon their mouth, because what they did not tell them have they seen, and what they did not hear have they understood.

LIII. 1. Who hath believed this our report, and the strength of the arm of the power of the Lord, now to whom hath it been revealed?

2. And the righteous one^b shall be magnified before him, lo, like suckers which flourish, and like a tree which casteth forth its roots along the streams of water, thus the holy one shall increase in the land which had need of him. His appearance will not be a common appearance, and his fear^c not the fear of an ordinary man, but his splendour will be holy splendour, so that every one who shall see him will contemplate him (or regard him with attention).

3. Therefore he will be for contempt, and (or but) he will destroy the glory of all kings. They will be weak and afflicted, lo, like a man of sorrows and destined to sicknesses (or infirmities), and when the face of majesty (shekinah) was withdrawn from us, we were despised and not regarded.

4. Therefore on account of our sins will he supplicate, and our iniquities shall be pardoned for his sake, and we were regarded as bruised, smitten from before (by) the Lord and afflicted.

5. And he will build the house of the sanctuary, which was

^a Lit. than.

^b The word in the original is in the singular number.

^c That is, the fear which he will excite; as in Ps. xc. 10—'according to thy fear'—may mean, according to the reverence with which men regard thee.

profaned on account of our sins, was delivered up on account of our iniquities, and by his doctrine peace shall be increased on us, and when we shall obey his word, our sins shall be pardoned us.

6. All we like sheep have been scattered, we have departed each one towards his way, and it pleased the Lord^d to pardon the sins of us all on his account.

7. He prayed and was answered, and before he opened his mouth he was accepted. He will deliver up the strong of the nations like a lamb for a victim, and like a sheep which is dumb before its shearers, and in his presence there is none that speaketh a word.

8. From chastisements and retribution (or punishment) he will bring near our captivity, and the wonders which shall be done for us in his days, who is able to recount? for he will take away the dominion of the nations from the land of Israel; sins which my people were guilty of shall extend to (that is, affect) them.

9. And he will deliver up the wicked to hell, and the rich in substance who acted violently with destructive death;^e that they who commit sin may not live, neither speak deceit^f with their mouths.

10. And it was the pleasure of the Lord to melt and to purge the remnant of his people, in order to purify their souls from sins: they shall see the kingdom of their Messiah, they shall increase sons and daughters, they shall prolong their days, and, doing the law of the Lord, by his pleasure they shall prosper.

11. From subjection to the nations he will free their souls; they shall see the punishment of their enemies;^g they shall be satisfied with the plunder of their kings. By his wisdom he will purify the pure (or justify the just), in order to subject many to the law, and on account of their sins he will supplicate.

12. Therefore will I divide to him the plunder of many nations, and the wealth of strong fortified places; he shall divide the booty, because he delivered up his soul to death, and subjected the rebels to the law, and on account of the sins of many he will supplicate, and rebels shall be pardoned on his account.

^d Lit. and from before the Lord there was pleasure.

^e That is, who inflicted violent death.

^f Buxtorf, followed by Walton, reads נבלין, deceits; the Bomberg Bible and others נבלין, follies.

^g Or, the vengeance taken on them.

VOICES OF THE NIGHT.

Voices of the Night. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. London, J. F. Shaw. 12mo. pp. 454. 1850.

THIS elegant little work is in fact a volume of sermons, most of which have been preached by their eloquent author in the Scotch National Church, Crown Court, Covent Garden; but great ingenuity has been displayed to make it appear in a form more engaging than an ordinary batch of pulpit discourses. It is well known in Paternoster Row that the market is already overstocked with 'Sermons,' and that the public are not easily captivated with volumes that contain nothing else. The great charm of the present work is that it presents something of a united aspect. The *Voices of the Night* fall pleasantly upon the ear throughout, and the several chapters (not sermons) are so far linked together that we are beguiled into a continuous perusal, and are reluctant to lay the book down till the word 'Finis' gives us the word of command.

The title suggests that the subject-matter approaches the region of poetry. Each chapter is ushered in with a well-chosen quotation from one or other of our English bards;* and the well-known style of the author, abounding in eloquent description and elaborated ornament, preserves the tone thus indicated. The table of contents is itself a bouquet of elegantia. 'What of the Night?' 'Nature's Travail and Expectancy,' 'The World-copy,' 'The Time-page,' 'Nearing Sunrise,' etc., are suggestive fragmentary titles that set the reader dreaming before he cuts the leaves. We are almost surprised to find, on first glancing at the type, that it is in solid rectangular pages of prose, and does not present the irregular appearance of poetry. The explanation is speedily given. The subjects are poetical, but the treatment is in the highest degree real and practical. Dr. Cumming has chosen a series of topics which supply food for the most exuberant fancy, but he has shown how they stand connected with the hopes and joys, as well as duties and difficulties, of every-day life. He nowhere forgets the influence of these truths on the heart of his reader, and ever strives to enforce a lesson of heavenly-mindedness. We might say that he stands upon the boundary-line that separates things seen from the unseen; or that more subtle line which, in matters

* We wish that the poems had been indicated from which the extracts have been given. We conjecture that the author has some motive for withholding this information.

of religious faith, divides things clearly revealed from those which are but dimly suggested. Hence the imagination finds occasionally that matter-of-fact reason lags somewhat in the rear—hence the transition from prose to poetry; but after all it is a *poëma* which has inspiration to give it stability, and in the *poëma* the imagination has a safe guide. We think this work well calculated to erect a ‘sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion,’ and more especially those matters which relate to the Christian’s hope. We should have some difficulty in selecting a particular class to whom the perusal of the work would afford pleasure and profit, for it is addressed to *all*. The sympathies of the author are as wide as his style is popular; and no one who has learned in any degree to think upon these lofty subjects, can fail to derive a new stimulus to his meditations. Perhaps the afflicted will owe to the author a peculiar debt of gratitude: they cannot but find many consolatory thoughts, dressed as they are in persuasive language, and uttered as it were in soothing tones that gently waft across a troubled spirit. To them, these *Voices of the Night* will be sweet melodies, bidding them escape from the cares of earth, and realise the joys of future bliss.

The chapter on ‘Nature’s Travail and Expectancy,’ with those immediately succeeding, constitute the portion of the work which we should regard as most important, because the views brought forward have a higher claim to originality. The author approaches a subject of some difficulty but of deep interest, when he discusses the ‘groans of creation.’ He has in some measure drawn aside the veil that concealed the ulterior destiny of the physical universe. We are well aware that many pious minds recoil from the idea of deducing the future history of man’s abode from that revelation which makes known the future history of man; but we claim a Scriptural investigation, whatever may be the difficulties. The question is this:—Are there any sympathies between man and the material creation? If so, does the Bible supply any comment upon those sympathies? We will first remark that the present age is one eminently favourable for the discussion of such a subject; and it will be no obstacle to the position which we are inclined to adopt, that the theology of ages bygone has passed the matter over in silence. Geology is every day casting fresh light on the physical history of the globe; our ideas of the age of the world are immensely expanded; we have now to deal with millenniums as with minutes; but the Christian system does not fear the light of science. We are fully persuaded that this light must ultimately add to the glorious blaze of that central light that shines in the firmament of revelation; and the same kind of illumination will now be thrown on those suggestions of
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Holy Writ which tell us of new heavens and a new earth—which tell us how the groans of creation shall be 'changed for a happier song—how a paradise shall bloom where a desert has bared its arid surface. One aspect of moral influences on material creation will be confessed by all believers in Scripture. We mean the curse pronounced upon the ground when Adam fell:—'Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life: Thorns also, and thistles, shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field: In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground, for out of it wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return' (Gen. iii. 17-19).

Dr. Cumming eloquently describes the results palpable now as ever by which the curse has been followed:—

'I know that in looking around us at creation, and witnessing the present state of disorder in which it lies, we sometimes feel as if this were its normal state—that creation is, as the Pantheists say, just what God made it—and that it is far better it should be now just as we find it; for if there were no storms, nor incidents, nor accidents, nor tempests, men would not exert so much industry and energy, or come under so suitable a discipline. I have no doubt that creation in its fall is more fitted for man in his fall, than creation in its happiness would be; but it is the infected house that suits the infected inhabitant—it is the marred and dismantled home that indicates the presence of the criminal. Sin is the spring of all creation's restlessness: it is sin that has wrecked it. It is because man became sinful that the earth became barren; it was because man lost his allegiance to God that nature ceased her allegiance to him, and that we have war and discord instead of peace, and creation clothed in sackcloth and crape, groaning in travail and pain, seeking her emancipation.'—p. 153.

Of course this will in general be admitted. The point which Dr. Cumming labours further to establish is, that if creation suffers for man's sin, it will be restored in consequence of man's redemption. He is prepared with a passage of Scripture which goes a very long way towards proving this, if only we can agree upon the meaning of a particular word:—'The creation (*κτίσις*) itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation (*πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις*) groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now (Rom. viii. 11, 12).' Those who deny the restoration of material things, deny that *κτίσις* includes anything more than 'reasonable creatures.' They quote the passage, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature' (*πᾶσιν τῇ κτίσει*) (Mark xvi. 15), and argue that the creatures who groan in the one case are those who are capable of hearing the Gospel

Gospel in the other ; but they are constrained to confess that out of the nineteen times this word is used in the New Testament, it means, in at least fourteen instances, simply the created universe, the dumb brute, the material earth, stones, wood, flower, fruit, and sea. The passage in St. Mark appears to favour their view. Let us, however, call in the testimony of Mr. Alford, who, in his admirable new Greek Testament, gives the following note on the passage, where we may observe that his critical judgment is utterly unbiassed by any thought whatever of the controversy in which Dr. Cumming is engaged. The italics are his own :—

‘Not to *men* only, although men only can hear the *preaching* of the Gospel ; *all creation* is redeemed by Christ (see Col. i. 15, 23 ; Rom. viii. 19-23). Hominibus primario, ver. 16, reliquis creaturis, secundario. Sicut maledictio, ita benedictio patet. Creatio per Filium, fundamentum redemptionis et regni, *Bengel* in loc. *κτίσις* appears never in the New Testament to be used of *mankind alone*.’—*Alford’s Gr. Test.*, vol. i. p. 301.

The passage in Col. i. 15 (*πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*) is ambiguously translated in our version, ‘first-born of every creature ;’ and this would appear to imply, to the non-classical reader, ‘*rational* creature.’ It shows, however, that our Lord was rather the head of the created universe, according to the law of primogeniture ; or, to adopt Schleusner’s translation, ‘*princeps et dominus omnium rerum creatarum*.’ This will be found to coincide with a similar expression applied to our Lord (Rev. iii. 14, *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ*), where the same interpretation of *κτίσις* applies. The word is used (Heb. iv. 13) where the idea of rational creature might seem to be conveyed—*οὐκ ἔστι κτίσις ἀφανὴς ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*—but here the universal creation is really implied, as may be gathered from the antithetical remainder of the passage : ‘*All things (πάντα)* are naked and opened unto the eyes of Him with whom we have to do.’ The primary meaning of the term is an ‘act of creating,’ or a ‘creative process.’ This rendering gives a new force to two passages where our version limits the term to rational creatures. We refer to 2 Cor. v. 17, and Gal. vi. 15. Let the reader well weigh these verses under this proposed aspect :—‘Therefore if any man be in Christ, there is *a new creative process*. (What this process is, the verse proceeds to show.) Old things are passed away ; behold all things are become new.’ And, ‘For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but *a new creative process*.’ In this last passage, *περιτομή* implies a ceremonial process. The use of *κτίσις*, therefore, in the sense of a process, will harmonise far better. We need only refer to one more interpretation of which the word admits, viz., the origination of thoughts or arrangements ; and, by metonymy, the thoughts or arrangements

arrangements themselves. This idea is conveyed, 1 Pet. ii. 13: *ὑποτάγητε οὖν πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει*, 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man.' This acceptance of the term is perhaps applicable in the passage we cited from Heb. iv. 13, which will then stand: 'Neither is there any *mental device* that is not manifest in his sight.' Yet, if this meaning be preferred, the limitation to the rational creature is still excluded.

We feel most anxious to establish this interpretation of the word; and have examined, as we believe, all those passages which the opponents of Dr. Cumming's view are eager to cite. We think that we have sufficiently demonstrated Mr. Alford's statement—'*κτίσις* appears never in the New Testament to be used of mankind alone.' The learned Doctor is probably aware, also, of a passage in the apocryphal book of Wisdom, where *κτίσις* has the same extended meaning:—'He shall take to him his jealousy for complete armour, and make the *creature* his weapon for the revenge of his enemies' (Wisd. v. 17). The use of the term in Mark xvi. 15 is unquestionably the strongest argument in favour of those who contend for the translation, 'rational creature;' but we ask, Is it inconsistent with the general language of Scripture that the Apostles should be told to preach the Gospel to the *whole creation of God*? Did not this same creation hear the *δυσανγγελίον*, the curse which turned paradise into a wilderness, and made thistles grow where flowers alone had bloomed? and shall it not hear the *εὐανγγελίον*, the glad tidings of restoration? But the unimaginative interpreters will say that woods and rocks, and mountains and hills, cannot hear. Let them listen to the prophet Micah:—'Arise, contend thou before the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice. Hear ye, O mountains, the Lord's controversy, and ye strong foundations of the earth; for the Lord hath a controversy with his people.' We see therefore no inconsistency in the idea of preaching the Gospel to the whole creation; and we are abundantly satisfied that the whole creation of organized matter groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.

Let us examine, however, some of the results of the opposite view. Assume that it is the mass of God's reasoning creatures from which this cry ascends to heaven. In the first place we find, from the very next verse, that Christians are excluded from the number. 'Not *only* they (or rather *it*, the *κτίσις*), but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves waiting for the adoption, to wit the redemption of the body.' Consequently those who groan are separate and distinct from those who have the first fruits of the Spirit. But we are told also that the *κτίσις* waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. How can 'Turks, infidels and heretics' have any

any such expectation? To them the 'manifestation of the sons of God' will be the signal for divine wrath. We will here quote Dr. Cumming's words:—

'It has been argued that all men look for the manifestation of the sons of God just as Christ may be said to be "the Desire of all nations;" but the text in Haggai merely shows that there is a desire in the heart of every man, an aching want which Christ alone can meet and satisfy. But it is not necessarily taught that all nations do actually desire Christ; for another prophet says, "There is no beauty in him that men should desire him." It is one thing to say there is a desire in the human heart which Christ alone can satisfy and quiet; another to say all men look for an event which does not satisfy any desire they feel, and which therefore they must believe in if they expect it, for a manifestation of the sons of God will satisfy no desire whatever. To a Christian alone it can be an object of hope; to creation, the arrival of a coming event, on the advent of which it will rejoice.'—p. 139.

Now here we are inclined to suggest an answer to the argument deduced, from the passage cited from Haggai, which differs from that advanced by the author of these essays. Can it be proved that 'the desire of all nations' is rightly interpreted as the Christ? Probably the Doctor is pledged in some way to this view, or he might have taken a stronger stand against his opponents. There is a difficulty in translating the passage from the circumstance that a plural verb has a singular nominative case, so that the literal Latin translation is 'et venient desiderium omnium gentium.' The Septuagint have rendered it, *καὶ ἔξει τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν*. It may be translated, 'They shall come (bringing) the precious things of all nations,' or we may paraphrase it in Calvin's words, 'The nations shall come, and bring with them everything that is precious, in order to consecrate it to the service of God; for the Hebrews call whatever is valuable a desire; so that under this term they include all riches, honours, pleasures, and everything of this kind.' We believe that Dr. Cumming is one of those who has admitted the possibility of a temple being built at Jerusalem, the splendour of which shall fulfil the prophecy. 'The glory of this house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts.' We cannot vouch for such being his opinion, neither do we express any certainty ourselves; but on such a supposition the prophecy of Haggai becomes very intelligible. 'I will shake all nations, and they shall come bringing their treasures' (for what purpose? surely that they may erect a noble temple to the Lord); 'And I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts.' 'The SILVER is mine and the GOLD is mine, saith the Lord of Hosts.' These very treasures of silver and gold are completely at the disposal of Him whose alone they are. We will just add,

add, that the view of Calvin, which appears best to reconcile all the difficulties of this *obscure* passage, has been held by Kimchi, Drusius, Vitranga, and others. In any case, however, little support can be deduced for the opinion, that the unbelieving portion of mankind waits for the manifestation of the sons of God.

We will now assume the interpretation of *κρίσις* to be established according to our author's view. We are, therefore, enabled to advance to his consideration of the prophecy, that the material creation shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. We need not follow his magnificent descriptions of created things 'subjected to vanity.' We are all well aware that the impress of sin is everywhere discernible. But the most striking point which the author has touched upon is the tendency at present discernible, throughout nature, in the direction of improvement.

'It has often occurred to me,' he says, 'that everything in nature seems to be pushing up and pressing into a state that is better. Every one will tell you, who has paid attention to the subject, that all nature seems as if there were some load upon it—as if it were anxious to be something better than we see it. Take a plant, and put on it something that will press it down and hide it from the light; it will creep about everywhere searching for a crevice, and having found it, send forth its blossoms in greater beauty, as if the very plant felt a nobler triumph that it had gained the victory under circumstances so unfavourable. The very stone bursts into crystal, as if trying to rise to the dignity of flowers. Look at the difference between the roses of the field and the roses of the garden, and see what art has done. It has made the one rich and beautiful, while sin, the curse and the fall, have made the other poor and insignificant. The peach and apricot, art's transformation of miserable fruits—the apple, evolved from a sour crab, are all evidences of hidden possibilities of beauty which a millennial year will call forth. The thistle is an imperfect or blasted flower, not originally created as it now is. All this is nature pushing upwards, and by the appliances of man's skill made to develop her hidden and greater riches.'—p. 157.

This capacity for something better existing in created things, showing as it does, that there is now some restraining yet unseen influence, precisely supplies the argument from analogy for a future emancipation. It is true we are reversing Butler's reasoning, or rather arguing in the opposite direction. We are assuming the liberation of mankind, and applying the analogy to prove that of creation. But it is an analogy which to our view holds good. We take it, as a universal law, that where there is a promise of ultimate liberty there is vouchsafed a present capacity for exercising freedom. Every attainment of higher excellence or higher beauty is so far an anticipation of heavenly perfection. This poetical faculty (*τέχνη ποιητική*) supplies to man his present earthly delights.

delights. What the gardener does with the quondam dog-rose, what the painter combines from imperfect models, what the poet accomplishes in the region of fancy, what the Christian by divine grace is enabled to realise in sanctified affections—all these things are recoveries from nature's ruin and foretastes of nature's restoration. God has originally created us with perceptions of the beautiful, and these perceptions are clouded but not lost. He has supplied us with means of reproducing from the howling wilderness a smiling garden, and although weeds grow apace, and the downward tendency is naturally strong, the idea of ulterior perfection remains as part of the constitution of things.^b

The restitution (*παλιγγενεσία*) of material things is rendered *probable* by such indications as those which we have already noticed. It requires, however, peculiarly, the testimony of revelation to make it certain. Being yet a thing future it is exclusively a subject of prophecy. We know well that Christians are divided on this subject. Among those who agree heartily in the general hopes set before us in the Gospel, a large majority have scarcely allowed themselves to picture to their imagination the scenes and circumstances of millennial bliss. Let Dr. Cumming be allowed boldly to speak out his expectations of the future:—

* If it be true that creation has sympathised in its measure according to its nature with man's sin and fall—and the Scriptures, I think, clearly teach so—does it not seem very reasonable and very natural for us to expect all creation to sympathise with man's recovery? Scripture frequently and fully asserts, that when man shall be restored and reinstated in his recovered royalty, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose;" in short, that all creatures, subject to man at first, shall be restored to that harmony, and replaced in those peaceful relationships, which they lost in consequence of man's sin.'

^b We must confess ourselves somewhat in Dr. C.'s debt for pointing out to us what the peach has been and what the thistle will be. His higher poetry has enabled us to detect a curious fallacy in a stanza of the 'Christian Year,' which we have often read without questioning its truth. The poet thus addresses the lilies of the *field*—

'Relics ye are of Eden's bowers,
As pure, as fragrant, and as fair
As when ye crowned the sunshine hours
Of happy wanderers there.
Fall'n *all beside*—the world of life
How is it stained with fear and strife!
In Reason's world what storms are rife,
What passions range and glare!

But cheerful and *unchang'd* the while
Your first and *perfect* form ye show,
The same that won Eve's matron smile
In the world's opening glow.'

After

After citing the passage in 2 Peter, which speaks of 'new heavens and a new earth,' he proceeds :—

'Then shall be the introduction of nature into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Man sinned, and instantly nature suffered. Man lost his innocency, and creation instantly lost its beauty. Is it not in perfect accordance with all Scripture to infer, that when man, who is the flower and the prince of creation, its head, its lord, and priest, shall be restored and reinstated in his primal beauty—in more than his primal glory—that this earth, which sin smote, which his wickedness has marred, dismantled, and injured, shall also be restored, reinstated, and made beautiful, as man himself—the house and the inhabitant rebuilt and restored together?'

We know that the too common feeling amongst Christians is, that man is not merely the central but the sole subject of revelation. They believe that the way of his recovery is pointed out, but with regard to the earth no more is said than that it shall be burned up, and that nothing whatever is known concerning the locale of his future happiness. We believe that many have very confused notions even with regard to the resurrection of the body, and scarcely associate it in any manner with the blessedness of the 'adoption' which creation earnestly awaits. Now we are inclined to surmise that God's created works are brought under a more definite moral government than we have been in the habit of conceiving of. Enough has already been said about the curse of the ground following man's sin. But is this all that revelation discloses? Scripture we admit speaks of man chiefly, and this is the reason why so little is made known concerning other departments of the divine government. But glimpses are afforded quite sufficient to imply that the effects of redemption are co-extensive with those of the fall. The animal creation, as we have seen, groans and travails, and we are told that all creation will be delivered. We may hint, as an example how little our notions on this subject have been sifted, that more scriptural arguments can be brought to prove the resurrection of the animal creation, than that they will remain among the dead. If texts are quoted to prove that they are the 'beasts that perish,' others will prove that man is still more perishable and is 'crushed before the moth.' Bishop Butler remarks, that

'the natural immortality of brutes does not in the least imply that they are endued with any latent capacities of a rational or moral nature; and the economy of the universe might require that there should be living creatures without any capacities of this kind. And all difficulties as to the manner how they are to be disposed of, are so apparently and wholly founded in our ignorance, that it is wonderful they should be insisted upon by any but such as are weak enough to think they are acquainted with the whole system of things.'—*Analogy*, chap. i.

We

We feel convinced that created nature, as we see it, is not made the subject of so many allusions throughout the sacred Scriptures without the implication of a deep truth. These material bodies of ours are only a part of the universal *κτίσις*, but Christ has veiled himself in the same flesh, has sanctified and glorified it. So also he has walked upon the earth; he has spilled upon it his atoning blood; he has made one of its caves his sepulchre. But more than this, he has clothed all his teaching with earthly images; he has pointed out the lilies of the field as surpassing in their array all the glory of King Solomon; he has linked heavenly and earthly things so closely together that we may doubt whether they will ever be altogether torn asunder. Let no man say that a world that has been defiled by sin must of necessity in God's anger be annihilated,—rather let us conceive that the scene of Redemption and the theatre of Christ's ministry will receive a heavenly purification and shine in transfigured glory.

We may be allowed to quote, on this not altogether mystical subject, from Professor Trench's admirable prolegomena in his work on the Parables:—

'They (the analogies of nature) are arguments and may be alleged as witnesses; the world of nature being throughout a witness for the world of spirits, proceeding from the same hand, growing out of the same soil, and being constituted for the same end.'—*Trench on the Par.*, p. 13.

Again,—

'For this, too, we must not leave out of sight that nature, in its present state, like man himself, contains but a prophecy of its coming glory;—it "groaneth and travaileth;" it cannot tell out all its secrets; it has a presentiment of something, which it is not yet, but which hereafter it shall be.'

Again,—

'One day it will be translucent with the Divine Idea which it embodies, and which even now, despite these dark spots, shines through it so wondrously. For no doubt the end and consummation will be, not the abolition of this nature, but the glorifying of it—that which is now nature (*natura*) always, as the word expresses it, striving and struggling to the birth, will then be indeed born. The new creation will be as the glorious child born out of the world-long throes and anguish of the old. It will be as the snake casting its wrinkled and winter skin; the old world not abolished, but putting off its soiled work-day garments and putting on its holiday apparel for the great Sabbath which shall have arrived at last. Then, when it too shall have put off its bondage of corruption, shall be delivered from whatever is now overlaying it, all that it has at present of dim and contradictory and perplexing, shall disappear. This nature, too, shall be a mirror, in which God will perfectly

perfectly glass himself, for it shall tell of nothing but the marvels of his wisdom, and power, and love.'—p. 18.

The miracles of our Lord are yet more indicative of the Divine dealings with the world of nature. On this point a single page of Dr. Cumming's Essay is worth volumes :—

‘ In the miracles of Jesus, which are recorded in the Gospels, we have the same idea indicated again and again. For instance, when he multiplied the bread—when he stilled the seas—when he hushed the winds—when he healed the sick—he gave, I think, not only specimens but instalments of what will be. I believe these miracles of Jesus were not mere displays of power, nor mere credentials of his Messiahship. Such they were, but more than this they also were ; I believe they were earnest and prophetic auguries of that coming and blessed day, when creation, recovered from its bondage, shall be introduced into the glorious liberty of the children of God.’—p. 147.

We are reluctant to leave this interesting topic. We will only express our regret that Dr. Cumming has not given himself more scope. We admit that his special calling is to popularise hard subjects. In this he is altogether without a rival. We feel, nevertheless, that he would enjoy writing to theologians, and upon a topic like this giving to those who could appreciate it the result of his varied reading and well-weighed thoughts. We shall look for an Appendix in his second edition, wherein the critical portion of the subject shall have a full development. Some of his opponents are men of classical learning. We hope he will meet them on their own ground, and if they have the disposition to understand his arguments we shall marvel if they remain unconvinced ; if they hear no groans from the created world ; if they discern no discords, and look forward to no future deliverance from the bondage of corruption.

C D

LITERAL

LITERAL INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY.

Isaiah as it is. By the Rev. A. Keith. Whyte & Co., Edinburgh.

IF a subject might be said to be cultivated in proportion as it is written upon, we might well congratulate ourselves on the study of prophecy in this country, for many a volume has of late years issued from the press in connection with it. Yet so far has the work of interpretation been from thereby growing into a more firm and settled condition, that it never has presented a more confused and heterogeneous appearance than at present. It is not that some particular departments require to be more fully investigated, or certain dark and disputed passages have still to be successfully cleared up. We should feel thankful if this were all that had now to be done. But the first principles of the science have yet to be conclusively fixed; the whole field has to be rescued from the war of contradictory elements, and the appearance of inextricable confusion.

At a period not very distant it seemed as if to a certain extent solid footing had been obtained, and a general consent established. The great proportion of protestant interpreters appeared to be of one mind, as to the leading characteristics of the prophetic style, and the fundamental principles on which the meaning of the prophetic Scriptures was to be sought. The particular conclusions at which Newton, Hurd, and other writers of the same class had arrived, might not in every case be acquiesced in; but there was scarcely any diversity of opinion as to the legitimate nature of the method they followed in endeavouring to establish them. This is no longer the case now. What they held as first principles of interpretation are scouted as vain imaginations of men; predictions which they thought could be triumphantly appealed to as already verified have been handed over to the future, as still waiting their fulfilment; and excepting a few circumstances in the history of our Lord, hardly anything in Old Testament prophecy is allowed to have met with its accomplishment; it is all one huge gap, still needing to be filled up. Nor do we very well know how many even of the class referred to are likely to be left to us; for a process of exhaustion seems to be constantly going on, which is transferring one prediction after another from the region of the fulfilled to that of the unfulfilled.

We owe this new, and, in one sense at least, retrograding phase in prophetic study to the prosecution of what is called the

literal style of interpretation. Prophecy, it is alleged, must be read entirely as we read history; for what is it but history anticipated? Every word, therefore, must here also have its simple and literal meaning attached to it; that, and no more. And as this view seemed to betoken a high regard for the perfect truthfulness of the prophetic record, so by pressing the literality it appeared for a time to gain in value, and to furnish new weapons for the confutation of the adversary. Hence the wonderful popularity of Dr. Keith's *Evidence of Prophecy*, which is considered to have rendered such service to the cause of revelation, from the striking confirmations it supplies out of the past and present, to the *ipsissima verba* of ancient prophecy. Without laying down any formal principles of interpretation, the work is throughout constructed on the ground of prophecy being in its style just as prosaic and literal as history, and requiring as minute and palpable a verification. And from the wideness of the field traversed, and the immense range of topics capable of being brought under review, the argument from prophecy did appear to gain by the method pursued, and that just in proportion to the number of coincidences which were found to exist between the announcements of prophecy and the credible reports of history.

It is a considerable time since we began to feel very doubtful of this apparent advantage; the conviction forced itself upon us, that false views and expectations regarding the nature of prophecy were sure to be fostered by the particular course pursued, and that the immediate gain was likely to be counterbalanced by an ultimate loss. This principle, we said, of treating prophecy like history, will plainly not square with what we find in New Testament scripture of some of the fulfilments there referred to. It obliges us to regard these as merely fanciful or arbitrary accommodations; and even in respect to many others it is but a partial fulfilment that is presented to us in the Gospels, if regard be had to the strictly-literal meaning of the words. Nor should we find any difficulty in selecting from the very prophecies, which in Dr. Keith's work are prized only for the number of points they contain literally corresponding to facts in history, various passages from which an antagonist work might be constructed, bearing the title of Proofs of the Nonfulfilment of Ancient Prophecy.

So we thought and reasoned with ourselves; and with what truth we may now appeal to Dr. Keith himself. This *Isaiah as it is*, though the production of the son, comes forth with the full imprimatur of the father's authority, and is introduced by a long preliminary essay from the pen of the latter, containing 'Scriptural Directions for understanding the Prophecies.' The style of interpretation

interpretation pursued is entirely in accordance with these directions; but sometimes too much so to be in harmony with the *Evidence of Prophecy*; for the views that were but partially adopted there are here more systematically wrought out, and the son now writes *unfulfilled* over predictions which the father had exhibited as proofs of Divine foresight, on account of the manifest fulfillments they have already received. We deem it a duty to present our readers with a few specimens of this, which we take leave to call, downward progress; as it is fraught with instruction and warning to those who may be directing their minds to the study of the prophetic Scriptures.

In the *Evidence of Prophecy*, we find at p. 26 (the references are to the thirteenth edition) the passage, Isa. ix. 1, 2, 'In the land of Zabulon and Naphthali, by the way of the sea,' produced as one that had 'met its completion in Christ,' having predicted that 'the region in which he began his ministry was remote from the place of his birth.' In the *Commentary* it is still spoken of as 'meeting a *partial* application in Christ' (we presume a partial completion, or fulfilment, is meant). But the writer evidently holds that the chief thing, or what the prophet properly pointed to, is yet to come; for he says, 'The light shone there, but the darkness comprehended it not; it cannot be said that the people have seen a great light.' Of course, then, it cannot be said that the word of the prophet has in any proper sense been fulfilled by what took place at the commencement of our Lord's ministry. The statement of the evangelist, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet,' expresses a great deal too much.

In the *Evidence*, p. 35, we have, Isa. ix. 6, 7, 'Unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given,' etc., adduced as one of the predictions which made promise of Messiah as going 'to reveal the will of God to man, and establish a new and perfect religion.' But the *Commentary*, referring to the mistaken simplicity of former times, says, 'the verses are usually understood of our Lord's appearing in the flesh; but their contextual connection places them in another light. The Jewish nation never did take into their lips the language here ascribed to them, but it will be their song at the period indicated.' If so, what is it but to play into a common delusion to retain the passage among such as have already received their fulfilment in the institution of Christ's religion and kingdom? Again, Isa. ii. 2-4, which speaks of 'the mountain of the Lord's house being exalted in the last days, the law of the Lord going forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem,' etc., is cited in the *Evidence*, pp. 40, 43, among a series of prophecies connected with the Gospel of Christ, of which

‘every Christian is a witness, and to the fulfilment of which the testimony even of infidels must be borne.’ But when we turn to the more recent, as well as more ripened development of the principles of interpretation in the *Commentary*, we find the whole passage unhesitatingly referred to ‘events not yet accomplished.’ ‘The clause indicates that from Jerusalem as a centre the knowledge of the true God is at last to emanate, until it spread over the whole earth.’ And the only partial fulfilment which the author seems to find in the past, is in ‘the flowing to Judea,’ which took place in the times of the crusades.

But it will probably be thought that in the portion of the work, which explains the predictions respecting ancient states and kingdoms, and in reference to which the *Evidence of Prophecy* has accumulated so many proofs of literal fulfilment, that there at least there will be a perfect agreement between the father and the son. This, however, is by no means the case. For example, in the *Evidence*, proof upon proof is brought forward to show that the description in Isa. xiii., and other collateral prophecies, has been fulfilled to the letter in the past and present desolations of Babylon. But in the *Commentary* we find but a qualified assent given to this, nay, a substantial admission, that the fulfilment has not yet taken place to the letter, and that a great part still remains to be established. ‘Waste as Chaldea is as a whole, there are districts comparatively unscathed, on which judgment may have yet to fall.’ And though a kind of feeble attempt is made to represent Babylon as an example of fulfilled prophecy, yet of what is written in v. 6-9, he says, ‘As some things cannot be literally applied to the past, it appears better to understand the whole as having a reference to a period still future.’ Once more: every reader of the *Evidence* knows at what length the predictions regarding Edom are dwelt upon, and how prominent a place the xxxivth of Isaiah holds among those which are there asserted to ‘bear a literal interpretation, however hyperbolical they may appear.’ But in the *Commentary* the manifestation of judgment, which in the prophecy begins the whole series of calamities and desolations that were pronounced against the land and people of Edom, is thrown forward to ‘a period yet to come, to the final national judgments that yet await the earth.’ If so, we cannot understand how any part of the desolations which are described as subsequent, and which in truth are nothing more than the carrying out of the preceding act of judgment should be looked for before the still future period referred to arrives. The author, however, so far forgets his logic as to speak of some of the things predicted as having already come to pass; yet only ‘in part,’ while in other portions of the prophecy, v. 9, 10, he finds words,

words, which have as yet met with no fulfilment, and which of course stand over to the future.

And is this, we ask, the way in which the consistency and truth of God's prophetic word are to be maintained? Is it by playing fast and loose in *such* a manner with its announcements that men's faith is to be won, and their enlightened confidence established respecting it? To us it seems rather fitted to shake the very foundations of their faith, and to shed an air of doubt and uncertainty over the whole field of prophecy. And is this really, after all, dealing with prophecy after the manner of history? Or does that wear in itself the aspect of a fair and honest style of interpretation, which permits us to turn the last part of a description first, and to leap from one portion of it to another, with the ever alternating remark, There is a word fulfilled; but then again, what still remains to be accomplished? Might not something be made even of heathen oracles, if they were to get the benefit of so facile a mode of interpretation? And is it possible to check the conviction that prophecies, which after so many centuries have received so very partial and questionable a fulfilment, may have been nothing more than the conjectures of sagacious and far-seeing, but still imperfect and erring men?

The 'Scriptural directions' for understanding the prophecies, which are the production of Dr. Keith the father, and which form the introduction to the volume, amply justify the mode of interpretation pursued. In themselves, indeed, the directions are but a succession of common-places, so vague and general in the principles they enunciate, that all interpreters of prophecy will readily subscribe to them. It is the particular sense put upon the directions in the illustrative matter connected with each which determines their real character, and brings out the mind of the writer. He first begins to be specific when he comes to the fourth direction, which runs in these words: 'We must believe the sure word of prophecy *as it is written.*' Undoubtedly, we reply; we must deal with the prophecies as we are accustomed to do with any other part of Scripture; we must first ascertain from the terms employed, and the connection in which they are used, the real import of the passage, and according to the meaning thus ascertained look for the fulfilment. But what our author means by 'as it is written,' turns out to be, according to the letter of the writing, or in the most literal sense the words will bear. Never were facts more literally told, he says, than those which have already been accomplished in Christ; and the same principle of literality must be applied to all other parts of prophecy; so that to depart from the most literal meaning, he stigmatises as a twisting and perverting of the word of God. The remaining directions,
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with the explanations respectively subjoined to them, are but the further development of this grand principle, showing how it is to be applied to what is written of the restitution of all things, and pointing, as he proceeds, many a denunciation against those who scruple thus to carry it out. Hence, as Isaiah heads his book by calling it 'The vision which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem,' the whole of its contents relate simply to the Jews and their country (unless where some of the nations are expressly mentioned); it is throughout a Jewish book, as it is here most faithfully interpreted, with an exclusive reference to them. We poor Gentiles have nothing scarcely to do with it, but to tell the Jews what it utters in threatening or promise to them. And so in regard to what is contained in prophecy of other things and other peoples: 'Edom is literally Edom, Moab is Moab, Samaria is Samaria, Egypt is Egypt, and Judah is Judah; and Jerusalem is Jerusalem with her name graven on the palms of the hands of the Lord.'

If this strong literality of interpretation were justified by the past fulfilments of prophecy—if, as Dr. Keith and so many after him uniformly affirm, the literal has been always the sense in which God himself has in the past taken the declarations of prophecy, we would at once hold it to be a fixed and settled principle, that it must also be taken as to the future, and that the style of prophecy differs in nothing essential from the style of history. But if the principle is good and sound, we must go through with it, and not each pick and choose as may suit his own fancy. How then will this do? Let us apply it to the very first promise: 'It (the woman's seed) shall bruise thy head, and thou (the serpent) shalt bruise his, or its heel.' The seed of the woman, beyond all doubt, is the woman's offspring, some individual or line of individuals born of her; and consequently the serpent (if all must be regarded perfectly literal), that very creature then addressed, and its seed the offspring that might afterwards come of it. The prophecy, therefore, speaks merely of the killing of serpents, and every member of Eve's offspring, from Cain downwards, who might kill a serpent, would fulfil the prophecy; for a serpent is just a serpent, as the seed of the woman is just any one of humankind. Here is a simple application of the principle of a crass and bald literalism, and the sublime result it yields as to that grand foundation for the hopes of our fallen family, is the destruction of the serpent-brood. Surely this is rationalism with a vengeance; though our author and his school seem to regard themselves as the only proper and consistent opponents of rationalism on the field of prophecy.

The simply literal will not do at the very outset; and to attempt

attempt to apply it there is but to burlesque the solemn and precious word of promise. Let it be that, in that first promise, a respect was had to the natural enmity to be put between the serpent-brood and the human family, this, looking at the whole circumstances of the case, could only be intended as a sign or emblem of the deeper truth couched under the prediction, and which formed its real import as a prophetic intimation of good things to come for fallen man. 'The warfare,' as Douglas of Cavers justly remarks in his *Structure of Prophecy*, 'which the human race have carried on, and successfully, with the serpent-brood, has been merely a repetition by emblems of the predicted warfare, which the spiritual seed have been carrying on against the spiritual old serpent, who is the devil—which prediction received its high accomplishment when Christ at his crucifixion and resurrection triumphed over Satan; when the Conqueror bruised Satan's head, after the tempter had bruised the victor's heel.' This first prediction gave timeous intimation how much prophecy might be expected to take its hue and aspect from the immediate circumstances that gave rise to it—how under the form of present things it was ever to paint and image forth to the eye of faith the coming future. It is a sign and witness set up at the very front of the prophetic territory, testifying that in the style of its announcements this was to partake largely of symbol, and that even when there might be a fulfilment according to the letter, there might, at the same time, be something of a higher kind chiefly contemplated, of which the other was to serve but as a pledge and token. To make this still more plain respecting the primeval promise, in some of the latest intimations of prophecy, while the grand substance remains the same, while the complete triumph over the spiritual adversary is announced, the emblematical form of the representation is somewhat changed; we are told, not of the serpent's head being bruised, but as if he were still living, though completely humbled, and rendered innocuous, of dust being his meat, or of the child playing upon his hole.

The introduction of type and its connection with prophecy was but another stage, and a natural advance in the same direction. It was just God's imparting to the Church a lower good, and through that making promise, by word or deed, of a similar but higher good. At the first promise there was properly nothing typical to weave into the representation, for no lower good had yet been provided for man in his fallen condition, to ground and shape his expectations for the future, so that in this word the future was most fitly presented under the merely symbolical aspect of a reversal of the present evil; but as the stream of history flows on, and the people of God obtain some actual experience of good
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from the hand of God, it is this, for the most part, which becomes the mould into which the prospect of the future is cast. The history is so far turned into prophecy, that, retaining its form, the great truths it embodies are represented as appearing again in higher though still corresponding relations. Specimens of this meet us at the very threshold of New Testament Scripture. As when the word respecting Israel, 'Out of Egypt have I called my Son,' is viewed as a prophecy having its fulfilment in Christ, which could only be done by its being regarded as the description of a prophetic fact—a record of what had happened to God's Son in the lower sense, and which must now substantially happen anew to his Son in the higher sense, that the people might more readily perceive his relation to the Father; and so in many of the prophecies, which speak of Christ under the name of David, such as Ezek. xxxiv. 24, 'And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them.' Will it do, in regard to either of these passages, to maintain that we must abide by the letter?—to say that in the one Israel is just Israel, and David in the other is just David? Will Dr. Keith himself, or his son, say so? They certainly ought to do it, according to their golden rule, if it is as stringent, as imperative, and as universally applicable as they would have us to believe; but if they admit, as we suppose they would feel constrained to do, that what the one prophet spoke of Israel, and the other of David, contained a real prophecy of one higher than either, then they must confess that something more than the bare letter is to be taken into account in interpretations of prophecy.

So palpable, indeed, is this higher element in prophecy, that we find our authors, both father and son, in spite of themselves recognizing it, and insensibly gliding into interpretations which subvert their favourite principle. Thus at p. 31 of the Introduction, referring to the interpretation put by the Apostle Paul in Romans on the promise to Abraham, as constituting him 'the heir of the world,' the Doctor says, 'The promise is sure to all the seed, to the faithful in Christ Jesus, the children of faithful Abraham. The heirs of the world shall enter into their inheritance; and from the east and west, the north and south, shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God, viz., in the renovated and glorious world to come.' And in further confirmation of this the promise in Isaiah is quoted respecting the new heavens and the new earth, which we who believe look for according to that promise. But when we pass on a little farther, this seems to be again recalled, for at p. 44 he denounces those who would rob Israel of the promises by 'giving to the Gentiles the blessings promised to Jacob as a nation, when their ungodliness and

and unbelief shall be taken away, and when there shall be a *new earth* as well as a new heaven, on the restitution of all things.' Now we confess ourselves utterly unable to put these two parts together so as to make them agree, unable to comprehend how we should at once be entitled to look for a place side by side with Abraham in the renovated world, and yet be chargeable with attempting to rob Israel of his peculiar heritage, if we take such a promise of good things to ourselves. If, as the Apostle affirms and Dr. Keith admits, all believers are children of Abraham, and heirs with him of one and the same promise, then surely whatever is Abraham's inheritance is theirs too. Have the seed of Jacob, then, any inheritance different from and superior to Abraham himself? If they have, of course it would be to rob Israel of their special good to claim a participation in it for the Gentile believer; but if the promise given to Abraham was just Israel's promise, and if believers at large are also heirs of the same promise, call it by what name you will, Canaan, or the renovated world, the inheritance is alike for all; and it is folly to speak of robbing Israel of anything, when the promised good is large enough for all who are to share in it.

The course pursued in the commentary itself is considerably freer, and more advanced in its development of the literal; although still it by no means reaches the ultimatum in that line. It is very instructive, however, to mark how far the author has attained, and how little he is likely to be impeded by any nice scruples in his further progress. We point, as an example, to Isa. xl. 3-5, 'The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low,' etc. No one needs to be told how expressly John the Baptist affirmed himself to be that crier, and the person, whose immediate forerunner he was, to be that very Lord coming to his people. But our interpreter tells us, 'It is Christ coming to Zion, not to suffer, but to establish his kingdom of righteousness among men,' which the prophet announces. Was John wrong then? Not quite; for it seems John, when he spake of Christ as coming with his fan in his hand, pointed also to his second, and not merely to his first coming, and in so far as he did that, he made a legitimate application of the word of the prophet. But, then, if the voice was simply a loud and earnest cry, calling upon men to prepare themselves for the coming of the Lord as announced by the prophet, with what propriety or truth could John challenge for himself the part of such a crier, if centuries were to elapse before the King of Zion was really to come? Supposing any of the people could have looked
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through the veil of the future, and seen how Christ was coming at that time to suffer, and not to reign, might they not have said to John, 'Thou, who dost so fiercely denounce the false pretensions of others, why dost thou not reprove thyself? For knowest thou not that the word from Isaiah, with which thou wouldst engage men to listen to thy message, belongs to entirely different times? The crier he foresaw in the distant future was one who should herald the approach of the Lord as ready to take possession of his throne, while he, whom thou art proclaiming to Israel, comes but to suffer. Away with thee! Thou art but begetting false expectations among the people by such an untimely appropriation of the words of the prophet!' We know not what the Baptist could have replied, on the principle under consideration, if any one had been so clear-sighted regarding the future as to be able to accost him in such a style of address.

And then, of course, while the utmost straining is required to give what is said in Isaiah of the voice crying in the wilderness, any show of applicability to John, the thing cried, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord; every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low,' has nothing to do with John's ministry: 'This part of the cry is not to be applied to the circumstances of the Baptist at all.' What its precise import may be, can only be known from the event. But it may be shrewdly guessed. For why should not the passage be literally taken? 'May there not be allusion to one of the wonders of modern times, to that mode of travelling which is now so rapidly supplanting every other? How literally descriptive of the highway of the present time, the railway, is the language used here and in parallel passages? What is it but making straight in the desert a highway? What but exalting the valley, and making low the mountains and hills?' The very thing to a hair. It is you, ye Fairbairns and Stevensons, ye skilful engineers and railway contractors, and not such humble labourers as John the Baptist, whom the prophet Isaiah so long descried in vision as destined to prepare the way for the King of Zion. You are the pioneers of his glorious march—the real renovaters of the world. Magnify your calling; it bears on it the seal of heaven. And why tarry ye? Extend your operations into the Syrian deserts, and open up the level paths there, which the King of Zion is waiting for. How soon might ye usher in a better day for this groaning world!

In saying this, we have only given a more definite form to the commentator's thought, and yet we have done so with a sort of involuntary shudder. Is it really the case, after all that has been thought and written on the Word of God, that evangelical ministers can deliberately degrade it after this manner? Has it, indeed,

deed, become in their hands a kind of guide-book to the natural improvements and external reformatations of the world? Is it simply level ground and good travelling paths that the Lord of Glory demands of his people? Yet this is no more than the natural and necessary result of the entirely literal interpretation of prophecy. It is through the aspect of natural changes that God most commonly makes promise of good things to come for his people; and if the former is not to be held in many cases but the form and symbol of the latter, if the literal only is to be made account of, the spiritual must drop out altogether, and the natural alone be regarded. Nicodemus had then some reason for thinking that he must enter his mother's womb again. And our author, far as he has gone already, must be prepared for going considerably farther still, in following to its legitimate results this guiding pole-star of his interpretations. He must not only take literally such passages as speak of level roads, and mountains melted with blood, 'blood washing them as showers of rain, and coming up to the horses' bridles. But he must also hold, what with manifest inconsistency he yet fails to do, that Mount Zion is by a natural revolution to be raised higher than the Himalayas, and made to overtop the loftiest hills of the earth; that the New Jerusalem, to be placed on it and around it, is to come down from heaven, all ready built, garnished and prepared for its blessed inhabitants; that the temple and the sacrifices connected with it are to be restored in all their original fulness, and even more than their original splendour; that the nations of the earth shall continually go up, from its utmost bounds, month by month, and even week by week, to present there their offerings to Jehovah; and, finally, that the old world, with its long array of desolated cities and fallen kingdoms, not excepting even Sodom and her daughter-cities of the plain, must reappear in their former places, and the very form and shape of the past come back again.

There are persons in the present day who gravely hold and propound all this; and whatever may be thought of their sanity, their consistence in carrying out the boasted principle of literal interpretation is not to be questioned. We only wonder how, with such broad assertions of the high supremacy and universal sway of the literal principle, the writers before us should stand in the kind of midway position they at present occupy. There is still a considerable mixture of the symbolical in the interpretations they have given. Besides what has been noticed above, how often is Zion and Jerusalem also understood figuratively? as in the passage, 'Zion shall be redeemed with judgment, and her converts with righteousness.' If in these and in similar passages our interpreter is warranted to substitute for Zion the
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nation of which it was the capital, he makes a manifest departure from the literal; and so far as that is concerned, we may as properly substitute the church of which it was the centre. What was the nation of Israel apart from the church, or 'the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the service of God and the promises,' which constituted it the church? Was it not like any other nation? 'Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel.' And while we thus wonder how with so peculiar an exaltation of the literal such liberties should be taken in respect to the future, we cannot understand how almost anything should be left to us in respect to the past. Should it not be held that Christ is to be born again in Bethlehem, since it was as 'the ruler,' 'the king of the Jews,' that, according to the prophet, he was to be born there, and he has not yet come, it seems, in that character? Should it not also be held that he must again ride into Jerusalem on an ass, since it is simply as a king he was announced to do this? Indeed, we are afraid that on this principle a great part of our Lord's earthly history must be regarded as still future. For when, that we read of in the past, was Christ literally fed with butter and honey? or literally anointed to preach the Gospel to the poor? or, when were his ears literally bored? or, when did he literally sink in deep mire where there was no standing? These things were all written of him in the Psalms and prophets; and if the literal alone is to prevail, we should think the conclusion is inevitable that Christ's humiliation has been but partially accomplished.

It is by no means an easy task—we are rather disposed to regard it as one of the most difficult problems regarding the interpretation of prophecy—to draw the line of demarcation clearly and accurately between what is to be taken literally, and what figuratively in its announcements. Looking to New Testament scripture as our guide, we find some most literal fulfilments of prophecy specified; and other things again, not less distinctly affirmed to have taken place that some prophetic word might be fulfilled, which are very far from being fulfilments in the literal sense. We doubt not the right cue is to be found if the whole matter were thoroughly and impartially examined. Yet while the right positions in all respects could only be made good by long and patient investigation, there are certain false positions which it is not very difficult to detect, and which ought at once to be abandoned. We conclude with noticing one or two of this description, suggested by the subject of the preceding remarks.

It is an error to regard everything in prophecy that respected Christ's work of humiliation, and his spiritual kingdom among men, as necessarily demanding a literal fulfilment. A very considerable

siderable portion, probably by much the larger portion, might admit of this, inasmuch as there were certain great facts of an outstanding kind, and prominent characteristics, which could scarcely fail to be exhibited in the prophetic vision, and which it was proper the church should be able by definite marks to verify and ascertain. But as symbol and type were to find their accomplishment in what Christ was to do and suffer, it is no more than we are warranted to expect, that much of what prophecy anticipated in this respect should be expressed in symbolical and figurative language. And just as little as the type could be precisely reproduced in the new things of Christ's work and kingdom, can the typical language of prophecy in such cases admit of a literal fulfilment; at least it cannot *always* admit of it, and it can scarcely ever properly demand it, for the antitype by its very nature belongs to a higher sphere of things, and to insist upon the literal sense would be but to tie it down still to the lower.

Again, it is an error to regard the messages addressed to the covenant people as of necessity confined in their prophetic import to the Jews as a nation—to them collectively and peculiarly as a nation—apart from the spiritual element, the church, which that nation contained in its bosom. This were to make the formal and outward in Israel's composition the substantive, and the inward and spiritual only the adjective—the separable adjunct. It were to exhibit God's election of Israel to the prominent place they held as a thing by itself and for itself—a piece of mysterious favouritism—a sort of freak of arbitrary power, instead of being, as the whole history of God's proceedings, and the tenor of his word indicates, a concentrated exhibition of his mind and purpose in grace in order to work more effectually upon the world at large. So far from the promises in Isaiah and the other prophets having been all made to the Jews distinctively as a nation, it would come nearer the truth to say that he made no promise to them merely as such. The promises were to Abraham and his seed, but his seed in the sense explained by the apostle—partly, indeed, descended from his loins, but only in so far as they also breathed his spirit and stood in his faith—and along with these all besides who should do this, whether sprung from his loins or not. The lineal descendants God did not recognize as the seed of promise, unless they had the heart of the parent; they were still uncircumcised in his account—heathen, and are often expressly so called; while converted heathen entering into the bond of the covenant, and embracing his word, have uniformly become in his sight true Israelites. These are in every age the real subjects of promise, and these alone: for the righteous God can pledge blessings to no others.

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Once more, it is an error, and we may say, the capital error in Dr. Keith's 'Evidence of Prophecy,' as well as many later productions, to keep too specially in view, as regards the prophecies uttered concerning different kingdoms, the mere land or territory they occupied, as if the object of them were simply to tell what God was meaning to do on this and that region of the earth in the time to come. The class of prophecies referred to are all of an *ethical* character. Their primary design is to declare God's righteousness toward the people who occupied those lands and formed the responsible members of the several kingdoms—to take them, and the world at large, to witness how he would punish them for their enmity to the cause of divine truth, and the great interests of God's kingdom. Consequently the evils foretold should be all viewed in connection with the people themselves, as moral and accountable beings, and with the lands they occupied only as reflecting the condition of their owners. To lose sight of the people in the mere outward territories, is to consider God's dealings only in a natural and physical point of view; it is to look for fulfilments of the word spoken mainly as proofs of his omniscience and power, not as demonstrations of his righteous and moral character. But it is for this latter purpose more especially that these portions of prophetic scripture, as the scriptures generally, were written; and hence the desolations that were predicted to take place in so many surrounding nations should be sought for rather in the hopeless prostration and ruin that befel the kingdoms, than the mere external injuries that have swept over the surface of the regions where they stood. Viewed thus, the predictions in question have been most signally and completely verified; while otherwise the fulfilment can only be found in broken fragments and partial adjustment. So far the path in its general characteristics seems plain enough, and we forbear at present to prosecute it farther.

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RAMATHAÏM ZOPHIM AND RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

THOUGH the attention of travellers and Biblical scholars has been often directed to the short route of Saul after his first interview with Samuel, it has never yet been satisfactorily traced. The tomb of Rachel which occurs in it, cannot, notwithstanding the greatest ingenuity, be brought into the line of travel without taking an improbable circuit, or violating other important conditions of the narrative. The latest attempt to solve this remarkable problem by Dr. Robinson of America, one of the most eminent Biblical scholars of the day, who himself travelled the region in question, with the greatest care, has failed to throw any light on the passage, and, if we are rightly informed, his solution has since failed to satisfy even himself. In the absence of the geographical data still required to elucidate the subject, we would propose to the readers (of this Journal) the following hypothesis, which ventures on a new view of the difficulty, and, if it does not loose the knot, at least attempts to cut it.

When Saul was anointed by Samuel at Ramah, and could as yet scarcely believe the truth of the surprising and unsuitable dignity conferred upon him, the prophet gave him at his departure, as tokens of the divine intentions towards him, certain singular events that would befall him on the way as he returned home. (1.) By Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah, he would find two men who would tell him that the asses were found. (2.) Proceeding on, he would next come to the plain (or rather *oak*) of Tabor, where three men would meet him going up to God to Bethel, carrying gifts, from whom he would receive two loaves. (3.) After that he would come to the hill of God, where was the garrison of the Philistines, and when he was come thither to the city he would encounter a company of prophets coming down from the high-place prophesying, on meeting whom he would himself begin to prophesy also (1 Sam. x. 2-7). Such is the account given of Saul's journey; and it is evident that to trace its course, three points require to be ascertained,—Ramah or Ramathaim Zophim, the place where the prophet Samuel resided—Rachel's sepulchre which is passed on the way—and the place to which Saul was proceeding.

As to the last of these, the place of Saul's abode, there is little or no dispute. It is admitted on all hands that it was Gibeah, which in the sequel is mentioned as his home (1 Sam. x. 26). Here he is found soon after this coming in from the field after the herd

nerd as the messengers of Jabesh-Gilead were beseeching succour against Nahash king of the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 5). Under the names of Gibeah of Saul and Gibeah of Benjamin^a it is frequently mentioned as the place of his residence. The town of Zela' [זֵלָא], in which was the sepulchre of Kish, is unknown; as, however, it is classed in Joshua's list of the towns of Benjamin (comp. Josh. xviii. 21-28 with 2 Sam. xxi. 14) along with Gibeah and Jebus, it is probable that it was situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of these places, and consequently lay in the southern part of the tribe. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that because Zela' contained the family-sepulchre it was therefore the place of Kish's residence, since he might be buried with his fathers though residing elsewhere, just as we afterwards find that the bones of Saul and Jonathan were taken thither though they resided at Gibeah. Nor must Zela' be confounded with the place Zelzah at Rachel's sepulchre, as has too frequently been done.^b Between זֵלָא Zela' and זֵלְזָח Zelzah, there is no affinity—the former signifying *a rib* or *side*, and the latter *a shade* or *rejoicing*, so that all theories resting upon their supposed identity fall to the ground.

Gibeah is now clearly identified by Dr. Robinson^c with the place called *Tuleil el Fûl*, about three miles to the north of Jerusalem, where there are remains of an ancient structure upon the summit of a considerable hill, at the western base of which, directly upon the great highway northward from Jerusalem, are extensive substructions of an ancient town. The name Gibeah seems to have indicated a fortified eminence, like *Dun* and *Burg* in other languages, and it was doubtless on this account that, in the days of the Judges, this place withstood so long the combined assault of the tribes, and that Saul afterwards made it the capital of his kingdom.

Where next was Ramah, the birthplace and abode of Samuel? It has not yet been ascertained; but from the account given of Saul's wanderings in search of his asses, its *locale* may be somewhat nearly inferred. 'He passed through Mount Ephraim, and passed through the land of Shalisha, but they found them not: then they passed through the land of Shalim, and there they were not: and he passed through the land of the Benjamites, but they found them not. And when they were come to the land of Zuph, Saul said to his servant that was with him, Come let us return, etc. . . . And he said unto him, Behold, there is in this city a man

^a We are not sure, however, that a comparison of passages would not prove Gibeah of Benjamin and Geba to be the same place.

^b Narrative of a Mission to the Jews, Note, p. 199. Athenæum, Aug. 1844.

of God,' etc. . . . (1 Sam. ix. 4-6.) From this itinerary it would seem that they had first gone in the direction of the mountainous district to the north and west of Gibeah; for the great mountain-ridge which extends from the valley of Jezreel south through the centre of the land, bore the name of Ephraim not only within the borders of that tribe, but even when it passed into the tribe of Benjamin it still continued to be called Mount Ephraim (comp. Jud. iv. 5 and xviii. 12, 13, with Josh. xviii. 14, 15). In this direction, therefore, and stretching away perhaps to the western boundary of the tribe of Benjamin, are we to look for the land of Shalisha, a name which the district may perhaps have owed, as the term imports, to the three great cities of the Gibeonites belonging to Benjamin—Gibeon, Beeroth, and Chephira, that anciently ruled over this tract of country.⁴ Having traversed the western hilly district of Benjamin in vain, Saul and his attendant now appear to have directed their steps eastward, to search the country around and to the north of Michmash which is called 'the land of Shual' [שׁוּאֵל] (1 Sam. xiii. 17), and here in the plural 'the land of Sha'alim' [שׁוּאִים]⁵, that is, as the etymology indicates, 'the land of jackals.' Having thus *passed through* Mount Ephraim, first the land of Shalisha in the west and now the land of Sha'alim in the east, they have actually 'passed through the land of the Benjamites,' and are now upon the northern border about to enter the tribe of Ephraim. Accordingly advancing northward, they next 'come to the land of Zuph.' This district was the native place of Samuel, from whose ancestor Zuph it appears to have acquired its name, and from whom also the town in it was called Ramathaïm Zophim (1 Sam. i. 1, with 1 Chr. vi. 26-35), or Ramah of the Zuphites, to distinguish it from other places of the same name, especially one not far from it, Ramah of Benjamin, six or seven miles north of Jerusalem. Here Saul, thinking they had gone far enough in their fruitless search, and beginning to feel anxious on his father's account, proposed to return; but as they were so near the residence of Samuel, they resolved first to visit the seer and consult him in the matter.

That there was a place called Ramah, or Ramatha, in this

⁴ Shalisha is generally supposed to lie around Bethshalish or Baalshalisha, in the tribe of Ephraim, which Jerome says lay 15 miles north of Lydda, and Shalem is thought to be Shaalbim in the tribe of Dan, about 20 miles south of Lydda, as if the case would require such an extensive search. This is not to be supposed; neither can we see how, after reaching this distant point, he could pass next 'through the land of the Benjamites.' We therefore prefer, as more in keeping with the case, a circuit nearer home.

⁵ The term has no relation whatever to Shelam שְׁלָם at Shechem, or Jerusalem, which signifies 'peace,' but with which it has been often confounded.

quarter there can be no doubt, from the testimony of Josephus^f and the 1st book of Maccabees (1 Macc. xi. 34). In both of these we are informed that king Demetrius, in order to gain the favour of Jonathan, separated three prefectures Apherima, Remathem, and Lydda, from the province of Samaria, and annexed them to that of Judea. Bethel was always considered the boundary between these two provinces; so that Remathem, or Ramatha as Josephus calls it, lay on the north of Bethel, and near to the ancient border of Benjamin. Apherima or Ephraim has been identified by Dr. Robinson with the remarkable eminence at *Taiyibeh*, about four miles north-east of Bethel,^g and Lydda in the western plain at the base of Mount Ephraim, is well known: so that Remathem, or, as the Septuagint has it, Aramathaim,^h must have lain somewhere between these two points upon Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. i. 1). That it was out of Benjamin and therefore in Ephraim is clear from what was intimated by the Lord to Samuel the day before Saul's arrival: 'To-morrow about this time I will send thee a man out of Benjamin, him shalt thou anoint,' etc. (1 Sam. ix. 16), and from the incidents of Saul's return, as we shall by and bye see, it must have been situated somewhere about the site of the present *'Ain Yebrûd*, a few miles north of Bethel. In reading the whole narrative of Saul's wanderings we find our minds necessarily drawn in this direction, and had the sepulchre of Rachel been only between this and Gibeath, we are persuaded, there never would have been any difficulty in the case. As it is not, however, we now proceed to our solution of the problem.

The sepulchre of Rachel stands to this day about a mile from Bethlehem, on the way to Jerusalem, and we know of no reason to disturb the tradition that has always assigned it to this spot. In the Scripture account of the locality it is said to be 'but a little way from Ephrata which is Bethlehem,' and the writer adds that 'Jacob set a pillar upon her grave, that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day' (Gen. xxxv. 16, and xlviii. 7). Josephus says, 'it was over against Ephrata.'ⁱ It is afterwards mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A.D. 333, and also by Jerome in the same century. The present structure is that of a plain Mohammedan *wely*. The Turks have generally enclosed the real or supposed sepulchres of the Old Testament characters in some building or other, having as great a veneration for them as Jews or Christians. That which covers the tomb of Jacob's favourite wife is a small square erection of a very humble descrip-

^f Antiq. xiii. iv. 9.^g Athenzium, May, 1845.^h 1 Sam., *passim*. This must have been the Arimathea of the New Testament.ⁱ Antiq. i. xxi. 3.

tion surmounted by a dome, resembling the common tombs of sheikhs and saints. Mr. Buckingham gives the following particular description of it—'We entered it on the south side by an aperture, through which it was difficult to crawl, as it has no doorway, and found in the inside a square mass of masonry in the centre, built up from the floor nearly to the roof, and of such a size as to leave barely a passage for walking round it. It is plastered on the outer surface with white stucco, and is sufficiently large and high to enclose within it any ancient pillar that might have been found on the grave of Rachel.'^k We make these statements to show that there can be no reason to doubt that the present monument, which answers so well to the Scripture account of it, and has been preserved by an unbroken chain of tradition, marks the spot where the beautiful mother of Israel sleeps.

But how, it is asked, could the sepulchre of Rachel, according to this view, by any possibility lie in the way of Saul on his return from Ramah to Gibeah? We reply, *it manifestly could not*. No imaginable circuit could bring him so far out of his way as this. From Bethel to the sepulchre near Bethlehem cannot be less than sixteen miles, while Gibeah lies about mid-way between. Had Ramah been about Bethlehem, or anywhere on the south side of the tomb, the course of Saul would naturally have led past it; but Ramah is in Mount Ephraim, and it is clear, on the slightest inspection of the map, that no position for it whatever in Mount Ephraim—let that name be carried as far south as it possibly can—could require the traveller to pass the tomb of Rachel on his way from it to Gibeah. We are constrained, then, by the physical features of the country, to conclude that the route of Saul neither lay in this direction nor came near this spot.

In these circumstances it remains that we must admit a fault somewhere in the account, and from the following considerations we are disposed to believe that it is simply in the *name* given to the sepulchre. As it was the first place to which Saul came after leaving Samuel, it evidently was not far from Ramah. Now, close under Bethel, and just on the way that Saul must have taken, Jacob, on his return from Padan Aram, had buried Deborah, the nurse of Rebekeh, under an oak, which, on account of the extraordinary grief of the occasion, was called 'Allon Bachuth,' or *the oak of weeping* (Gen. xxxv. 8). This was the tomb which we think Saul was to pass. Instead, therefore, of Samuel's account, עֵץ־בְּכֻיֹת רָחֵל 'near to the sepulchre of Rachel,' we conceive the reading ought to have been עֵץ־בְּכֻיֹת דְּבוֹרָה 'near to the sepulchre of Deborah.' It is in the highest degree probable that

^k Pictorial Bible, *in loco*.

the spot which Jacob had impressed with a name so affecting, and where one so dear to the family slept, would in after-times be held in much regard by his descendants. We observe that all the other places to which he gave names, as Bethel, Gilead and Peniel, were faithfully remembered, and it is not likely that this would be forgotten. The preposition *לְ* appears to express proximity only, '*near, beside:*' the exact place where Saul was to meet the men being expressed by *בְּזֵלְזָח* 'at Zelzah;' unless indeed the LXX. have rendered the last term more correctly by the translation '*rejoicing greatly:*' 'thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin, rejoicing greatly, and they will say unto thee, the asses are found,' etc.

Saul is told that in the next place he should come to 'the oak of Tabor,' *אֵלֶּךָ תָּבֹר*, where would meet him three men going up to God to Bethel. Now, on passing the grave of Deborah, Saul would pursue the great highway that leads from Shechem to Jerusalem by Bethel, Ramah and Gibeah; and there was nothing more likely than that in this much-frequented path he would meet men going up to Bethel, which he had just passed. This, however, he could not easily do by any other route than has been assigned to him. Of the oak of Tabor, commemorative, doubtless, of some remarkable person or event with which it was associated, we have no account elsewhere in the Scriptures; but in the history of Deborah the prophetess, we are informed that 'she dwelt under the plam-tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim' (Jud. iv. 5): the very tract which Saul was now travelling; for Ramah of Benjamin lies between Bethel and Gibeah, to which he was journeying. If, therefore, the oak of Tabor had any connection with the palm of Deborah, as seems so very probable, two singular changes had taken place during the bygone two hundred and eighty years since the heroic prophetess sat under its shade; the palm had given place to an oak, and the name of Deborah, by a law to which all languages are subject, had been corrupted into 'Tabor. On this point, however, we cannot speak authoritatively.

The very law, however, to which we have just adverted, with the recollection that there was a previous Deborah spoken of, may suggest to some mind the doubt whether 'Allon Tabor' was so far from Bethel as we have supposed it. May it not, after all, be the very oak at Bethel under which the nurse of Rebekah was buried, and which might be called afterwards either 'Allon Deborah,' or 'Allon Bachuth,' as the speaker chose? The directions of Samuel will undoubtedly bear this construction; he says to Saul, that after he had met the two men at Zelzah, near
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to the sepulchre, 'Thou shalt go forward, and further on shalt come to Allon Tabor,' which may imply that he would come to the sepulchre itself, and there, close under the height on which the city stood, he would meet three men *going up to Bethel*. The only difficulty in this case, as in the former—and we are disposed to think it is not a great one—is the change of Deborah into Tabor. The numerous and extraordinary changes which names undergo in the Bible, the influence of provincialism, which we know early distinguished the Ephraimites, and the lapse of seven hundred and eighty years since Jacob visited the spot, may probably account for this. We incline, however, to the former view, as beset with fewer difficulties.

Before closing these remarks, we may be allowed to observe that there is something not quite clear to our mind in the passage which records the death and burial of Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah. How came she to be at this time in the household of Jacob? It is singular that there is no mention of her as accompanying Rachel or Leah in their leaving home, nor how she should be in Padan Aram at all. She might have been sent to Padan Aram by Rebekah, it has been said, to assist in the management of Jacob's family. But the age of Deborah at this time renders such a supposition extremely improbable. If she were fifty years of age when she left the house of Laban with Rebekah—and she could not well have been less—at her death she must have been about one hundred and seventy years of age. To have sent her from Canaan to Mesopotamia, say fifteen years before this, when she might be above one hundred and fifty years old, to undertake duties so arduous, cannot surely be supposed. But she may have returned home, it is again said, after she had conducted Rebekah to Canaan; and now, when Jacob was returning, desired to accompany him, and see her former mistress before she died. But not to say that this was not likely at such a period of life, we would observe that it was contrary to the sentiments and customs of the East for the nurse to have returned home, and left her youthful charge. 'The nurse in an Eastern family was an important personage, and always held in high esteem. In Syria she is a sort of second parent. She always accompanies the bride to her husband's house, and ever after remains there an honoured character.'^m The whole circumstances of the case, and especially the excessive sorrow indulged in at her death, would lead us to suspect that there is a confusion of names and persons in the account, and that instead of *the nurse of Rebekah* the reading should have been

^m *Siege of Acre.*

the nurse of Rachel. If, in fine, that nurse had a name allied to the word Tabor, it would still more closely agree with the facts of the case; or if the place of her sepulture had been familiarly spoken of as קברת מִנְיָת רָחֵל 'the sepulchre of the nurse of Rachel,' the dropping of a single word by the copyist would convert it into 'the sepulchre of Rachel,' which is the most likely thing imaginable.

We have thrown out these conjectures in the hope that, though they may not entirely remove the difficulty, they may lead to the elucidation of this intricate geographical problem.

D. K.

THE LIFE OF HUGH HEUGH, D.D.

The Life of Hugh Heugh, D.D., with a selection from his Discourses, by his Son-in-law, HAMILTON M'GILL, Minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Montrose-street, Glasgow. In two volumes. Edinburgh. A. Fullarton and Co. 1850.

THE biographies of religious persons have often been too exclusively religious; from an anxiety to serve the cause of piety their authors have erroneously supposed that there was no better way of attaining their object, than sedulously to exclude from the narrative whatever related to secular concerns. Owing to this partial exhibition of character, works of this class have been chiefly employed in aiding the exercises of the closet and kindling the flame of private devotion, much in the same way as Thomas à Kempis, or the *Sacra Privata* of Bishop Wilson, instead of serving as hand-books of instruction to fulfil the duties or cope with the trials of every-day life. The notion has thus been fostered that religion is a mysterious visitant, keeping aloof from every sphere but its own of human activity, or entering other spheres only as a censor or a judge to rebuke and chasten, not to cheer, prompt, and guide; it has been confined to one apartment of the soul, instead of being regarded as a vitalizing principle, an ethereal element pervading and modifying the whole nature of man. And of this false view the enemies of Christianity have been very ready to take advantage. In a flippant publication of the modern infidel school, we lately met with the assertion that Christianity does not enter into common life, neither regulating its concerns nor furnishing motives for the discharge of its duties—the inference being, of course, that it is a superannuated thing; with an exulting (somewhat premature!) Q. E. D. How-
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ever flagrantly untrue such an assertion may be, the defect in our religious biographies of older date, to which we have adverted, might tend to give a semblance of support to it. Happily, however, several recent memoirs of Christian worthies (among which those of Fowell Buxton hold a conspicuous place) have been constructed on more enlarged views, and are replete with interesting and captivating illustrations of the salutary influence shed by the religion of Christ over all the relations of humanity.

Perhaps too, the publicity in which most men, whether they would court it, or shun it, are now compelled to live, may have tended to render our biographers less exclusive. Private life is now languishing, if not well nigh extinct. It would seem that the wand of an enchanter has passed over our dwellings and rendered bricks and mortar transparent. Even the *adyta* of reviewers are no longer involved in that mysterious gloom which imparted such awful solemnity to their decisions; it is as if Rhadamanthus had left the shades, and, like the Orientals, fixed his seat of judgment in the Gate of the City. We cannot wait for death, the great revealer of secrets; his domain on the other side is as undisturbed as ever; his revelations there are secure from all mortal gaze. But here we stay not for his arrival; in some instances, long before that period, those whom the curious public 'delight to honour' have their story told to the present time, and the peculiarities of their personal appearance, their modes of relaxation, or habits of study detailed with the minuteness of an inventory.

We regard the volume before us as one of the most valuable in its class. By far the greater portion of it is from Dr. Heugh's own pen, in the shape of diaries and letters. The editor has executed his part with taste and judgment. His delineation is complete, in the sense of presenting Dr. Heugh's character, not merely in one or two aspects, but such as it appeared in all the relations of life, public and private; and if there are fewer details respecting the latter than we could wish, it must be attributed to a commendable delicacy which in these days is too often violated. Altogether he has compiled a most able and interesting memorial of one of the worthiest of men. Dr. Heugh was fitted to call forth strong personal attachment; so that we are persuaded an estimate of his talents and worth, formed simply from the perusal of his life, must appear to fall far short of the reality to those who were admitted to his intimacy, or who could combine with their recollections of his public addresses and social communications, those looks and tones which gave them so powerful an emphasis. We shall, therefore, not make the attempt, which would at best seem to his admirers (to use Robert Hall's simile) 'like a portrait that

that has lain long in a damp place ;' but only notice a few prominent points, accompanied by such specimens as we hope will aid the circulation of the volume.

Hugh Heugh was born in 1782. His grandfather and father were both eminent for piety and talent. The former was a minister in the Established Church of Scotland ; but ' before his decease,' Mr. M'Gill remarks, ' the General Assembly had adopted a policy which drove some of her best ministers and members to seek that Christian freedom beyond her pale, which they could no longer find within it.' Mr. Heugh's most intimate friend, Moncrieff, was one of the Fathers of the Secession, and his daughters were married to seceding ministers. His eldest son died at college, and his youngest, John (an infant at the time of his death), joined the Secession, a step which had the sanction of his father's convictions, as well as of his other relations. While prosecuting his studies, ' the Breach,' as it was called, took place in the Secession ; he adhered to the General Associate or Anti-burgher Synod. Before he was twenty, he was appointed teacher of logic and moral philosophy to students who were about to enter the divinity hall, an office which he held for three or four years, till 1752, when he received a call from the congregation at Stirling, among whom he laboured between fifty and sixty years. He was more distinguished for vigorous thinking than for elegance of diction, which gained for him the epithet of the '*Quarrier*,' while his friend Professor Moncrieff was called the '*Mason*.' 'The one '*howked*,' the other '*polished*.' He had ten children, of whom the subject of the volume before us was the ninth.

The first event known to have left any decided impression on Hugh Heugh, was the loss of an elder sister when he was only four years old ; her pallid features sinking in death were never effaced from his recollection. At ten years old he entered the grammar-school at Stirling, then under the care of the learned Dr. Doig, who had acquired celebrity from his letters on the savage state, in opposition to Lord Kames. Heugh's character among his school-fellows was that of a vivacious boy, forward in all sports, fond of a practical joke, yet not mischievous. In a class of seventeen or twenty he generally occupied the first place, a sufficient proof that there must have been some illusion in the severe judgment he passed in riper years on his school days, as chiefly furnishing matter of regret for misspent time and lost opportunities. Had a much greater proportion of his time been devoted to books and far less to bodily exercise, in all probability his intellectual attainments would ultimately have been much inferior, his practical energy diminished, and his days either cut short or tormented with valetudinarian infirmities. Yet such
regrets,

regrets have probably been felt by every one who 'presses forward to the things that are before,' whether in the race of spirituality or literature. But it is evident that his mental powers were not satisfied with the routine of the class-room, from the remarkable fact, that before he was fifteen his discriminating tutor put into his hands Clarke's *Demonstration*, with a request that he would point out any flaw he could detect in the reasoning. The precise result we are not told, but we may suppose it was such as confirmed Dr. Doig's high estimate of his pupil, since he opened a correspondence with him on entering the University of Edinburgh. In that seat of learning he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the professors whose classes he attended, Dalziel, Dugald Stewart, and Finlayson. He devoted one session to the study of physical science in the Andersonian Institution at Glasgow. In 1799 he entered the Divinity Hall of the General Associate Synod, then under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Bruce, of Whitburn. On the 22nd of February, 1804, he was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Stirling, and in 1806 was appointed colleague to his father, in that town. Fifteen years after he removed to Glasgow, being in his 39th year, and continued there to his death, which took place in 1846, when he was 63 years old.

From his entrance on the ministry he kept a diary for the twofold purpose of marking the changes in his spiritual state and of general self-culture. After forty years' experience, he recommended the practice in the following terms :—

'Keep a diary. I believe every person who has gone through life with any considerable benefit either to himself or others has done something of this sort. To note facts which would otherwise prove fugitive, and would soon fly into oblivion; to give some permanence to emotions which might be forgotten almost as soon as they had subsided; above all, to turn the eye of the mind inward on itself, and to gain fresh acquaintance with the depths of the heart and its operations towards God and man; all this is worth trying, and if tried in earnest and accompanied with prayer, will prove successful.'

Mr. Heugh's assiduous self-culture deserves the attentive consideration of all young students. They will here learn the secret of ultimate success, and the sure method of attaining (or at least of meriting) a permanent reputation. They will be taught by his example the value of such homely and old-fashioned appliances as self-examination, self-denial, careful observation, the cultivation of principles, and mental concentration. Such were the means, consecrated and refined by fervent devotion, by which he became one of the most useful and honoured ministers
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in his own communion, and gained the high award of those who '*turn many to righteousness.*'

What might be the emotions with which an unfallen human being might acquire a knowledge of his Maker, and receive continual influxes of spiritual wisdom from the Fountain of Life, it is not perhaps within the range of the powers of a fallen though regenerated spirit to conceive, but that the latter should be subject to visitations of melancholy, especially in the incipient shapes of its earthly course, seems almost inevitable; in any cases of exception, we should confidently pronounce a deficiency of sensibility or reflective power; but both these Mr. Heugh possessed in no inconsiderable degree; we are therefore not surprised to find that at his entrance on the ministry, notwithstanding his joyous temperament, '*melancholy moods*' are frequently mentioned in his Diary, and that it cost him no small effort to bring them under control:—

'The sensibility, however,' his biographer observes, 'of which this youthful melancholy was the perversion, continued with him through life, and was often displayed in that tenderness of sympathy with which he was ever ready to enter into cases of distress.'—p. 34.

As is not unusual with men eminent for their attainments, Mr. Heugh often expresses the deepest sense of deficiency on points in which his superiority was most conspicuous. It is attested by those who knew him best that his conversational powers were of the first order, yet his complaints of inaptitude for social converse are perpetually recurring. But the pains he took to correct his defects on this head were remarkable, and their success should stimulate others to follow his example. With the exception of those persons who practise the art of mental pyrotechnics for mere show and applause, we fear that the conversational faculty is much neglected, and left to the mood of the hour, or the external influences of the company, instead of being made an object of systematic attention: as Mr. Heugh expresses it, '*most people run on at random and never mind.*'

Catholicity was a noble feature in his character. It showed itself in early life, when he was attending the Divinity Hall, and shed its attractive lustre on every part of his career. Its manifestations were numerous. When the Stirling Auxiliary Bible Society was formed, he wrote an Address which the historian of the parent Society eulogised as a lasting monument of the wisdom, the candour, and the philanthropy of the Society by which it was issued. 'From no quarter,' said Mr. Owen, 'has there issued a more lucid, temperate, and masterly exposition of the subject.' Mr. Heugh took an active part in all institutions of general

general charity. The first sermon he published (that on Christian Beneficence) was preached for the benefit of the Stirling Female Society for Relieving Aged and Indigent Women. He entered with ardour into the cause of missions, and it was in accordance with his liberal views that the funds of the Stirling Missionary Society were divided between the London and Baptist Societies and the Moravians. Describing one of its anniversaries, he says—

‘ We had a very pleasant meeting. The audience was small, but respectable, and composed of persons from almost all denominations, who really seem here in earnest for the extension of the kingdom of Christ. It was quite a new spectacle in Stirling—ministers of the Establishment, Burgher, and Anti-burgher, mixed with laymen, clustered round the pulpit of the East Church, hearing the cause of missions pleaded from that pulpit, and all afterwards pleading it by their speeches. Most I believe are delighted with this union of Christians in those matters in which they agree; some shake their heads in hesitation, and a few are offended with the novelty. Providence, however, is evidently sending us to the “school of union.” I trust we shall be swift to learn the lessons of goodwill, zeal, and activity which these schools teach us—that we shall be kept from casting from us any part of revealed truth or order, the knowledge of which we may have formerly reached—and that, through the blessing from on high, we shall soon see Zion breaking forth on the right hand and on the left.’
—p. 144.

In the negotiations which led to an union of the two religious bodies known as Burghers and Anti-burghers, Mr. Heugh took an active and conspicuous part. After its accomplishment he thus writes to his friend Mr. Muckerrie:—

‘ Well, is not this union as pleasant as it is wonderful? It is as like the “doing of the Lord” as anything in the modern history of the church. We now occupy high ground, and must have proportional influence in the country. What a responsibility rests on us! May we individually feel it; and each in his place, by prayer, and wise, affectionate, and humble exertion, do what we can to make our union truly profitable to all within our reach. . . . By the way, I do not like the idea of the united church ‘being a *formidable* body—a powerful rival of the establishment, etc. This is not the spirit which brought the two bodies together—the Christian spirit of the age, or a spirit that would be profitable to ourselves. I would rather draw as close in private intercourse, public meetings, etc., with the good men of the establishment as I could. I would wish them success, and pray and co-operate with them for it. If some of *them* keep aloof, I would not do it. Some of the United Synod, on both sides, said too long “Stand by!” The more we lay aside jealousy, and rivalry, and little surmisings, and evil speakings, and draw close to the good people
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on earth with whom we shall be so closely united for ever, the better. Who knows what may next come round?’

In another letter, of rather earlier date, he says :—

‘ Part of yesterday I spent in the house of a friend, and part of to-day in my own house, with as godly and amiable a member of the National Church (or of any church) as I have met with—Mr. Wright, of Markinch, the editor of “Owen.” After the divine fellowship, we may surely rank next, as affording the most delicious enjoyment, that of “the excellent of the earth.” Really the more we know of the good of other denominations the better. But I fear you will think me too much of a *Catholic*.’

The interest Mr. Heugh felt in Christian diffusion, no less than in Christian union, is shown by the fact that, owing chiefly to his energetic appeals, his own congregation in eleven years raised 10,560*l.* for missionary purposes, and nearly an equal sum for home and charitable purposes. He also formed an admirable scheme called the farthing-a-day plan, on the principle of universal and very frequent giving, which very soon doubled the missionary revenues of his own denomination, and is continuing every year to enlarge them.

Of Mr. Heugh's indefatigable industry almost every page of the Memoirs gives evidence. His biographer states that during his residence at Glasgow for a quarter of a century, he did not repeat more than twenty of the two thousand discourses he composed at Stirling, though involved in a multitude of pastoral and public engagements, the pressure of which would have been an irresistible temptation to a less energetic mind to fall back on the materials already collected. He left behind him, it appears, between four and five thousand discourses, the greater part written in full, and consequently enabling him to maintain a great equality in the labours of the pulpit. From early life he studied the Scriptures in the original languages, and in his forty-sixth year such entries as the following occur in his diary: ‘Hebrew each day; resolving on a six months' application to it.’—‘Hebrew between dinner and tea.’ And two years later :—

‘The following things to be attended to this year. Up in the morning at seven, and an hour of reading before breakfast. Two hours reading every day. Some stirring reading. The Hebrew to be resumed an hour a day at least, and the Greek. Bible reading at night as well as morning. May God enable me to keep my resolutions.’

He always devoted a portion of his time to general reading, which, besides other beneficial results, gave variety and point to his conversational intercourse. His deep interest in the welfare
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of mankind led him to make himself master of all the most important public events. His mental operations were carried on with great rapidity. In reading he seized with much readiness on the leading characteristics of a book. In theological literature his favourite authors were Edwards, Owen, and Bishop Hall, but he confined himself to no one class. He sometimes said, 'I like to look into erroneous books,' as if it *braced* his mind to expose it to the chilling 'winds of doctrine.'

After alluding to his *velocity* of mind, Mr. M'Gill remarks,—

'A similar rapidity he frequently brought to bear on character. He often seemed by a sort of intuition to discern the moral temperature and the mental capacity of individuals. In the same manner also, probably from the harmonious development of his moral as well as his mental faculties, he quickly found out the *tone* of a company, so that, without any person imagining he had either had the time or the design to send out *feelers*, he had ascertained with precision *where he was*. The rapidity with which he sometimes formed his opinion of a person, as if at first sight he had thoroughly penetrated his character, he found it necessary to keep in check; and while perhaps nothing was more remarkable than his freedom from evil-speaking, and even censorious judging, yet, when he found his first impressions fully confirmed, he would say, "I think I have a painful quickness at discerning spirits."'
—p. 517.

A mighty force of will seems to have animated all his movements, whether of recreation or business. Delay he hated, and idleness he abhorred. To his children he would say, '*Play with all your might, learn with all your might, obey with all your might.*'

On principle, as well as from natural constitution, he was eminently a generous man. His rule was to devote a tithe of his receipts to charitable uses, but probably no rule was ever less strictly kept; his benefactions more frequently approached to a fifth, and, the reverse of the worldly-minded, in addition to the portion of his income devoted to charitable purposes he saved something yearly from his 'very frugal personal expenditure' to give to the poor, and the last year of his life this saving was the greatest. Follower of Him who said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.—Thou shalt be blessed; for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just.'

In domestic life, he was full of tenderness and consideration for others. He was easily moved to tears, but seldom overpowered to weeping. Two occasions are mentioned by one of his family. Once was in giving an account of the meekness of a female member of his congregation who was dying in great agony, but who could

could speak of nothing but mercy. Another time, when repeating Toplady's hymn,

‘Rock of Ages, cleft for me,’

the words ‘for me’ caused a gush of feeling which stopped all utterance.

His admiration of natural scenery and enthusiastic love of the country form a trait of his character which his biographer has taken frequent occasion to illustrate, and in our opinion most judiciously. His occasional sojourn in the most romantic districts of his own country, and his visit in the latter part of his life to the region of the Alps, gave him ample opportunity for indulging in these delightful emotions. We must select a few passages from his journals by way of illustration. In the beginning of September, 1827, he visited Aberdeen, by the route of the Caledonian Canal and Inverness, and thus writes to Mrs. Heugh:—

‘I have been in the midst of a succession of objects so varied, so beautiful, and so magnificent, that in reality I should hardly know either where to begin or where to end. Besides, I have kept a sort of journal, and finished it as far as the wonderful Ben-Nevis, on which, in spite of all that has been said to its discredit—as the monarch among the mountain grandees of Scotland, and on the enormous masses around it—I could have gazed for a week. Many a score times I thought, Oh, if you had been with me! Of all the scenes I ever looked on, the one which commences with Loch Crinan and extends through the Hebrides, is the most amazing. Hardly a breath stirred; the sea was like molten silver; island after island, rocks, woods, glens, lochs, &c. &c., came upon us with a rapidity and effect which the imagination might fancy, but which I never expected to see in real nature. It is absolutely a crime to have it in one’s power to see such manifestations of God, and not to go and observe and admire them.’

About twelve months after he thus writes from Inverary:—

‘I am lost in astonishment at this place. Its beauty grows upon me daily, and God has been adorning it with his sunlight and his moonlight, and all the glory of a cloudless azure. I feel as if I inhale health at every step, and I think it has given new tone to my mind as well as to my body. There are points in this ducal park which seem to me unsurpassable. About the centre of it you see its undulating surface, perfectly verdant, with its fine trees, singly, in clumps, and in lines—the wooded brow, on the one side, stretching full two miles, and terminating at both ends in Trosach-like scenery. At the one end of the park, Dunicoich, one mass of variegated foliage almost to its summit, and the castle at its base, half buried in wood, with all autumnal tints—the loch quite alive with herring-barges seen in peeps betwixt the lawn and the lower branches; and finally, mountain-tops everywhere, Ben Cruachan, Ben Loy, and Bens and Cobblers of every shape

shape and size; all this varying at every step; this is Inverary as it now is.'—p. 352.

In the autumn of 1843, his health requiring relaxation, he repaired to Geneva, taking in his way Paris, Bâle, and Berne. In company with the Rev. Dr. Baird and other American friends he visited Chamouni.

'The Alpine pass through which we advanced,' he writes, 'was one perpetual colossal Trossach, and absolutely exhausted the mind with delight and wonder. But when Mont Blanc himself burst upon us, I felt, I suppose, somewhat like the Queen of Sheba. Whoever has seen Versailles may be satisfied with palaces, sure that he never can see the like again; and whoever has traversed Chamouni, and gazed on Mont Blanc, with its rocks and snows and glorious glaciers, may be sure he never can again behold such physical magnificence. What do you think? I rode five hours on a mule, a guide walking beside me, and holding the beast by the bridle, till I was more than six thousand feet above the level of the sea, ascending often by paths so precipitous that the animal seemed to be perpetually rearing, while the road was sometimes so rugged that he needed rather to jump than walk, and so narrow as that guide and mule could hardly walk abreast, and while the descent on the one side was so abrupt that, had the ground slipped, mule and minister must have descended full 3000 feet! But what think you of riding down again? This was indispensable, unless we had resolved to ride aloft. Yes, and I looked upon and walked upon that mysterious *Mer de Glace*—sea of ice—about two miles broad—where we saw it stretching far away full fifty miles, and environed with countless rocky pinnacles, one of which, right before us, rose 7000 feet above where we stood, being 13,000 above the level of the sea. After a day of cloudless serenity, all became enveloped at night, torrents fell, lightning flashed for hours, and the whole valley and mountains reverberated with Alpine thunders.'

In another letter he says,—

'It would have been wickedness not to visit the glorious Chamouni, which, having once seen, you have no power to forget afterwards.'

In 1831 Mr. Heugh received the diploma of D.D. from the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In writing to a friend some years after, he pithily expressed his opinion of all such titles, that they are 'a mere tinsel shoulder-knot, neither helmet, sword, nor shield, much less brawny arm or valorous soul.' About the same time he became engaged in what is generally known as the 'Voluntary Question,' and a few years later in a controversy respecting additional endowments to the Church of Scotland. Such questions do not come within the scope of this Journal; but it is only justice to Dr. Heugh's memory to say, that judging from the evidence in the volume before us, he was remarkably

remarkably free from those faults which so generally attach to combatants on either side. Nothing can be conceived more courteous, dignified, and temperate, than the language he employed on subjects which have too often been debated with bitterness and acrimony. It is with much pleasure we quote the statement of his biographer, that—

‘the character in which his people knew him, was that of an earnest Pastor, never feeding the flock on the husks of controversy, but ever preaching Christ crucified; neglecting no congregational interest, relinquishing no pastoral duty, and forsaking no service fitted to diffuse the Gospel, even during those seasons of his public life when his name and his labours were known by many only in alliance with the controverted question of Establishments. . . . Among the other topics of his preaching during some of the months of 1835, when he was most busily engaged in controversial discussion, on the platform, and in the press, the following may be noted:—the Incarnation of Christ—His name Immanuel—His name Jesus—Saving Faith—Prayer Meetings—the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ—Christian Missions—the glorious prospects before the Church—the necessity of Divine Influence—Spiritual Dejection, its causes and remedy. These themes were interspersed with expositions bearing on those practical subjects on which St. Paul touches in the 12th and 13th chapters of his Epistle to the Romans.’—p. 302.

At various times Dr. Heugh was deputed to London on important public questions. For such services he was admirably qualified by his complete mastery of the subjects of discussion, his power of lucid and pointed reasoning, his self-possession, and his union of firmness and courtesy. His journals contain some lively notices of the political characters with whom he thus became acquainted; we present a few of them:—

‘Feb. 26, (1838.) Called for Mr. O’Connell—his appearance—his frank, manly, kind manners. Feelings with which we looked on a man who has been, and is, such an instrument in the hand of Providence. He avowed our principles. Said he would divide on the question of principle—said he was flattered by our visit, and wished to see us again, and to give all information.

‘Lord Brougham.—His easy introduction. His great attention to Dr. Wardlaw. Affectation of perfect knowledge of our case. Great activity and power of mind. Evident hostility to Ministers. No great moral bearing.

‘Lord Bentinck.—Beautiful manners. Fine specimen of an old nobleman, polite, affable, benevolent, obliging. Decided against additional endowments, and in favour of dividing on the principle in the first instance.

‘March 3. Met ———. Clever, racy; very sound on the principle, but quite ignorant as to facts. His admission that he was a man of no weight. “I may speak of religion, but they know me.”

‘Dinner

‘Dinner at ——. Bearing of O’Connell. What he said in regard to Ireland. Said they were inflammable, and it was dangerous to work in a place full of gunpowder.

‘*March 17.*—On Wednesday last we were at court, presented by Lord John Russell to the Queen. The pageant was very imposing, but very soon over. The littleness and youth of her Majesty, the mixture of seeming mildness and intelligence, with suppressed emotion in her look and manner, the innocent, helpless-like way in which she holds out her hand for the salute, and the associations that the sight of her call up, so engrossed me for the instant that I really saw no one but the Queen. . . . We had a nobler spectacle in the morning—another great Anti-slavery Meeting at Exeter Hall, Brougham in the chair. The assemblage was stupendous, and more went away than got in. They were under the necessity of meeting next day; and never, even in his prime, was the eloquence of Brougham more versatile or imposing. He is playing a new card. He means again to embark on the wave of popular support, and he is at present spreading every sail, and careering right gloriously. But I fear he wants ballast—principle, religious, moral.’

Eighteen years before, on returning from another visit to the metropolis, he stayed a short time at Leicester, where he ‘had the happiness,’ he told his friend Dr. Stark, ‘to hear Robert Hall, and the folly to preach before him.’

‘In conversation,’ he added, ‘he is the most profound, intellectual, and eloquent man I ever met with. As Dr. Chalmers said of him, “he is quite Johnsonian,” but he might have added, that he has none of Johnson’s rudeness or arrogance, and a great deal more of piety.’

To another friend he says—

‘I had the happiness of spending nearly two days with Mr. Hall, of Leicester, whom I found to be quite as extraordinary a man, in conversation especially, as I had been taught to expect; full of intelligence, a critic, a moralist, a theologian, a politician, and pouring forth his stores without ostentation, but with a conversational eloquence which I never heard equalled. The simplicity, fervour, and humility of his prayers struck me as much as anything else about him.’—p. 178.

But we must bring to a close our notice of this most valuable biography, leaving untouched many topics of equal interest with those we have adverted to. The last chapter but one, which opens with Dr. Heugh’s presentiment of his approaching death, is a very touching and yet delightful narrative, with the exception of one painful occurrence, which for a brief season was allowed to agitate this good man’s latter days. For ourselves, there is no portion of the volume which we are more disposed to muse upon, and so loth to quit, acquiring as it does an accumulation of interest from all that precedes. The recollection of the beneficent radiance emitted so long by this burning and shining light, makes

us watch with more intense emotion the last gleams it sheds over the dark valley, while we are animated by the sure and certain hope of its reappearance in unclouded lustre, when 'the righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.'

Of the volume of Discourses which accompanies the Life, we can only offer a general opinion formed from a partial examination. We doubt not that by Dr. Heugh's own connection, and far beyond that circle, it will be prized as a valuable and not unworthy memorial of a man so justly esteemed and beloved. Yet, without underrating its merits, we may be allowed to express a wish that the Life, in the event of a second edition, may be published separately, to ensure its wider circulation among those who for economical reasons might otherwise be unable to possess it. To the Ministers of the Gospel it is of inestimable value; but for private Christians it is replete with instruction; it is worthy of being placed by the side of the *Memoirs of Arnold*, and of Dr. Heugh's great contemporary and countryman, Chalmers.

J. R.

RECONSIDERED TEXTS.

REMARKS UPON THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD.*

IF the explanation proposed in the tenth Number of this Journal (p. 495), with reference to the expression '*from Christ*,' (occurring in the assertion of St. Paul (Rom. ix. 3), that 'for his brethren he could even *wish to be accursed*') be correct, we are furnished thereby not only with an additional scriptural proof of the doctrine of a superintending and directing Providence, which heretofore had been concealed from us, but with one also which (as it refers to the will of God, or, to keep more closely to the Apostolic phrase, regards as '*from Christ*,' even such of our sufferings and sorrows as may seem to arise wholly from the malice or unkindness of a fellow-man) is well calculated to teach us to be and to show ourselves superior to any unmerited ill usage that may possibly befall us.

For if the phrase in question be (as supposed) a recognition on the part of the Apostle of the dependence of all things upon the will of Christ—evil, no less than good—it was clearly his belief, that nothing whatever could befall him through any indifference on the part of Christ or of God as to what shall be, and what

* In continuation of RECONSIDERED TEXTS, No. I.

shall not—nothing through the unplanned, ungoverned operation of secondary causes—nothing apart from God's express and full permission—nothing without the full consent of His will; and that He has as much control over the actions and feelings of our fellow-men, and regulates the treatment we shall receive from them, as certainly and as really as he controls the inanimate agents of His will, sunshine, or rain, or famine, or fire, or pestilence, or storm.

It is not my intention to trespass upon the time and patience of others by endeavouring to establish by argument the truth of the doctrine of a Providence thus comprehensive and unceasing. So far as the explanation of the phrase in question is concerned, it is sufficient, for it is undeniable, that Scripture refers all things to the will and Providence of God; and that the Providence of Scripture is not a mere permission, nor yet—as popular phraseology and anecdote^b would seem to indicate—a fitful interference, exerting itself only upon occasion, and working only in a way of remarkable and unlooked-for interposition; but continuous and steady: now willing that the sparrow should wing his way unhurt, and now that the same should fall to the ground and perish; willing that I should enjoy health and strength and comforts, or willing that I should sicken and droop and die; now demanding my thankfulness, now my submission; as active when we are overwhelmed with sorrow as when uplifted with happiness and hope; as much concerned in the protracted pains of Hooper and Ridley, as in the speedy, easy, and quiet transit of Ridley's fellow-martyr Latimer.

Yet, seeing that men, though ready enough to acknowledge in general terms the doctrine of an universal and all-controlling Providence, inconsistently refuse to admit it in individual and particular cases, (such as are marked by circumstances that are calculated to arrest wonder and attention being alone excepted,) from an opinion that a Providence so thorough and all-working would interfere with human freedom, and, by consequence, with just responsibility; it seems not an improper Supplement to the explanation suggested of the phrase referred to, to make a few remarks with reference to this objection; especially as it is an objection that is often secretly held, even when not openly avowed; and the doctrine—notwithstanding the many Scriptures that assert it, and the many that imply it—is upon this account not unfrequently either practically disbelieved, or if received, received with suspicion and distrust.

If, indeed, God so willed evil as to necessitate its commission, a Providence such as this would, of course, very materially affect the question of just responsibility. If compulsion be supposed, it is, for instance, startling to read that God not only 'has mercy on whom he will,' but that 'whom he will he hardeneth.'

But surely men and circumstances may be so brought into juxta-

^b Upon this point see some excellent papers in the *Christian Observer* for 1836, pp. 176–209, a reprint of which in a separate form might perhaps be found to be extremely useful.

position and combined as to produce and even render certain that which is evil, without rendering that evil necessary in the sense of unavoidable; and if it be not proximately the will of God, but a man's own disposition acted upon by circumstances that determines the man's acts—if God, in willing that which is evil, merely wills that a man shall simply be exposed to the influence of this or of that inducement, and by means such as these (which, though they may produce, do not compel) He even produce the evil, God's providence in the production of the evil interferes in no respect with the just responsibility of the man. God may indeed know beforehand and with certainty that evil will be the result of the inducement; but of the evil result itself it is manifest that evil man, not God, is the alone real and proper author.

If, for example, God harden, not by a direct operation upon the heart itself, but by a series of circumstances which, in themselves considered, indicate goodness and long-suffering; goodness, and delayed or averted punishment, may harden indeed, but the induration of the individual hardened is his own act, and of himself. In the case of Pharaoh referred to above, that which hardened the king's heart was not any direct act of God upon the heart. The power granted in His wisdom to the magicians of Egypt, (but in mercy granted only in an inferior and very limited degree,) to imitate up to a given point the miracles of Moses and Aaron, and God's merciful and reiterated removal, at the intercession of Moses, of those plagues which, when produced, the limited power of these so-called magicians was inefficient to remove, were the alone circumstances, which, acting upon a heart already evil and self-willed, hardened that heart. But if the like circumstances would not have produced the like result had the previous character and disposition of the king been different, who was properly and strictly the author of Pharaoh's sin—Pharaoh or his Maker?

In like manner, when we are told (2 Sam. xxiv. 1) that God—or that Satan, permitted by God (1 Chron. xxi. 1)—moved David to number Israel; or when Joseph, endeavouring to console his brethren, says to them (Gen. xlv. 8), 'It was not you, but God, that sent me hither,' do we not interpret the words with more strictness than is either justifiable or necessary, if we suppose God to have necessitated the commission of the sin of these brethren or of David, by anything like a direct and compulsory influence? The utmost that is asserted, if the words be fairly understood, and with due allowance for the strong phraseology, which a firm conviction of the fact that nothing can happen apart from God's full and express will would naturally suggest, is, that circumstances willed and ordered by the wisdom and in the providence of God, were, through the fault and sinfulness of the individuals subjected to their influence, the occasion of the sin. With reference to the sale of Joseph by his brethren, we are indeed in actual possession of the circumstances which were its cause. With reference to David, the narrative is too brief to enable us to pronounce with the like certainty as to the proximate cause of David's sin; but we may be sure in his case, as in that of Joseph's brethren, that that cause was not compulsion on the part of God. Perhaps it was the prosperous
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and thriving condition of his kingdom, working upon his vanity; or perhaps the apprehension of foreign invasion operating upon his fears, that gave birth to the desire to number Israel; that, in the one case, he might be able to boast of the many over whom he reigned; or that, in the other, he might know upon how many in the event of invasion he might be able to depend. But whatever was the cause, the mere declaration that 'God moved David' is not of itself sufficient to prove that God was in any respect the strict and proper author of the sin; though it does prove that He willed the circumstances which led to its foreseen, and sure, and allowed commission. The circumstances would in themselves have been powerless to beget the sin, had the heart been right, or had faith been strong.

A Providence which works out its designs and effects its will simply through the instrumentality of causes such as these (which, although they may produce with certainty, produce without compulsion), must not, therefore, be confounded with stern Fatalism, which compels the evil that it wills. Notwithstanding our own impotency to resist temptation apart from God, we are impotent, only apart from God; and Scripture consequently everywhere represents failure and deficiency not as a misfortune, but as a sin. That the means provided for our weakness, and in the use of which we are commanded to seek the promotion of our spiritual well-being and well-doing, are ever wholly unavailing, is more easily said than proved. Our Lord represents it as universally true of 'every one' 'that asketh' that 'he receiveth' (provided, of course, that what we ask is according to God's will, and such as it becomes his wisdom or his goodness to bestow) and of every one 'that seeks' that he 'shall find.' 'If we have not,' says James, 'it is either because we ask not, or because we ask amiss.'

Difficulties, indeed, may embarrass and perplex us; but to imagine that even the highest degree of certainty will be always adequate to the exclusion of every painful and uneasy thought, is to suppose that the struggles and trials of our faith—though here we are called upon to 'walk by faith, and not by sight'—may be over before that faith is so exchanged. Had it seemed good to the wisdom of God, sin might doubtless have been for ever excluded, as well from the whole of His creation as from a part; and man's native disposition for ever preserved in all the original excellency of its first uprightness. But that man is corrupt is no disproof of just responsibility, nor that he should be exposed to trial any disproof of God's beneficence. That God is beneficent, and that man is responsible, are truths too firmly established upon their own separate and independent grounds, to be disproved or set aside merely because the enactment of a just and holy law, has issued in failure on man's part and exposedness to punishment.

If a truth be clearly revealed, or declared, (as that man is weak, that his powers and propensities are corrupt, that he is nevertheless justly responsible, and, in case of failure, blameworthy and deserving condemnation,) that truth can never be affected by any reluctance on

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our part to admit it, nor by any opinions we may form of the propriety or impropriety of the arrangement.

But theological difficulties (such excepted, as arise from a mere unwillingness to receive a doctrine, however clearly revealed, or from our own self-conceited and daring preconceptions of what ought to be, or of what God ought to do) are almost always of a metaphysical character. Metaphysical reasonings, however, (in consequence of the appearance which they will sometimes present of mathematically demonstrating, whilst all the while there is either an unperceived ambiguity of meaning in the terms employed, or an imperceptible gliding from the metaphysical to the popular usage of some word or phrase,) though not without their use, perhaps as frequently mislead as guide, and are too dangerous to be always trusted to implicitly. No doctrine, for instance, is more capable of being satisfactorily demonstrated by metaphysical argument than that of certain (*i. e.* invariable) sequences. That successions in the material world are certain and invariable all agree. What, for instance, are the so-called experiments of scientific lecturers, but the sure production (by the employment under the like circumstances, of the same agencies as those employed by him who first made the experiment) of that which they know will be, and must be. Indeed, so certain are these successions in the world of matter, that if we did but know all the phenomena and rules of that world, we could, from its present, predict its future state at any period, however remote. This actually has been done in the science of astronomy; and in the repetition of every scientific procedure or experiment, we can with confidence feel sure that such or such combinations or proceedings will of a certainty produce such or such results. As regards the phenomena of mind—how causes will in any given instance operate we may not know, from ignorance of the character of that mind (known only to God) upon which they may be brought to bear. But that the mind is not independent of causation we do know. Indeed, nothing is more currently heard of than that the mind is influenced by motives. But what are motives but certain circumstances acting on a certain character? Or what these circumstances but the results of others which preceded them? To say that the will determines itself, if it mean anything more than that the will wills, which no one will dispute, can only mean that it is independent of motives, and uninfluenced by mood or disposition. But we know (I appeal to consciousness and to experience) that this is not the case: that motives alone move; that these are yielded to or resisted, and desires complied with or denied, not as the will may doggedly determine, but as a man's disposition, character, or mood, may dispose him or indispose him to yield to the motive, or to gratify the desire; and that there will be, in every case, a diversity in the effect, corresponding to the difference in disposition on the part of those to whom the motives may be addressed.

To my mind, therefore, the doctrine of sequences, as held by Edwards in his *Dissertation upon the Will*, and by Chalmers in various portions of his numerous works, taken in connection with the
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fact that there is a God who created all things, the Cause of causes, who first gave to all things that motion which still continues, (and which will never cease till He who gave it stops it,) and those properties and influences which they still retain, and to all nature those laws from which (except by His direct intervention) it has never swerved, incontestably establishes the doctrine of a Providence, ruling, ordering, willing, and producing all things.

Nevertheless, it does seem that the word usually employed by those who advocate these views—by Chalmers, amongst others—to denote the invariableness and certainty of results produced by causes fitted to produce them, the word Necessity—is an unfortunate word. One naturally asks how can that which is necessary be either virtuous or vicious, praiseworthy or blameworthy, deserving reward or deserving punishment. But happily it is as inappropriate as it is unfortunate. If results were produced by the sole operation of external causes, then, indeed, the effect produced might be spoken of as necessary; but if the agent acted upon be a being possessed of the power of choice, will, reason, sense of right and wrong, a consciousness of responsibility and of the obligation under which he lies to do that only which is right; if the man himself be in fault—being that which he ought not to be—then 'caused' in his case, though equivalent to 'certain,' is not equivalent to 'unavoidable.' A like exposure on the part of God of a holier man or holier being to the like temptation or circumstance would not have produced the sin which he that is unholy and self-willed would fain ascribe to God. A lustful man, exposed to the enticements of the wife of Pharaoh's officer, would undoubtedly have yielded: yet not necessarily; for Joseph (Gen. xxxix. 9) refused to yield to the solicitations of his master's wife, and chose rather to seem guilty than to be so. And so in other instances, the criminal, proximate, and efficient 'cause' of a man's evil doing is his 'own lust' (Jas. i. 14), not God. That which is properly and only God's is good, and only good; that which is as truly and wholly the man's is the perversion of the good. Circumstances and events brought about and ordered of God may become (nay, even God's own goodness, and beneficence, and mercy, and long-suffering may), through man's perverseness, the 'cause' of evil; and God therefore may, in a certain sense, appear to be the 'cause' or 'author' of sin. But certainly it cannot be in a proper or popular sense of the words that He is so: for, so far is he from tempting to sin by holding out inducements for its commission, that He proposes the greatest and the strongest motives possible for its avoidance; forbidding it, threatening it, making known to us a future day of righteous retribution, and holding out before us the hope of an eternity of happiness, or the dread of an eternity of punishment.

In truth, the circumstance which leads to the sin (whether we call it temptation, author, cause, or occasion) is but the half, the least half, of the cause; the real and determining cause, the real and proper author, the author in the only intelligible sense of the word 'author,' is the man himself; and if, after all, we must still admit that the fact of man's corruption is a difficulty, it is so perhaps simply or chiefly because

because we do not understand the precise nature of that corruption, with reference to the extent to which it interferes with that power of self-control which seems to be essential to just responsibility.

To a certain extent, indeed, and in a certain sense, man is necessitated, but not in such a way as at all to interfere with just accountability. He is necessarily man, having only such and such powers; but not necessarily all that he is—not necessarily the rebel that he is; nor, though it be true that he cannot save himself, necessarily the neglecter of that Saviour and of that salvation provided for and pressed upon him. It is granted, and even maintained, that, without the Spirit, he will not and cannot repent; but if he be invited, encouraged, and commanded to seek the bestowment of that Spirit, impenitence—if it exist—is not necessitated; and it ceases to be true that he cannot, in such a stringent sense of ‘cannot,’ as to excuse impenitence. If he cannot of himself, the means are provided for him whereby he both may and can.

It may, therefore, be confidently maintained that the unabused and unperverted doctrine of the Providence of Scripture is such as to justify no relaxation of endeavour; such as to warrant no extravagance of expectation, to the neglect of the employment of those means which tend to the production of that for which we hope; and such also as to excuse and palliate no folly and no sin. We have no right to ascribe to God’s mere will any evil which it was within our own power to have avoided; nor to regard God as the cause of that which our own folly, perverseness, or imprudence has been instrumental in producing. So that, if in any instance misfortune or sorrow can be traced to improvidence, or fault, or error of our own, it manifestly becomes us rather to take blame to ourselves for our folly, than to regard ourselves as enduring evils through the mere will of an inexorable and resistless Providence. It would still, indeed, be quite true that Providence had willed our perpetration of the folly, and with it, and because of it, the evil resulting from its commission; but it would not be true that God had so willed it as to render our folly necessary. Fatalism, and a Providence that wills and orders all things, are by no means, therefore, one and the self-same thing. Fatalism, indeed (which represents will and effort as wholly unavailing to accomplish a result, effect as wholly independent of causes at our own command, the impenitent as unfortunate rather than as wicked, and the imprudent as unfortunate rather than as foolish), might justify abandonment and recklessness, sloth and presumption the most entire, authorise a disregard of the use of required means, justify the neglect of prudential forethought and of effort, and yet warrant the expectation of the possible and wished-for, rather than such results as are to be expected from imprudence; but not so the Providence of Scripture.

Without presuming to give an opinion as to whether the doctrines of Calvinism, rightly understood and fairly represented, be or be not in accordance with the representations of Scripture, it may, therefore, be asserted with confidence that Fatalism is not. If it be true that in one sense God wills not the death of a sinner—just as in one sense

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He wills not the commission of sin—in another sense it is no less true that He wills these things, for they occur. Yet, unless it can be shown that ‘certainty’ and ‘necessity,’ ‘cause’ and ‘compulsion,’ ‘caused’ and ‘unavoidable,’ ‘will be’ and ‘must be’ are strictly synonymous, we are under no obligation in any case to have recourse to the supposition of the existence of a compelling Fatalism. ‘The spirits of the prophets’—and if of ‘prophets,’ of other men no less—‘are *subject to the prophets.*’ (1 Cor. xiv. 32.)

‘The race,’ indeed, ‘is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,’ but they are so ordinarily. Under ordinary circumstances the swiftest runner is the winner; and under ordinary circumstances strength, skill, and courage give the victory in battle. God does not will effects apart from causes. If cause be not, effect will be not. Were it otherwise, Providence would indeed be Fatalism; and rational and thinking creatures—notwithstanding their divine endowments of judgment, will, and choice—mere passive mechanism.

I would take this opportunity of observing that unless the ‘Predestination’ of those holding what are popularly called Calvinistic doctrines, be that God predestinates, in the sense of necessitates, I cannot see that the doctrine held by them is at all calculated to dispirit or discourage, any more than the fact that that which will be will be; for that which is even predestinated is not more certain than that that which will be, will be. But where is the proof that God necessitates? A predestination which necessitates may be the opinion of some—of many—calling themselves Calvinists; or it may, or may not, be the predestination of Calvin himself (I am not concerned either to prove this point or to disprove it); but the only predestination contended for, in the present paper, is that God wills and brings about, or causes, through the intervention of man, certain predetermined results: a predestination which, as has been attempted to be proved above, is perfectly consistent with free agency.

The fact of the corruption of our nature may dispirit, but not the mere fact of God’s predetermination; but in the midst even of ascertained corruption and felt weakness, he who, sensible of his own impotency, waits upon God and takes hold of His strength, shall conquer in that strength, and may feel confident in spite both of corruption and of weakness. God never predestinated to cast out him that seeks to be saved, or to be deaf to him that prays.

He only need tremble because God has predestinated, that desires not salvation nor cares for it, nor seeks it, nor thinks about it. Him, indeed, the doctrine may well alarm, but it need not dispirit; for he that seeks shall find. Alarm is needful; alarm is called for, and appropriate; and it may be salutary. Whilst there is life there is hope. The living need never despair; and, however vile, however weak and unable himself to repent and turn to God, and to do works meet for repentance, shall never seek in vain.

In fact, God does not predestinate sin or moral evil at all, in the proper sense of the word predestinate. He may predestinate that which shall become the occasion of sin, or he may predestinate its punishment, but not

not the sin. In the case of the crucifixion of our Lord, for instance, it was predetermined of God (Acts ii. 23) that he should be delivered or given up (ἑκδοτός) into the hands of men, and this delivery was the *occasion* of his being crucified and slain 'by wicked hands,' but not in the proper sense of the word, the *cause*. His delivery being determined, nothing more was needful; the malignity of an offended hierarchy, the timidity of Pilate, and the bad passions of an unprincipled mob rendered all that followed certain.

That of which any being whatever can properly be said to be the author or the cause is that only which is directly from himself. God, consequently, though the author of all the good that ever was or ever will be, and only of good, is not in any proper sense of the word the author or the cause of sin. Who does not see, then, that God cannot (nor indeed can any being whatever, whether we speak of God or of man), in the same sense, be the author of that which is directly from himself, and of that, which, though it may follow as a foreknown and certain consequence, is not decreed, but of which his own acts and decrees are only the indirect occasion?

'When a good man,' says a well-known writer of the last century, Maclaurin, 'is about to do an excellent and useful action, he may foresee that some envious person will take occasion therefrom to be guilty of slander, backbiting, and perhaps worse; and that others will be very ungrateful for the good he does; but he ought not to be blamed for that, nor ought he to forbear his duty to prevent their sins. No man is obliged to do evil, or to forbear what is good, in order to prevent the evil of others; nor can his good be blamed as the cause of their evil.'—(*Select Works*, p. 150.)

In short, the words 'author,' 'cause,' and their equivalents, are words of admitted ambiguity. In one sense an occasion may be said to be a cause, but not in a strict and proper sense. The real cause is that which avails itself of the occasion. The occasion does not necessitate, does not necessarily produce; it only renders possible that which the real cause renders certain. Let not then the ambiguity of a word deceive us or mislead us. If any act of God's providence be the occasion of sin on my part, and if, in a certain sense, an occasion may be said to be a cause, it is the cause in no such sense as to excuse me, or to criminate God. And so also as regards man's future destinies, God is the strict and proper author of the salvation and happiness of millions; the author or the cause of the destruction of not one. My salvation or my destruction may be certain—alike certain whatever and whoever its cause. But if I perish, I perish because I have destroyed myself. If I perish, I perish because I have voluntarily and reiteratedly rejected a provided and an offered remedy. I perish through fault of my own; not because God has decreed that I should perish. He may have decreed my salvation, but (except conditionally) not my destruction.*

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* Mr. Toplady has said that the predestination of some to life, asserted in the seventeenth article, cannot be maintained, without admitting the reprobation of others

That the doctrine of an universal and ever active Providence that not simply permits, but that wills every act, every occurrence, even the smallest, has often been misconceived and abused, is granted; but misconception, perversion, and abuse, have nothing to do with the intrinsic merits of the question. With reference to these misconceptions and perversions, Taylor, in his *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, seems to have said all that can be desired.

Many things (the result of a steady adherence to general laws) may indeed appear so trivial and unimportant as to seem almost unworthy to be ascribed to a Divine origin and will. Trifles, however, very materially influence our temper, character, and conduct. Trifles, moreover, often lead to great results; and with reference even to those of them (if there be such) that exert no influence and lead to no result, so long as it is the will of God that his general government should be by known and general laws, rather than by continual interposition and incessant miracle—that their occurrence is willed, is but saying that it seems good to the wisdom of God that general laws should be generally adhered to.

In conclusion, I cannot but remark, that if we live under such a Providence as this, it cannot at times but excite surprise that wickedness should so prosper, and that the righteous should be so exposed to suffering and vexation; for prosperity, be it remembered, in itself considered, is a boon, a blessing. It may alienate from God; it may harden; it may induce forgetfulness of Him; yet results such as these are but man's perversion of that which, in itself, is to all who enjoy it, unjust or just, an unmerited good, deserving gratitude, and thankfulness, and exultation. In like manner the vexation and sorrows of the righteous will oftentimes perhaps appear to be more frequent or greater than is consistent with the favour with which they are undoubtedly regarded by God. Who, for instance (believing God's Providence to be concerned therein), can read of the sufferings of Judson, Burchell, and other devoted missionaries, interrupted in the midst of their usefulness, and given up for a time to the malice of their enemies and God's, and not feel wonder?

There can, however, be no question that even if frequent and heavy sufferings, and frequent disappointments, were not needed to wean the affections of the righteous from the world, and to keep them close to God, they are always calculated to call into exercise submission to the

others to death; and Mr. Fletcher, Dr. Whitby, and some others take it for granted, that if decreative election be true, decreative reprobation must be so too. But the assertion is unfounded in truth; and we not only disavow it, but can demonstrate it to be impossible. Both imply an appointment; but election implies an appointment, which can be proved to be worthy of God, as well as a glorious fact; whereas reprobation, in their acceptance of the term, being an appointment of sin as the mean, and of misery as the end, is equally inconsistent with the nature of sin as a moral defect—with that of God, as a being of infinite holiness and justice—and with that of man as a free and responsible agent.—*Essay on Equity and Sovereignty*, by Edward Williams, D.D., 8vo., London, 1809; pp. 365–371—a work of which an admirable synopsis and review may be found (by whom written I do not know) in the *Eclectic Review* of 1814, pp. 28–51, 329–366.

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will of God—which the Christian man who believes that all things are of God must needs exercise; or else, when at any time disposed to repine against that which befalls him through an apparent chance, or through the studied and intended ill will of others, (for his belief leaves him no alternative) be guilty—consciously guilty—not of mere vexation against an apparent chance, nor of mere anger against the malice of a fellow man—but of vexation against God, and of anger against God.

. There are but two re-translations of the phrase *ἀνδρῶν ἐκ* *ἀπὸ*, besides those given in my previous paper, upon which I feel it desirable to offer a remark. The one is that proposed by Dr. Waterland (and adopted and made popular by Scott and Doddridge), who supposes the *ἀπὸ* to mean *after the example of*, grounding his translation upon the supposition that such is its meaning in St. Paul's declaration, 'I thank God, whom I serve *from my forefathers*' (2 Tim. i. 3). But Robinson's paraphrase 'Whom I serve with a devotion *inherited from* my forefathers,' or Macknight's, 'Whom according to the instruction *received from* my forefathers,' so perfectly shows how the preposition still preserves its radical idea of '*from*,' that the supposition that it is to be understood as signifying '*after the example of*' may surely be dismissed as groundless. The other is that of Elsner, and even of Schleusner (!) who, contrary to known usage, suppose the *ἀπὸ* (*from*) to be dependent upon *ἡρώων*. But this is quite inadmissible. '*ἀπὸ*' is never used to point out the party prayed to. The preposition employed for this purpose is *πρός*. '*Εὐχόμεναι ἀπὸ*' (if the expression could any where be found) would certainly mean '*to pray successfully*,' i. e. '*to pray so as to obtain from*.' It may seem strange that a man of such reputation as Schleusner should have ventured upon a solution so uncritical, and so incapable of philological support; but the earlier exegesis and lexicographers, Schleusner not excepted, do not appear to have very thoroughly investigated the precise force and actual usage of the prepositions, attributing to them almost every meaning that our own usage of their European equivalents would seem to warrant, or that circumstances may seem to demand. [Upon this point see Winer's *Idioms*, sect. 51, p. 291.]

I have only to add, in confirmation of my own explanation of the phrase *ἐκ* *ἀπὸ*, that precisely similar instances of the usage of the phrase *ἐκ* *ἀπὸ* or *ῥηθέν* *ἀπὸ* may be found in Rom. xiii. 1; 1 Cor. i. 30, iv. 5. In these instances there may be shades of difference in the sense of the '*from*,' corresponding to the difference of the other words with which it stands connected; but in all of them it is clear that the *ἀπὸ* is used to denote that the thing spoken of is the result of the act or will of —; I believe that the *ἀπὸ* in 2 Thess. i. 9 may also be similarly understood.

As there appears to be an impression that the verb *ἡρώων*, being in the imperfect tense, should be translated, *I prayed*, or *I wished*, or *once wished*, or *used to wish*, I would also, before concluding, remark, in vindication of the translation of this verb as given in our common English version, and as retained by myself, that had the reference been to a past undefined time, an aorist would have been the tense employed; and also that when the imperfect is used to denote a past action or event, there is generally, if not always, conjoined therewith some word or phrase of limitation indicative of the time when, or place where, or circumstances under which, the action expressed by that imperfect, existed or took place; so that if the apostle had intended to state what was once, but was now no longer, his wish, *πότε*, or some such word, would probably have been inserted. I, therefore, believe that the verb cannot in this instance be translated *I wished*, or *once wished*, or *used to wish*, or *pray*; but that the common translation, '*I could wish*,' is its strict and proper meaning. I more especially believe this because the imperfect is used not only to denote contemporaneous or customary action, but also, in the case of verbs of desire or will, to express reserve and hesitancy; that being, by a delicate idiom, represented as past, which in reality is present.

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It is by this use of the imperfect, that either through urbanity or modesty, or whatever may have been the motive of his backwardness, Agrippa hesitatingly intimates to Festus his desire to hear Paul himself, when he says (Acts xxv. 22), '*I could wish* (*ἐβουλόμην*) myself also to hear the man.' The like unwillingness on the part of Paul, when grieving over the declensions which he feared extensively existed in the churches of Galatia, fully to express a rising desire (probably from motives of delicacy) to be personally among them, is similarly expressed when, using the imperfect, he says (Gal. iv. 20), '*I could desire* (*ἠθέλον*) to be present with you.' '*I could wish*' (*ἐβουλόμην*), says the son in Lucian's *Abdicatus* (cap. 1), who, being by profession a physician, was commanded by his father to cure his stepmother, and, failing, was disinherited, '*I could wish* that the art of medicine was acquainted with some drug, whereby not the insane only might be cured, but those also who are angry without reason, that by its means I might cure the distemper of my father.' '*I could wish*' (*ἠθέλον*), says Epictetus (Arr. Epict. i. 19), with reference to one who in consequence of some petty promotion had more deference and respect shown to him than he would otherwise have received, '*I could wish* him turned out of his office that he might again appear to you the fool he is.'

These instances (to which the references given by Winer have enabled me to turn) are, I should hope, quite sufficient to establish this idiomatic usage of the imperfect, and to vindicate the common translation of the verb in question; which though it appears to translate the imperfect indicative as if it were a potential, does not really do so, inasmuch as it does not so translate it in a potential *sense*. Though not strictly literal, it is as literal as the translation from one language into another of an idiomatic usage would admit; and is perhaps the only one which could so well, or, since it gives for the Greek idiom an idiom of our own, so literally, express the hesitancy expressed in the original.

RECONSIDERED TEXTS. No. II.

'But without faith it is impossible to please Him; for he that cometh to God must believe *that He is* and [*that He*] *is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.*' (*ὅτι ἰστί καὶ τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτὸν μισθαποδόσης γίνονται*).—Heb. xi. 6.

THAT a belief in God as a rewarder aptly illustrates the nature and character of that faith under the influence of which, men, renouncing present advantages, are strengthened to live to God, and whereby God is said to be well pleased, will doubtless be readily acknowledged. But that a belief in the being of a God, though of necessity preliminary to a belief in God as a rewarder, can be similarly regarded, is by no means so obvious. Indeed it may be doubted whether the man ever lived who *really* disbelieved in the existence of a God. If even it were true that some such might possibly be found, yet even then the belief in the being of a God is so general, that it seems strange that it should be adduced by the Apostle as an exemplification of the faith of which he speaks; to say nothing of the difficulty of supposing that the Apostle designs to give grave utterance to so very obvious a truism, as that he that cometh must believe in the existence of him to whom he comes.

Upon these accounts the accuracy of the common translation, even prior to examination, seems suspicious and doubtful. A critical re-examination of the original text, will, I trust, confirm the doubt, and render it not improbable that the Apostle, making no mention whatever of the necessity of a belief in the existence of a God, as being in any respect

respect or in any degree an act of that faith whereby the believer pleases God, speaks only of that act of faith whereby God is believed to be and become a *Rewarder*.

In vindication of this opinion, it will be necessary, in the first place, to bear in mind that there is an important difference of meaning between *εἶναι* and *γίνεσθαι*; for it is only to a certain extent that these verbs can be regarded as synonymous. *Εἶναι* (*to be*), used absolutely, merely indicates that a thing or being simply and actually is; as, I am, Thou art, He is; or with a substantive or adjective subjoined, that a thing or being simply is that which that substantive or adjective expresses; as, when it is said, He is a man; He is a king; He is good. Whereas the latter of these verbs, *γίνεσθαι*, not only declares that a thing is, but that it so is, that it is seen to be; expressing not merely existence, but recognized and manifested reality. Hence the proper and well known meaning of this verb, as contra-distinguished from *εἶναι* (*to be*), is not *to be*, but *to become*; *to become*, either in the sense of *to begin to be*; or, if used in reference to a hitherto unrecognized fact, *to become*, in the sense of *to be seen to be*.

To endeavour to prove that *εἶναι* in connection with an adjective or substantive merely indicates that which an individual or a thing simply and actually is, seems needless. No one will dispute it. Nor, indeed, will any one who may be at the pains of investigating the matter, dispute that *γίνεσθαι* with the like adjuncts, expresses that an individual or thing not *is* merely, but *becomes*, or is manifested to be, that which is expressed by the substantive or adjective subjoined. Nevertheless, for the removal of all doubt, as being important for the establishment of the interpretation of the present text, that is about to be proposed, it will perhaps be as well to give a few instances in proof. Many might be given, but the following, taken from the New Testament, and therefore easily verified, will be sufficient, in all of which the verb is not *εἶναι*, but *γίνεσθαι*; and in all of which it may be clearly seen that the idea expressed is not merely that a thing or being *is*, but that it *becomes*, or *begins to be*.—I retain the words of the common translation.

Matt. iv. 3.—That these stones *be made* bread.

viii. 26.—And there *was* a great calm.

ix. 16.—And the rent *is made* worse.

xii. 45.—The last state of that man *is* worse.

xiii. 21.—When tribulation or persecution *arise*th.

22.—And he *becometh* unfruitful.

See also Mar. i. 17; iv. 10; vi. 2, &c.; Luke i. 38; ii. 2, 42; iv. 25, &c.; John i. 3, 14; ii. 9; iii. 9, 25, &c. &c.

In St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians there is a passage, the latter part of which, in consequence of *γίνεσθαι* being translated *be*, instead of *become*, seems to be somewhat at variance with the former, which variance is at once rectified if for *be* we substitute the more literal rendering *become*. It is 'Art thou called being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayst be free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman; likewise
also

also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; *be not ye* ($\mu\eta\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$) the servants of men.' (1 Cor. vii. 21-23.) Now unless the latter portion of this passage be translated '*become not*,' it would seem to direct that the converted slave should henceforth refuse obedience to his master; whereas if so translated, as it ought to be, it is and becomes* simply a direction that they who had heretofore been free, should not voluntarily *become* subject to a restraint, especially to a heathen master, from which, up to the period of their conversion, they had been exempt.

In the following passages both verbs occur, the difference between them, therefore, will perhaps be yet more strongly shown :—

Mark iv. 31, 32.—It is like a grain of mustard-seed, which *is* (ϵ .) less than, etc.; but it groweth up and *becometh* (γ .) greater than all herbs.

Mark xiii. 28.—When her branch *is* (γ .) yet tender (literally, When now her branch *becometh* tender) and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer *is* (ϵ .) nigh.

Luke vi. 36.—*Be* ye therefore (i. e., *become*, or *show yourselves*, γ .) merciful, even as your Father also *is* (ϵ .) merciful.

Luke xii. 54, 55.—Straightway ye say, There cometh a shower, and so it *is* (γ .); there will *be* (ϵ .) heat, and it *cometh to pass* (γ .).

Additional instances seem to be altogether needless.

Now when two verbs whose signification is nearly but not altogether the same, stand in close juxtaposition to each other (as in the passage under consideration), the probability is that the writer employs them advisedly, and according to the strictness of their proper and respective meanings; especially if, as in the present instance, the idea of the second verb is simply an amplification of the idea presented by the first. Any translation, therefore, which fails to express their characteristic difference, cannot but be regarded as defective.

How far a departure from strict accuracy may or may not in any instance be of importance, depends of course upon circumstances. In the present case the sentiment of the verse is, I conceive, very materially affected by such departure. In our common English version, the two verbs $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ and $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ being alike translated *is*, and their respective difference of meaning unexpressed, a belief in the being of God is represented as being as much an instance of that faith whereby God is said to be well pleased, as the belief that God is a rewarder. I do not believe that the original makes any such assertion.

If indeed there were in the Greek a second $\delta\tau\iota$ (as in the common version there is a second *that*), in such a case (the juxtaposition being broken), these two verbs might perhaps without impropriety be alike translated '*is*.' But here again we have in the common translation of the verse, a yet further deviation from the strict letter of the original. In the Greek the $\delta\tau\iota$ (*that*) occurs but once—in the common version we have this conjunction twice—the translation of the common

* The writer's motive for making use of this expression will, he hopes, be obvious.

version rendering it desirable that the conjunction should be inserted before each of the two verbs, in order that credenda so distinct as, first, that there is a God, and secondly, that he is a rewarder, might be more clearly pointed out, as separate and distinct ideas. But if, with reference to the insertion of a second *that*, the common translation correctly expressed the sense of the original, the probability is, that in the Greek, no less than in the English, the conjunction would have been similarly inserted before each of the two verbs—it being usual in the Greek language, no less than in our own, to repeat this conjunction before separate and independent propositions.

But if these verbs be understood according to their strict and proper meaning, and if we regard the concluding portion of the verse, viz., ‘a rewarder of them that diligently seek him,’ as being equally connected with each of them (a supposition which the absence of a second *ὅτι* in the Greek would seem to demand), then, that respecting which it is here said, that he that cometh must believe it, is not, first, that there is a God, and secondly, that he is a rewarder; but simply that *God is and becomes a rewarder to them that diligently seek him.*

It need only be added that if this be the sentiment of the Apostle’s words, the two ideas of the verse, viz., that *God is a rewarder*, and that sooner or later he is *found to be such* (or, more literally, that he *is and becomes* a rewarder), are so closely connected, that taken in combination, they express but one idea, viz., that God rewards.

Upon critical grounds then, if not upon theological, there seems to be good reason for asserting that the declaration of the Apostle respects that faith only which believes in God as a rewarder; and, inasmuch as the faith insisted on in Scripture is an act not of the mere intellect—for it is ‘with the heart’ that ‘man believeth,’ and his faith is ‘unto righteousness,’—which moreover so believes in him as such, as deliberately to choose and prefer his service in spite of every privation which that service may entail. No other faith can give to a promised and unseen future that influence and power over the seductions of that which is palpable and present, which shall ‘please God;’ nor will any other support under the many trials, self-denials, and privations to which a man’s religion, if genuine, will frequently and undoubtedly expose him; nor is any other worthy of the name.

I have only to add that if the sense in which the verse in question is understood in these remarks be just, it may be translated somewhat thus:—‘But without faith it is impossible to please Him; for he that cometh to God must believe that *He is* (viz., in disposition and in will, or readiness) *and becomes* (viz., in positive act) *a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.*’

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British Museum.

MISCELLANEA.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE VERB בָּרַךְ *BĀRĒK*,
'TO BLESS.'

ACCORDING to the adopted arrangement of the Hebrew verb, the leading signification of בָּרַךְ *Kal*, is to kneel: hence it has been inferred that, as in the *Pihel* form it signifies *to bless*, it has acquired this meaning from the circumstance of persons kneeling in presenting their adorations to the Almighty. But unless it could be shown that the word, as signifying *to kneel*, had been used in that sense previously to its use as signifying *to bless*, that inference must be considered as groundless. Having no data for ascertaining the primary use of the word, we can determine nothing respecting the origin of its several forms, and consequently have no other means of knowing its signification in any of those forms but that of its general use.

It is well known that the word בָּרַךְ *Pihel*, which is generally rendered *to bless*, is, in six places in our common version, rendered to *curse* or to *blaspheme*. The following are the passages in which this rendering occurs: 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13; Job i. 5, 11, and ii. 5, 9. Gesenius, in his explanation of the word as occurring in these passages, says, 'Est hoc verbum e vocabulis mediis.' Of the few other words which are used in opposite acceptations, may be noticed some of the derivatives of קָרַשׁ; and as the radical signification of this word is to separate, or set apart for a special purpose, there is no difficulty in perceiving how nouns derived from it may be used as descriptive terms for subjects of a directly opposite character. With a view to assistance in our inquiry respecting the verb בָּרַךְ, we briefly advert to some of the different forms, and their acceptations, of nouns derived from קָרַשׁ.

In Isai. xiii. 3, the warriors appointed by Divine Providence for the destruction of Babylon are termed קָרָשִׁים separated, or prepared ones. The frequent use of קָרַשׁ, קָדוֹשׁ, מְקָדָשׁ, holiness, holy, sanctuary, etc., is well known as applying to persons and things set apart for sacred purposes; and the Hebrew student is aware that the terms קָדָשׁ and קָדֻשָּׁה are applied to persons devoted to impure practices; Deut. xxiii. 18, 1 Kings xiv. 24. Some forms of the word are also applied to idolatrous worship: 2 Kings x. 20; Isai. xvi. 12, lxvi. 17; Amos vii. 13.

If words having two directly opposite acceptations may be
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termed '*vocabula media*,' it may be conceived that each word of that class will have a *medium* signification as its true radical meaning. And if we consider עָרַב as belonging to that class, and its radical signification as being to set apart; its opposite acceptations as denoting, on the one hand, persons or things set apart for good and holy purposes, and on the other hand, persons or things set apart for unholy and impure purposes; then will the true idea of the *vocabula media* be clearly apparent.

By these considerations we are prepared to consider עָרַב as '*verbum e vocabulis mediis*,' provided we can find that it has a true *medium* signification as its leading or radical meaning; for it is not easy to conceive how a word having two opposite acceptations can be termed *medium*, without having, as its true radical signification, a meaning independent of those opposite acceptations, and equally applicable to each of them.

Before we proceed any further in this inquiry, it will be necessary to call attention to what we consider a general principle of verbal interpretation, namely:—That every word in any given period of its history has generally one only radical signification, expresses one leading idea; and that in whatever different acceptations it may be used, that same radical signification will be apparent in all of them.

The Hebrew verb עָרַב is used in nearly the same variety of acceptations as the English verb *to bless*; and it is conceivable, that if one definite radical signification can be found in each of those acceptations, such discovery may be useful in removing the difficulties attaching to the idea of two opposite meanings in the same word.

The following acceptations, in which the verb *to bless* is used, may be noticed, as showing the correspondence between that word and the Hebrew verb עָרַב.

To bless. 1. To pronounce a wish, or express a desire for the happiness or prosperity of an individual. Isaac blessed Jacob. Gen. xxviii. 1.

2. To make happy, successful, or prosperous; the act of the Almighty. Gen. xxx. 27, xxxix. 5.

3. To consecrate or set apart for a holy purpose. God blessed the seventh day. Gen. ii. 3.

4. To offer praise to the Almighty on account of benefits or favours received. Psal. xvi. 7, xxvi. 12.

5. To esteem or account happy; to be in a state of prosperity. Isai. lxxv. 16; Jer. iv. 2.

6. To pronounce a solemn prophetic benediction. Gen. xxvii. 27-29.

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In this variety of acceptations no one clearly defined idea is apparent, as applying to each of them. But if any *one* of these examples shall be found to possess a definite signification, which may also be discovered in each of the other examples, it may then be assumed that such signification is the leading or radical meaning of the word.

It might be conceived that the idea of *happiness* or *prosperity* would be necessarily associated with the verb to *bless*; but examples may be produced of the use of בָּרַךְ, understood as signifying to *bless*, where no such idea is apparent.

When it is said that God *blessed* the seventh day, there cannot be any allusion to the impartation of happiness; it is evident that the idea intended to be expressed by the word thus used is that of *distinguishing* or *signalizing*.

When Jacob was about to die, he called his sons around him, and said (Gen. xlix.) :—

‘Gather yourselves together that I may tell you that which shall happen to you in the future times.’

The prophetic declarations made by the Patriarch to his twelve sons on that occasion are then distinctly narrated, and then it is added :

‘All these are the twelve tribes of Israel, and this is what their father spake unto them, and blessed them (וַיְבָרֶכֶם), every one according to his blessing (כְּכֹל בְּרָכָתוֹ) he blessed them.’

In these prophetic declarations are announcements both of good and of evil. To Reuben he said, ‘Thou shalt not excel.’ Of Simeon and Levi he said, ‘Cursed be their anger for it was fierce, and their wrath for it was cruel; I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.’ And of some others of the twelve nothing is said that can be properly termed a blessing.

In these announcements, however, each tribe was *signally* distinguished; for each one there was a distinct *signalization*. Viewing the word *signalize* as giving the idea of *making remarkable, conspicuous, eminent, etc.*, we shall find, it is presumed, that it will express the leading idea intended by the use of בָּרַךְ in all its acceptations.

It is not intended to propose the verb to *signalize* as a general rendering of בָּרַךְ, but merely to use it in these observations as a means of presenting more clearly to view what we believe to be the leading or radical signification of that word; for it does not appear that any word could with propriety be substituted for the verb to *bless*, in the majority of instances where it is used as the rendering of the word in question; yet in some places, we think, it would be more properly rendered by *distinguish, signalize, make eminent, etc.*

With this persuasion the following rendering of a few passages in which the word occurs, is, with deference, proposed :—

Gen. ii. 3. And God distinguished—signalized—the seventh day, and did set it apart.

Gen. xlix. 28. All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is the declaration respecting them with which their father signalized them, distinguishing each one according to his signalization.

Isai. lxxv. 16 :—

Whoso becometh eminent on the earth
Shall become eminent by the God of truth;
And whoso is established * on the earth,
Shall be established by the God of truth.

If this rendering of these passages be admitted, it will appear that our reasons for conceiving that the verb in question expresses the idea of signalization as its radical signification, are not without foundation.

It is worthy of observation, as calculated to elucidate our subject, that, in the *antithetical* use of a word, its radical signification will be usually apparent. In the following passages the word פָּרַד occurs in antithesis :—

Psal. x. 3. 'For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and *blesseth* the covetous whom the Lord *abhorreth*.'

Here our verb is in antithesis with נָאץ, to *cast off, reject, despise, abhor*. Thus it may be inferred that פָּרַד signifies here to *applaud, esteem*, or to *signalize by distinguishing honours*.

Psal. x. 7. 'The memory of the just is *blessed*, but the name of the wicked shall *rot*.'

The antithesis here is, on the one hand, to *decay, perish*; and, on the other, to be *perpetuated with esteem*, or *signalized with honour*.

As the terms *blessing* and *cursing* frequently occur antithetically, our subject may receive further illustration by considering the import of the several words signifying to *curse, etc.*, which are thus used.

The verb most frequently occurring in this sense is קָלַל, to be *mean, valueless, contemptible, vile*; אָרַר to *curse earnestly* with desire of removal or destruction, to express great abhorrence, is sometimes found in antithesis with פָּרַד; נָקַב, to *pierce, execrate, etc.*

* The verb נִשְׁבַּע, being the passive form, accords with the idea, that he who takes an oath becomes thereby an avowed security for the truth; i. e. pledged to strict veracity. Thus, to be sworn, is to be *pledged, secured, settled*. Hence in this text the individual is said to be settled, fixed in his happy state by the immutable appointment of God.

From signifying to pierce, it seems to be used in the sense of branding or marking an object; hence to brand, in a figurative sense.

In viewing בָּרַךְ in antithesis with these several words, we may perceive the propriety of considering its radical import as being to *signalize, distinguish, make eminent*.

In every acceptation of the verb as rendered to bless, the same leading idea of distinguishing, signalizing, etc., may be recognized.

In ascribing honour and praise to the Almighty, we distinguish or signalize Him from all created beings.

Individuals or nations peculiarly blessed are thereby distinguished or signalized as differing from others not partaking of the same favours.

When one individual addresses another in salutation, expressing a wish of happiness, a signalization is implied.

It has now been shown that the verb in question, as rendered to *bless*, has in some passages the sense of *distinguishing, signalizing, making eminent*, rather than that of *blessing*: that when occurring in antithesis with several other verbs, the same idea of signalization is most prominent; and that in all the several acceptations signifying to *bless*, the idea of signalization still prevails.

Hence we think it will be conceded that the leading or radical meaning of בָּרַךְ is to SIGNALIZE or DISTINGUISH.

It may be here observed that the verb to *signalize* expresses, as its simple radical meaning, the idea of distinguishing, or marking by some particular sign or mark, irrespective of character or quality, and may be used either in the sense of distinguishing by honour or esteem, or of degradation or contempt; but that its most frequent use is in the sense of honour or esteem. Somewhat similar, it would seem, was the use of בָּרַךְ with the ancient Hebrews.

With this assumption we proceed to inquire whether, in those passages where it is understood as expressing the idea of *cursing* and blaspheming, it has the same radical signification.

The only passage, however, to which we shall at present direct attention is 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13, reserving for future consideration the several passages in the Book of Job to which reference has been made.

Jezebel, in order to obtain for Ahab the vineyard of Naboth, wrote letters in Ahab's name to the rulers of the city where Naboth dwelt, commanding them to set Naboth on high among the people; and to 'set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to
bear

bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king, *וְעָדוּ אֵלֶיךָ וְעָדוּ לְמֶלֶךְ*, and then take him forth and stone him, that he may die.

In charging Naboth with blasphemy, it was needful to refer to the written law. The directions given in the law of Moses respecting blasphemy against God, are recorded in Levit. xxiv. 16: 'He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall stone him: as well the stranger as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall be put to death.'

The word describing the crime of blasphemy in this verse is *וְעָדוּ*, and in Numb. xxiii. 25, and Prov. xi. 26, derivatives from the same root signifying to curse, are used antithetically with *וְעָדוּ*. Now if *וְעָדוּ*, as having a medium signification, can, on the one hand, denote cursing, and, on the other, blessing, it will then follow that the same act which in one place is described by the former word, may in another place be described by the latter; while it must be evident that such use of terms can only be accounted for on the consideration that the words thus used have radically a medium signification.

It is likely that the law respecting the profanation of the SACRED NAME had reference to the prohibition in the third commandment: 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;' and that the crime laid to the charge of Naboth was that of making free with the name of the Almighty—mentioning it irreverently. As it was strictly forbidden to mention that sacred name vainly, it may be inferred that the law would be understood as applying to any use of it when it was not mentioned in a solemn and devout manner, or when used on improper occasions.

To us, who are so accustomed to hear that Name profaned, this idea may not so readily commend itself; but when we recollect that a breach of the third commandment must be closely connected with a breach of either of the other commandments, this difficulty will be lessened. And when the great reverence in which the Jews have long held THE SACRED NAME is considered, the idea appears still more probable that the third commandment has been understood as having a most solemn aspect.

With this idea, and understanding the term in question as signifying to *signalize* or *distinguish*, we may conceive how the charge might be made: Thou hast been *signalizing* God and the king—hast been uttering THE SACRED NAME in an open and profane manner.

As the word is usually employed in the sense of praise and
adoration

adoration when applied to God, it may be asked, How could it be known from the formula here put into the mouths of the false witnesses that the words in question would signify a signaling by reproach and contempt?

To this it may be replied, that the association of the terms *לְהַבְרִיךְ* *lehabrik* would determine this. The praise and adoration given to God, if ascribed to the king, would be idolatry; and the same expression that might honour the king, if used alone, would, if applied to God at the same time, be awful profanity. In addition to this, it may be observed that the circumstances of the case would have indicated the fact that if the word could be applied in the sense of profanation, that sense would be apparent here.

Having made some observations on the term *בָּרַךְ* and its derivatives in illustrating the idea of the medium signification of words used in opposite acceptations, a further illustration of that idea may be afforded in the following tabular representation:—

To set apart for impure purposes, etc	<i>בָּרַךְ</i> To set apart	To set apart for holy purposes, to hallow, to sanctify.
To hold up to scorn, reproach, revile, scandalize, blaspheme, etc.	<i>בָּרַךְ</i> To signalize, distinguish, make eminent	To honour, praise, salute, dignify, celebrate, worship God, benefit man.

Should these observations prove worthy of notice, they may afford some assistance in the interpretation of other passages to which allusion has been made, and to which our attention may be directed at some future period.

J. M.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF MATT. xvi. 18.

Ὁὐ εἰ Πέτρος καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—Matt. xvi. 18.

THIS language, I am confidently of opinion, when properly understood, gives no countenance to the sentiment that either Peter or his faith is the rock on which the Church is built. Neither Peter nor his faith in Scripture is called a rock: Jesus Christ himself is the rock on which the Church is founded. That Peter's faith is not the rock on which the Church is erected, is evident from the fact that it, as well as the faith of every other Christian, is founded upon Jesus Christ, the true rock, 'for other foundation

foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' It is to no purpose to tell us that the Saviour on this occasion addressed his disciples in Aramæan, and that the word $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha$ *Kepha*, which in that language is the name for Peter, does not admit of a masculine and feminine termination, and that our Lord must have said, 'Thou art kepha, and on this kepha I will,' &c. I am not aware that we have any certainty that the Saviour on this occasion spoke in Aramæan; he may have addressed his disciples in Greek for anything that we can tell, and he may have expressed himself in the very same words employed by the evangelist. We must not attempt to make out the Saviour's meaning from what we fancy he may have said in Aramæan; on the contrary, we must be guided solely by what the evangelist has recorded in the New Testament in Greek. In whatever language our Lord spoke to his disciples we have no authority to direct us in ascertaining his meaning but the Greek. In the Greek text the word for Peter is $\Pi\epsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$, and that for rock is $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$. These two words are not employed as synonymes in Greek; on the contrary, they are used in different acceptations: the former is employed to signify a stone and the latter a rock. That the translators of the Bible understood the word $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ as meaning a stone is evident from their rendering it so in John i. 43. The Greek word $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is not used in the New Testament but as the name of the apostle Peter; we must therefore have recourse to classical authority for ascertaining its signification. The term $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$ is frequently found in the New Testament and in the Septuagint, as well as in classical Greek, and it is uniformly employed as denoting a rock. In the subsequent part of this article I shall endeavour to prove that $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ signifies a stone, and that $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$ denotes a rock. If this fact can be satisfactorily established, then it is manifest that $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\alpha$ cannot be a substitute for $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, both being used in different senses.

In the Iliad of Homer, book 7, line 270, we are told that Ajax, when contending with Hector, broke through his shield, striking it with a stone like a millstone ($\mu\upsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\ \pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon\omega$). In Iliad 16, line 411, it is said that Patroclus struck Euryalus with a stone ($\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\epsilon\omega$) on the middle of the head; and in line 734 of the same book we are told that Patroclus leaped from his chariot to the ground, holding his spear in his left hand, but with the other he seized a stone ($\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$), white, rugged, which his hand embraced. Iliad 20, line 288, reads thus, 'Æneas seized in his hand a stone ($\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$), a great weight.' In Xenophon, Anabasis, book 4, page 271, Hutchinson's edition, the word $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is used to signify a stone: the passage reads thus, ' $\Omega\varsigma\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\chi\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\tau\iota\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu\ \eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\eta$ —'for the moment one of them gained the ascent

ascent there was no more stones thrown from above.' In the *Medea* of Euripides, line 28, the word *πέτρος* is used to signify a stone: the language runs thus, 'neither raising her eye nor turning her face from the earth.' She listens to her friends when advised (by them), *ὡς πέτρος ἢ θαλάσσιος κλύδων*, as a stone or as the ocean's billow. The term *πέτρος* is employed in the same acceptation in the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, line 436, which runs thus: 'On the very day when my anger boiled, and when to be stoned with stones (*το λευσθῆναι πέτροις*) would have been most welcome to me.' Longinus, also, in his *Treatise on the Sublime*, uses *πετρος* to signify a stone, in section 35, where he says, 'we do not reckon anything in nature more wonderful than the boiling furnaces of *Ætna*, which cast up stones, *πέτρους*.' The word *πετρος* is also used by Pindar as denoting a stone. In 2 Macc. i. 16, *πετρος* means a stone: the passage reads thus: 'And opening a privy door of the roof, they threw stones (*πετρους*) like thunderbolts, and struck down the captain;' and also in 2 Macc. iv. 41, the word is employed in the same sense, where we are told that the people, seeing the attempt of Lysimachus, some of them caught stones (*πέτρους*).

The term *πετρα*, I believe, is uniformly employed to signify a rock, but never in the sense of a single stone. There is no example in any good author of *πετρα* being used for *πετρος*, as denoting a stone, although sometimes *πετρος* may be used for *πετρα*. In confirmation of the fact that *πετρα* signifies a rock, and that it is not used in the sense of *πετρος*, as meaning a stone, we shall have recourse to classical authority, as well as to the Septuagint and New Testament Greek. In the *Iliad* of Homer, book 2, line 88, the poet says, 'the people thronged together like swarms of bees, which come over continually from the hollow rock (*πετρης*).' In *Iliad*, book 16, line 407, Homer speaks of a man sitting on a projecting rock (*πετρῃ*). In *Iliad*, book 15, lines 273 and 619, we have the phrases *ηλίβατος πέτρῃ*, an inaccessible rock; and in the 16th book of the *Iliad*, and line 35, we read *πετραι ηλίβατοι*, inaccessible rocks. See Buttman's *Lexilogus*. In Xenophon, *Anabasis*, book 1, page 28, Hutchinson's edition, we have the same phrase and in the same sense. In the *Anabasis* of the same author, book 4, page 268, same edition, it is said, they rolled down (*λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πετρᾶς*) stones from the impending rock. In Xenophon, *Anabasis*, book 4, page 228, we read, that all who had not leaped from the rock (*πετρᾶς*) and joined the rear, were slain.

In the Septuagint translation, I believe, the Hebrew word for rock is uniformly rendered by *πετρα*, and never by *πετρος*. Take the

the following as a specimen: Jer. iv. 29; Ex. xvii. 6; Judg. x. 47; xv. 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 4; xxiii. 28; Num. xx. 10, 11; Deut. xxxii. 13; Isa. ii. 10; Jer. v. 3; Amos vi. 12; 1 Chron. xi. 15; 1 Sam. xiii. 6; Jer. xlvi. 28.

The New Testament writers, without an exception, use *πέτρα* to signify a rock, but never *πέτρας*. Matt. vii. 24, 25, reads thus: 'Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock' (*ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*). In Matt. xxvii. 51-60, we are told, 'the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake and the rocks rent' (*καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν*); and in the 60th verse it is said that the body of Jesus was laid in a tomb hewn out in the rock (*ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ*). In Mark xv. 46, it is said the body of the Saviour was laid in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock (*ἐκ πέτρας*). In Luke vi. 48, we are told that whosoever cometh, heareth, and doeth the sayings of Christ, is like a man that built a house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation upon a rock (*ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*). In Rom. ix. 33, we have the expression *πέτραν σκανδάλου*, 'rock of offence,' applied to Christ; and in 1 Cor. x. 4, it is said they 'did all drink of the spiritual rock (*πέτρας*) that followed them, and that rock was Christ.' In 1 Pet. ii. 7, the Saviour is called a rock of offence (*πέτρα σκανδάλου*). In Rev. vi. 15, 16, various classes of people are said to hide themselves in the rocks of the mountains (*εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὄρεων*) and to call upon the rocks (*ταῖς πέτραις*) to fall on them.

These citations prove, I think, that the word *πέτρα*, both in the Septuagint and New Testament Greek, is employed uniformly to signify a rock, and also that it is figuratively applied to the Saviour; but neither Peter nor any of the apostles is ever called *πέτρα*. Jesus therefore must be the *πέτρα* on which the Church is built, and not Peter nor his faith.

W. N.

REMARKS

REMARKS ON JOHN III. 13.

Greek Text.—Ver. 12. Εἰ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς εἶπον ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε, πῶς ἂν εἶπω ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια πιστεύσετε;—Ver. 13. Καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

Authorised Version.—Ver. 12. If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?—Ver. 13. And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven.

Proposed rendering.—Ver. 13. And yet none hath ascended into heaven, but (there is) one who hath descended from heaven, the Son of Man whose abode is in heaven.

AMONG the 'many of the rulers' who accepted the miracles of Jesus of Nazareth as credentials satisfactorily attesting his Divine mission, one of the earliest so convinced was Nicodemus. He was a pharisee, and a teacher of the law. In the latter capacity he seems to have acquired so great a reputation for learning as to have won the title of, κατ' ἐξουσίαν, 'the teacher of Israel,' (ver. 10). And not content to slumber slothfully in the arms of fame, and desist from those labours which had raised him to the eminence he enjoyed, he continued his theologic toil; and, as is usual in intellectual research, the deeper he dug, the more ponderous and unmanageable were the difficulties at which he arrived. A greater Teacher however appears, the prophet of Nazareth—perchance the Messiah. To him he will propound his difficulties, and an opportunity will thus be at the same time afforded him of becoming acquainted with this remarkable person.

It seems to be not an altogether improbable conjecture that he intended to seek information relative to the coming of the kingdom of God. But before he has time to propose his question, Jesus solemnly apprises him that none can see that kingdom except first he be born again. Awe-struck by the solemnity of manner with which this is announced to him, and by the evidence of superhuman knowledge that he perceives in him who has thus read the thoughts of his heart, he dares not absolutely disbelieve, yet cannot understand. He inquires how this pre-requisite is possible. To remove all lingering doubt, the assertion is repeated as solemnly as it first was enunciated: he is taught that as there is a natural birth, so there is a spiritual birth: he is forbidden to indulge a feeling of wondering incredulity; and reminded that we may find among the commonest physical phenomena things quite incomprehensible to us. Still he requests that more light may be shed on this mysterious subject, and Jesus is not unwilling to comply with the request. But first he gently reproaches him with his unacquaintance, though he

he was 'the teacher of Israel,' with one of the first rudiments of religious knowledge. 'Solemnly do I testify,' he continues, 'that ye teach many things that ye understand not, and yet are believed; but *our* testimony, concerning things of which we have a full and certain knowledge, ye reject. But *if I have told you earthly things*,—if I have told you of the necessity of an entire renovation of the human heart and character, an assertion based on facts that lie within the sphere of your own cognizance,—*and ye will believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?*—if I announce to you the means that are appointed for effecting man's new birth from above and complete restoration to pristine holiness and glory, and make known others of the hitherto undisclosed purposes of the Almighty? *And yet it is I alone who can satisfy your thirst for such knowledge. For none hath ever ascended into heaven, to read the mysterious volume of the will of God, and report the intelligence below, but there is one, one now in thy presence, who hath descended from heaven, who now appears as the Son of Man, but whose abode is in heaven. And he is come not merely to teach the way of salvation, but himself to open that way; and as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so is the Son of Man to be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on him may not perish, but may* (for His death's sake receiving life instead of death) *be introduced by a second and spiritual birth into an everlasting life.'*

Such appears to me to be the correct interpretation of the entire passage, and of ver. 13 in particular. It will now be needful to justify this mode of rendering ver. 13.

I. Every reader who has even a slight critical acquaintance with the Greek of the New Testament, must be aware that the expression *εἰ μὴ* is in several instances used as equivalent to *ἀλλὰ*, that is to say, with an *adversative* instead of an *excessive* meaning. There will, I think, be found thirteen passages (including the present one) in which this is the case. The twelve are the following:—

Matt. xii. 4.
— xxiv. 36.
Mark xiii. 32.
Luke iv. 26.

Luke iv. 27.
John xvii. 12 (?).
Rom. xiv. 14.
1 Cor. vii. 17.

Gal. i. 7.
— i. 19 (?).
Rev. ix. 4.
— xxi. 27.

(So is *ἐὰν μὴ* employed in Gal. ii. 16, and John v. 19, and perhaps in Matt. xxvi. 42.) In eight of these places our translators have (rightly, as I judge) rendered *εἰ μὴ* by the adversative 'but.' In Luke iv. 26, 27. They have used 'save' and 'saving;' and in consequence, the translation that they have given us of these verses manifestly implies that Naaman the Syrian and the widow of Sarepta were Israelites. Clearly the rendering should be—
'but

'but unto none of them (i. e. the widows in *Israel*) was Elias sent, BUT unto Sarepta, a city of *Sidon*,' &c. Our translators have, indeed, rendered *εἰ μὴ* by *but* in the present passage also, but manifestly in the exceptive sense. That *but* in the adversative sense is an allowable rendering, a comparison of the above texts will sufficiently show.

II. According to the rendering of the verse here proposed, it is necessary to understand *ἔστιν* after *εἰ μὴ*—'but *there is* one who hath descended;' and this *ἔστιν* is not the mere copula, but the substantive verb. In classical Greek this ellipsis is, to say the least, rare. Yet it would seem to be the substantive verb that is omitted in the common idiom *οὐδείς ἐστις οὐ*, '*there is no one who . . . not.*'^a So perhaps with *ἀνάγκη*, '*there is a necessity*;' as *συγγνώμη* is used by a similar construction, and in conjunction with *ἀνάγκη* in Thuc. i. 32., *ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ συγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν*, '*there is a necessity to demand aid . . . , and there is pardon for us (i. e. it is excusable) if, with no evil intention, but from an error of judgment, &c.*' So we read in Hom. Od. v' 298,—

'αἱ κατὰ δώματ' Ὀδυσσῆος θεῖοιο,'

where Dr. Jelf (Greek Gram. § 376, d.) appears to consider the substantive verb to be omitted.^b In the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament instances of this ellipsis are scarcely more frequent. In 2 Cor. iii. 17, '*where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*;' Heb. ix. 16, '*where there is a testament*;' and Rev. iv. 2, &c., we have expressions similar to the Homeric line just quoted. Much less doubtful is the passage, 2 Thess. ii. 7, which as to construction resembles the one at present under consideration, both in the omission of the *ἔστι* and the use of the article and participle: *τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἥδη ἐνεργεῖται τῆς ἀνομίας μένον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι*,—'*only there is one who now restraineth.*'

III. On the point just alluded to—this use of the article with the participle—any special remarks can hardly be needful. It will suffice to refer to Acts i. 20 (*μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ*), John v. 45 (*ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν*), and Rom. xv. 12 (*ἔσται . . . ὁ ἀνιστάμενος*).

It thus appears to me to be sufficiently proved that the words *may* be translated in the manner proposed. I proceed to show that the common rendering is objectionable.

It is evident that our translators intended to convey the idea

^a Or it may be equally satisfactory to take it as, '*No man is one who . . . not.*'

^b Yet here the *εἰς* understood may be regarded as merely the copula, the *κατὰ κ. τ. λ.* being the predicate, coming under the Aristotelian category of *ποῦ*.

that

that the Son of Man furnishes an *exception* to the statement that none had ascended into heaven. And not only have our translators thus understood this verse: all other translators and commentators (as far as I have been able to ascertain) have attached this sense to the words of the original. Of no little importance then is the inquiry, *in what sense the Son of Man at this time had ascended into heaven.*

Some cut the knot, but stealthily, by tacitly taking the going up into heaven as equivalent to being *in* heaven, and forget that to ascend implies being previously in a lower position and exchanging it for a higher. Bishop Hall paraphrases:—‘These [high and incomprehensible mysteries of another world] are things which no man can tell thee, but he that has been in heaven; and no man hath been there to see them, but he that is now come down, &c.’ Nonnus in like manner, in his hexametrical paraphrase of John’s Gospel (quoted in Smith’s Script. Test., vol. ii. p. 137.) writes:—

‘Ὅποτε δὲ βροτὸς ἄλλος, ὑπηνέμιον πῶδα πάλλων,
Οὐρανίων ἐπάτησεν ἀνέμβατον ἀντυγα κύκλων,
Εἰ μὴ Θεσκελος οὗτος, κ. τ. λ.’

‘Never hath any other,^c bounding with wind-outstripping foot, trodden the inaccessible round of the heavenly cycles, except this Divine Person, &c.’ The imagination of Nonnus and his readers might easily conceive that that Divine Person trod these lofty paths, without ever having been in a *less* exalted position, which our ἀναβέβηκεν implies.

Others would have us understand a figurative ascent, and maintain that this metaphor signifies the attainment of a high degree of knowledge in spiritual things. Still it must even thus signify *attainment*, and imply that there was a period when such a degree of knowledge had *not* been possessed. But who will assert this of Christ? who, at least, that believes that the Son of Man was the eternal and coequal Son of the eternal and omniscient God?

Both of these interpretations must then, I conceive, be abandoned, and with them the exceptive notion on which they are founded. As a substitute for the translation which conveys that notion, I offer the rendering above given to the reader’s candid judgment.

R. F. W.

^c I presume βροτὸς in this passage is hardly to be understood in the strict sense of ‘a mortal;’ since Θεσκελος οὗτος, who trod the round of those cycles, could not be so denominated. If it could be shown that the word must be taken in its full meaning, we should manifestly have here another example of εἰ μὴ used for ἀλλ.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DR. TREGELLES' LETTERS FROM THE CONTINENT.

Hôtel St. Petersburg, Hamburg, Aug. 13, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—After I last wrote you from Paris I continued my collations in the Bibliothèque du Roi. The following is a summary of what I have done there. I have collated K and M of the Gospels; 33 of the whole of the New Testament, except the Revelation (called 17 in the Epistles). I have re-examined my collation of D of the Epistles, especially with regard to the corrections of the different hands, in order that the edition of this MS. from the joint labours of Tischendorf and myself may be as accurate as possible.

I have examined my collations as carefully as I could with those of Tischendorf and others, and all differences of any kind have been compared again with the MSS. themselves. I trust that in this way a good degree of correctness has been obtained.

I have traced a page in fac-simile of each of the MSS. which I have collated, and also of L of the Gospels, of the fragment W (published by Tischendorf), and of the Coislin fragments H of St. Paul's Epistles.

We left Paris, July 22, and as I was well wearied with close application to the collation of MSS. for more than three months, we journeyed easily to this city, by Valenciennes, Brussels, Waterloo, Namur, Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Hanover. We arrived here July 31; and everything in this hôtel has been such as would make our stay here comfortable.

I found Dr. Petersen at the city library, and he kindly arranged for me to come daily, from eleven till three: the hours at which it was commonly open are only from twelve till to two. The MS. H of the Gospels was immediately placed before me, and I found, as I expected, that the fragment which I met with at Cambridge amongst Bentley's papers (about one-fourth of a leaf) does belong to this MS. I have collated H as carefully as I could. It was previously no better than an uncollated MS.; for the only collation, that of Wolff, its former possessor, is both very defective and very incorrect.

I have also here examined the Uffenbach fragment of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and I have collated it twice, as carefully as I could.

To-day I saw the learned Oriental scholar, Dr. Redslob. Amongst his books I noticed the first edition of your *Pictorial Bible*. He was not aware who had edited it. Perhaps you know that many of the same wood engravings were used for a German Bible-Dictionary, on which Dr. Redslob was engaged.

I am

I am now on the eve of my departure for Berlin. I had hoped to have seen there that excellent man, Dr. Neander; and I had thought of several points of Church History to speak of to him; it was therefore with no common feeling of sorrow that I heard, just as I was leaving Paris, through M. Adolphe Monod, that Neander is no longer in this transitory scene.

Leipzig, Sept. 7, 1850.

At Berlin we visited Neander's grave with no common interest and feelings. He lies in Trinity-churchyard (Krummacher's), just outside the Halle-gate. When we went thither we were at once directed to the spot, almost in one corner of the ground. A broad mound, over which ivy is trained, covers the remains of Neander's mother, one of his sisters, and himself. The graves of his mother and sister have iron crosses at the head, with these inscriptions:—

Hier
Ruhet
Eine edle Frau, Eine gute Mutter,
Frau Eleonore Neander,
Geboren im Frankfurth A. M. D. 24^{ten} Sept. 1755.
Gestorben in Berlin D. 7^{ten} Jan. 1818.

Hier
Ruht
im Herrn
Neben ihrer vorangegangenen seeligen
Mutter, tief betrauert von den Ihrigen
Caroline Henr. Scholz, geb. Neander,
Geb. 1778. D. 12 Sept. gest. D. 20 Mærtz 1840.

A similar monument will soon, I suppose, mark the resting-place of August Neander. His surviving sister has a spot reserved by his side in this family burial-ground. We went from the tomb of Neander to his former abode, in the Markgrafen Strasse. His sister was gone to Hamburg, and Maria Blume, the servant who attended on them for thirty years, showed us his study and other rooms. His study remained just as he had left it, with the books lying in the order in which they had been used. To most eyes it would seem entire confusion. On the floor there was one large vacant space; and there we found his bed had been placed during his last few days. It was removed from his small and confined sleeping-room, in order that he might be able to continue to dictate to his amanuensis; and there in his study, amidst his books, from which he had drawn such stores of instruction for others, he breathed his last. His servant spoke of him, as well she might, with deep feeling. The visits to his grave and his abode were deeply interesting.

At Berlin, I saw pretty much of Dr. Lachmann, with whom I had most agreeable intercourse. Although I consider that he has limited his critical authorities too much, and that he has not sufficiently sought to investigate the actual readings of those authorities, yet he has been
the

the first to follow on in the course indicated by Bentley, of resting simply on *ancient authorities*. This credit he deserves, without any question.

I examined the books from which he has given his Latin readings. The collations are very nicely inserted in different Latin New Testaments. I regret exceedingly that he has not fully published them; for they would have formed a valuable contribution to the criticism of the Vulgate. For instance, in 1 Pet. iii. 21, the addition found in the common Vulgate, 'deglutiens mortem, ut vitæ æternæ heredes efficemur,' is enclosed by Lachmann, within brackets, with the note, '*om. P. al.*,' showing that it is omitted in the *Codex Fuldensis*, and *another*. To what *other* he refers it is of some importance to know; for Porson says of this passage, that the *Lectionarium Luxoviense* (the readings of which were published by Mabillon) was the only one then known free from that addition. The *Codex alius*, however, to which Lachmann alludes, is one of the excellent MSS. at Wolfenbüttel, mentioned in his *Prolegomena*. I have entreated him to publish his Latin collations. We had much conversation on the subject of New Testament criticism; and I believe that I fully explained to him the points on which I differ from him as to the formation of a text.

Most of the professors, &c., at Berlin had taken advantage of the vacation, and were absent. This was also the case at Halle, where, however, I found Professor Rödiger. I inquired what progress was made with printing the concluding part of Gesenius's *Thesaurus*. It is not as yet in the printer's hands. Professor Rödiger has had to arrange the mass of notes, etc., left by Gesenius; for the last part of the *Thesaurus* was not only to complete the alphabet, but also to contain observations and corrections on the former parts, especially the *first*, which Gesenius wrote *before* his *Lexicon Manuale*.

Here at Leipzig I have been very busy comparing my collations of MSS. with Tischendorf's. This has been close and weary work; but I have now nearly finished it, and the result is highly satisfactory. The discrepancies between our collations are very few, and of but small importance. I note them all, that I may send them to the places where the MSS. are preserved for re-examination.

Tischendorf has nearly half-finished printing the text of the *Codex Amiatinus* from his and my collations. It is not a fac-simile edition; and I expect, from the care bestowed, that it will be accurately executed.

We have also compared our transcripts of the readings of the *Codex Claromontanus*. I made such notes of all the places which in his edition of the N. Test. do not accurately follow the MS., that they are all now corrected. In most of these places Tischendorf's own MS. notes were quite right, and the error lay in the printed readings in his Greek Testament. He says that he had then *too much* on his hands at once, as his edition of the LXX. was enough to absorb his attention. I wish that more care had been bestowed on the *readings* at the foot of the page in his Greek Testament; for I should thus have been saved from much of my labour in re-examining them. Tischendorf seems, how-

ever, all vigour and energy, as if no amount of literary work came amiss with him; as if his head, hands, and eyes knew but little of the weariness which often oppresses mine.

In about six weeks his edition of the *Codex Amiatinus* will probably be published; and at the end of the year he says that he will put the *Codex Claromontanus* into the printer's hands. I have gladly contributed what aid I could to make these editions complete and accurate. I have also lent Tischendorf my fac-similes of both these MSS. to be lithographed.

I went to Dresden for a couple of days, the mornings of which I employed in examining the *Codex Boernerianus*, especially in all those places in which the text as printed by Matthæi differs from the *Codex Augiensis*.

In choosing one page for a fac-simile, I took that which contains 1 Tim. iii. 16; and I can now only repeat my assurances of the entire mistake made by Mr. Porter (whoever may have been his informant) as to the reading of that passage. There is not the least ground for supposing the reading OC to be a correction from O; the ink is alike; and the C is not stuck up in one corner, for want of room, as the distance between it and the following word is *precisely* three: OC ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗ

The resemblance of this MS. to the *Codex Sangallensis* (published in a lithographed fac-simile by Rettig) is even more evident in looking at the MS. itself than in examining Matthæi's fac-simile. At the beginning of the *Codex Boernerianus* there is one leaf, and at the end there are eleven, with writing in a later hand, exactly like the leaves prefixed to the *Codex Sangallensis*.

To-day I went early by the railroad to Halle, returning to this place by an afternoon train; my object was to see Professor Rüdiger again. He showed me a new book, which he had not yet examined: *De Novi Testamenti versione Syriaca Antiqua quam Peshitho vocant, libri quatuor. Scripsit Joannes Wichelhaus*. I procured it at once at the Orphan-House, and I have devoted some hours to an examination of its contents. The writer does not appear to be deeply skilled in criticism; and he seems to adhere to the common printed Syriac text, as an authority for readings against all other evidence; he therefore expresses great suspicion of the text of the Gospels which Mr. Cureton discovered, because it differs so widely from the printed Peshito. The writer possesses no small stock of information; but he has hardly any acquaintance with anything published in England; for instance, he is wholly unaware of the existence of Greenfield's edition of the *Syriac New Testament*, although it follows Widmanstadt more thoroughly than does any other; and as to Dr. Lee's, he knows nothing of the account which that editor has given of the authorities (whether sufficient or not is not the present question) in places where he gives a reading different from the common. I fear that Wichelhaus's book will not *advance* Biblical criticism in general, or the knowledge of the Syriac version in particular, by a single step. The information, however, on many parts of the subject appears to be good.

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As I write you simply in connection with the objects of your Journal, I have not alluded to many of the places of interest at which I have been. *One*, however, is not to be wholly forgotten—*Wittenberg*—the place where Luther laboured; where he preached the Gospel of Christ; where he was the instrument in the hand of God to awaken man, far and wide, to know what that righteousness is which avails before God, even the righteousness which is through faith in the merits and sacrifice of Christ. There is his abode, first, while he was a monk, and afterwards, when he was a married man, and a preacher of the Gospel of Christ. I have looked with no small interest at the monastery and church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, at Rome, where Luther, the Augustine monk, sojourned during his visit to the Papal city, in the days of Julius the Second. Many visit that church without a thought of Luther. Jonah and the Whale, the only piece of sculpture from the hand of that artist Raffael, whose birth-year was the same as Luther's, is to them a sufficient attraction. That spot had its interest to me, as the one where Luther learned the evils of Rome; where he, who had in approaching the city kissed the earth, saying, 'Holy Rome, I salute thee!'—proved that she was practically filled with corruption. I have looked at the *Scala Sancta*, up which many still climb on their knees; and I have thought of Luther when vainly doing this, stopped by the sudden remembrance of the Scripture, '*The just by faith shall live.*' And now I seemed to have before me at Wittenberg the results of the previous education of Luther's spirit. Here was the church in which Luther preached; to the door of which he affixed his theses against indulgences; those theses which God destined to shake off the Papal yoke; and there in that church is his burial-place, the spot where his mortal remains repose until the day of the resurrection of the just.

These were scenes to awaken many thoughts: how much of *man* has marred *God's* work in the Reformation: how many who boast of the Reformation heed not its first and distinguishing principle,—justification by faith, apart from all works or deservings of our own.

You may probably have heard of *Spicilegium Solesmense*, a series of volumes of fragments and works of early ecclesiastical writers (hitherto inedited), about to be published by Dom J. B. Pitra, a Benedictine monk, of the Abbey of Solesmes, near Sablé-sur-Sarthe (département de la Sarthe).

It will consist of ten volumes, in two series; the former containing writers from the second to the tenth century; the second series will comprise writers on to the end of the twelfth century. I have often seen M. Pitra at Paris, both in the Bibliothèque du Roi and also in the Séminaire du St. Esprit. He appears to be an able man, and a good scholar. The most important work in the early centuries appears to be the Latin translation of the *Clavis* of Melito of Sardis. This work of the second century will form the second volume (about 500 pages 8vo.), to be published next year. The first ought to appear very soon. The French Benedictines have done much for sacred literature.

I expect that M. Pitra will be considered a worthy successor of his brethren of St. Germain des Prés.

Of course whilst here I have examined the MSS. which Tischendorf procured in the East, and which he has since published.

I hope to leave this place in four or five days. I intend on my way to look at the Wolfenbüttel Palimpsests P and Q, which were published by Knittel; and at Utrecht I hope to see the *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* (F of the Gospels); and then without any needless delay I trust that I shall again reach England.

Arnhem, Sept. 16, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,—As the stupidity of two Dutch custom-house servants (not *officers*) has prevented my getting on to Utrecht, I may employ this evening in giving you a *detailed* account of what I did at Leipzig in comparing my collations with Tischendorf's.

I examined his collations of K, U, X (of the Gospels), carefully, noting all variations which could amount to difference of *reading* for the purpose of recomparison with the MSS. themselves. Generally speaking there could be no doubt as to which of the two collations was correct, for there was rarely a *discrepancy*; the variations were more commonly places in which one of us had noted something which the other had not observed. As I have always marked the beginning and end of each *line*, this was a check on the collations as to all omissions and insertions. A difficulty was occasioned by Tischendorf not having used throughout the *same* edition of the Greek Testament—his collations (mostly in pencil) are written in the margins of Greek Testaments, differing widely in their texts. I found that his collations are far more correct than the *readings* which he has printed from them; mistakes either of transcription or of typography must thus have crept in.

In the Acts I compared our two collations of H and of G (Codex Passionei). In the Epistles J (Codex Passionei).

Tischendorf's collation of G of the Gospels is hardly in a fit state to be compared with another, and therefore (at his request) I did not examine it. M of the Gospels he *copied*, and as he had no *collation* of it, there was nothing for me to compare my collation with.

Besides the MSS. of the Gospels mentioned above I also compared my collations of the two MSS. at Basle E and 1. I compared E with Tischendorf's collation, and also again with that made by Professor Müller of Basle. This was the same collation that I saw at Basle four years ago; and which from a misunderstanding I supposed to be a *copy* of Tischendorf's collation, instead of being really one altogether independent. The three collations, Tischendorf's, Müller's, and mine, leave but few points as to this MS. in any doubt.

Dr. Roth of Basle has collated the Gospels in Codex 1; and of this collation he sent to Tischendorf what appears to be a copy; I have compared this throughout with my collation.

These Basle MSS., and especially the book of Professor Müller, which

which I used at Basle, have brought before me very forcibly the time I passed in that city and the kindness which I there received from one now no more, Dr. De Wette, whose name must always be peculiarly associated by me with my stay at Basle; he was indeed one who had no common power in exciting interest and affection, even on the part of those who felt most painfully his many *questionings*: I procured at Leipzig a strikingly good lithograph of Dr. De Wette from a drawing by Sophie Fornachon: the resemblance is admirable.

I parted from Tischendorf with feelings of great obligation for the kindness with which all his stores had been opened to me; he is full of energy, and projects much Biblical work for future years. I wish him all success.

We left Leipzig last Thursday morning (Sept. 12) and reached Wolfenbüttel in good time. That place has suffered much from the cholera; 600 have died out of 9000 inhabitants; but they said, 'Now through the great mercy of God, it has quite disappeared.'

At Wolfenbüttel I wanted particularly to examine the palimpsest from which Knittel published some Gothic fragments, and also the Greek fragments of the Gospels P and Q. Dr. W. Hoeck, the secretary, showed me the library with the greatest attention, and particularly the palimpsest in question: I have no doubt, from the *faint traces* of old writing on many of the leaves, that it contains much more than was brought to light by Knittel, and that chemical means might exhibit many more fragments either Gothic or else Greek. I doubt, however, whether permission would be given to subject the MS. to such treatment.

Dr. Lachmann particularly requested me when at Wolfenbüttel to see his friend Dr. Schönmann, *the librarian*: he is unable however to *act* as such, for he has during the last five years become *quite blind*. It is scarcely possible to conceive any deprivation more trying to a student than the entire loss of sight, but we found Dr. Schönmann bright and cheerful, and far more willing to dwell on the *mercies* which God has vouchsafed him than on his deprivations. It was affecting to see his piercingly bright eyes, and to know that they were sightless. 'Day and night are now the same to me,' he said, *looking* at me apparently most earnestly. He showed us his *study*, where now he is compelled to study and to write through the eyes and hands of others, especially his *children*, whose care and attention are admirable. Dr. Schönmann's house is the same which was formerly inhabited by Lessing: to *Germans* it has an interest in connection with German literature; but to some the name of Lessing is more painfully associated with '*The Wolfenbüttel Fragments*.' They told me there that those daring attacks on Christianity were never actually deposited in the Wolfenbüttel Library, but that Lessing procured them at Hamburg from Reimarus, and that he published them under the false designation of being found in the Wolfenbüttel Library, simply because everything published from that library was exempt from all censorship of the press.

My custom-house detention at Arnhem is simply this: At Babberik,
the

the Dutch frontier, they said that all my books must pay duty, but as there were only *servants* there they could not tell how much; and thus two ignorant stupid men took possession of my books and papers, the result of all my labours,—and instead of going on to Utrecht to-day I have been forced to return to Babberik (ten English miles) to fetch my books and papers, as they did not send them as they promised. I found the *officers* well meaning, inefficient old men. The director of the customs here, Myn Heer van der Flootten, says that my books, as having been used, are not subject to duty, but the officers at Babberik, who appear to have no tariff to show or to refer to, have charged duty on all my books and papers, and also (by weight) on the *box* that contains them. I have paid all they demanded to prevent further delay. A complaint has often been made that in England duty is charged by weight upon *binding* as well as on books, but I never thought to find *stout Memel deal*, when made into a box to hold books, charged duty as though it were *literature*. Some speak much of the civility and attention of Dutch custom-houses; if this be the case in general, then Babberik must be an extraordinary exception, for such annoyance and delay (to say nothing of the expense) I never met with in any other part of Europe, nor could I have imagined a custom-house furnished only with persons who say that duty is chargeable without knowing the amount on anything.

Leyden, Sept. 21.

I was most kindly received at Utrecht by Professor Royaards, who introduced me to his colleagues, Professors Bouman and Vinke; the latter of whom published the collation of the Codex Borcelianus made by Heringa. I examined this MS. and made a fac-simile of one page. It is still much in the same state as it was when found (after two centuries of oblivion) at Arnhem: the leaves have not yet been bound. It is deposited in the City Library at Utrecht, a building commenced as a palace for Louis Bonaparte, when he bore the title of King of Holland. The academical session was just beginning at Utrecht; Professor Royaards commenced his course of lectures on Church History, with a tribute to the memory of Neander. I had much interesting conversation with some of the Utrecht professors; they look with some earnestness on the present condition of religious questions in England, fearing lest, amongst them all, we should lose sight of the pure and simple *Gospel of Christ*. On this, however, and on other subjects of peculiar interest connected with Utrecht, I cannot now enlarge.

At Amsterdam I made particular inquiries of Professor van der Hoeven on the subject of Wetstein's books and papers; they are now in the library attached to the church of the Remonstrants, under the care of Professor van der Hoeven (who is himself eighth in descent from *Arminius* through his daughter Gertrude); I saw Wetstein's LXX. with many notes and various readings; his *correspondence* forms a pretty considerable collection, but it would require some time to go through

through it to search for anything of critical interest. Professor van der Hoeven has kindly promised me that he would search amongst the correspondence for any unedited letters of *Bentley*.

Here, at Leyden, I have been received by Professor Juynboll, the Orientalist, from whom I have received no small amount of information.

In the library I examined the Syriac MS. from which L. de Dieu published the Apocalypse; it is not part of a Syriac New Testament, but a small separate MS. (numbered 18) of no great antiquity or authority, as I should think. It is not very carefully written on thickish glazed paper: the ink is very black, while the corrections in the margin are much more faint. I also examined the Latin MS. of Irenæus, of which Dr. Steiren has made use in his partly published edition.

Professor Juynboll has paid much attention to the Arabic versions of the New Testament, especially to that found in the Roman edition of the Gospels, 1691. The common opinion of this version (as expressed by Michaelis and others) has been, that it was *altered* by the Roman censors so as to accord with the Vulgate; but Professor Juynboll has shown, from the examination of an Arabic MS. at Franeker, which contains the same version, that this is actually the Arabic translation made in Spain from the Latin; and that so far from being altered to suit the modern Vulgate, it is a witness to the condition of the Latin text at the time when the version from it was made. Professor Juynboll stated this in a *Dutch* publication which appeared (I think) *twelve* years ago; but anything in that language is almost the same as *not published*, so far as Biblical students in England are concerned; and the same thing I find also with regard to Germany—they know that books on various subjects have been written in *Dutch*, but the results of inquiries when carried on in that language remain unknown. I have been not a little indebted to Professor Juynboll for his *viva voce* explanations; in *this manner* I have been able to understand much of his book.

Hoping soon to see you in London, &c.

S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES.

ON THE MIRACLE OF JOSHUA.

DEAR SIR,—I regret that I should have to trouble you with another letter of some length on the subject of the miracle of Joshua; yet, as you have given insertion to further strictures upon my view of it, from the pen of Dr. Tregelles, the Rev. D. Katterns, and the Rev. W. Taylor—strictures which demand a reply, and a *full* one on my part—I have to claim from your usual courtesy a space for the following observations in the next number of your Journal:—

Dr. Tregelles (No. X. p. 511) does not admit the necessary qualification of a miracle to be its answering some 'grand, lasting, and ostensible' purpose, though he fully admits that every miracle has a purpose, and

and one 'worthy of God's own wisdom.' But such a purpose, can it be aught but 'grand and lasting?' It is so in virtue of its very nature. When the learned Doctor remarks, 'How many even of the miracles of our blessed Lord wrought nothing that was *permanent*! Are they on that account *not miracles*?'—it is evident that he confines *the divine purpose* of a miracle to, and at the same time confounds it with, *its mere immediate and material result*. What could be more erroneous? The miracles of our Lord were not wrought for the several and transient purposes of restoring the eyesight of one person or the hearing of another: they were wrought (I have to *repeat* it), according to Christ's own declaration, for the grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose of *testifying his divine mission*. I will not now enter into this subject, which bears in no way upon the real question at issue, further than to say, that *every miracle on sacred record* not only *was* wrought for 'a grand, lasting, and (because wrought through the instrumentality, and for the sake, of men) ostensible' purpose; but that this purpose is also *clearly stated, or else as clearly implied*. The narrow and unscriptural view, which Mr. Katterns takes of the 'sign,' performed by Isaiah and related 2 Kings xx. 8, *seq.*, as if it had been 'wrought for the *personal satisfaction* of Hezekiah,' requires no further notice.

Though Dr. Tregelles, therefore, dissents from what (on the authority if not of all, certainly of the majority of the greatest divines in every age, since the doctrine of miracles has been discussed) I stated to be the necessary qualification of a miracle, his unsupported opinion can neither invalidate the truth of the canon, nor set aside its applicability. Nor can I, with Mr. Taylor (No. XI. p. 222), conceive how the consequences of a principle regarding that necessary qualification of 'a miracle,' can possibly be 'logically followed out,' as long as a clear definition of the term 'miracle' has not been given; as long as its nature and purpose have not been delineated with precision; as long as it has not been shown that, which Dr. Tregelles would seem to suppose, God can be said to work 'miracles,' *thus defined*, except *through the instrumentality and for the sake of man*. Indeed, I cannot but look upon it as a striking circumstance that, notwithstanding my pointed invitation; notwithstanding that your last-named correspondent warns your readers against the *danger* of '*loose and vague definitions of miracles*,' neither he nor my two other reverend opponents should have GIVEN that 'clear and precise' definition of the *meaning, nature, and purpose* of 'a miracle,' which they themselves consider of so much importance.

I am willing to think that Dr. Tregelles has altogether and strangely mistaken the meaning of my words; for he speaks (and Mr. Katterns but re-echoes him) as though I had been guilty of the impious presumption of saying what it is, and what it is not, fitting for God to do. Such a charge will elicit from me no refutation. I am equally content to leave my scriptural views of the disputed passage under the cloud of his prophetic expectation, based as it is on the opinion of Gesenius and De Wette. No one can entertain a higher respect for the learning of these two eminent scholars—my countrymen—than I do: but does
Dr.

Dr. Tregelles think them *infallible*? Would he as readily submit to their authority on points upon which they happen to *disagree* with his own view—and there are few on which they do not? He must know as well as myself, that the Hebrew language as yet is not definitely known; or does not, perchance, every number of your Journal furnish a striking proof of this? Surely, your correspondent would not wish to intimate that *his* ‘corrections’ of Gesenius’ Lexicon include the obliteration of its motto, ‘*Dies diem docet*?’

Dr. Tregelles alludes to the *very old* opinion, which, from a misunderstanding of the text, would fain have converted the ravens, upon which Elijah for some time subsisted at the brook of Cherith, into *Arabians*, or, as Kimchi thinks, *travelling merchants*; and in comparing that opinion with my interpretation of Joshua x., he feels no scruple in attempting to throw the ridicule of the former ‘explanation’ upon the scriptural arguments, supported by reason and the usages of the Hebrew language, on which my opinion is based.

Mr. Taylor had rested one of his former arguments against me on ‘the obvious meaning’ of our narrative, and I had directed his attention to the circumstance of this ‘obvious meaning’ being precisely the point at issue between us. Yet the same *petitio principii* is repeated by Dr. Tregelles, and arguing that, ‘if a thing be already in the Bible, its not being mentioned by writers for many ages cannot invalidate the *fact* that it is there,’ he altogether disregards that the ‘*fact*,’ by *him assumed*, is precisely the thing which *I deny*. Both he and Mr. Katterns have entirely lost sight of the real question, which is, ‘*What is*, in regard to the passage, Joshua x. 12 *seq.*, the TRUE MEANING OF THE WORD OF GOD?’

Thence it is obvious that the most important point of our inquiry lies strictly within the compass of Hebrew philology. Yet Mr. Katterns (No. XI., p. 216) freely accepts my rendering of the disputed passage, ‘as sufficiently accurate for his purpose,’ and in order ‘that no time may be spent on merely verbal criticism.’ Why, on this ‘*merely verbal criticism*’ hangs almost the entire question; a secondary point, calculated to throw light upon and elucidate an otherwise somewhat obscure sentence, being the applicability of my Talmudic quotation to the views of the Jewish people at large, in those days. Therein also (p. 220) we are of a common accord. Mr. Katterns, in fact, deliberately admits that all I am contending for *is* true; and then, by a voluble argument, proceeds to show that, in his judgment, it cannot, or rather *ought not*, to be so. The riddle is easily solved. His claim to a critical knowledge of the language of the Old Testament cannot be admitted. On the contrary, he betrays, by imagining (p. 215) the form *בִּלְבָּד* to be ‘a *peculiarity* of expression;’ by not accepting (p. 221) the poetical quotation from the *Sepher Hajashar* as poetry; by the manner in which (*ib.*) he speaks of ‘a snug retreat among the Hebrew roots,’ and by many other unmistakeable indications, that his knowledge of the Hebrew tongue is much less complete than he supposes.

I have to regret, therefore, that I am not at liberty to attach much value

value to Mr. Katterns' approval of my translation, though my regret is somewhat modified by the consideration that he himself (p. 221) exposes that approval to, an otherwise most unbecoming, ridicule. But I may now proceed to notice his more speculative arguments, subordinate though as they always must be to the principal question, the TRUE meaning of the sacred text. He repeats (p. 208) the objection, which I have already disproved in answer to Mr. Taylor, namely that a principle, militating against a *suppositious* miracle, must 'by parity of reason' militate also against a *real* miracle. Whether I will or not, he is determined to make an infidel of me—an infidel for denying (p. 208) and for proving (p. 213) a miracle; for 'getting rid' (p. 220) of a miracle, which the Word of God does *not*, and for 'inventing' (pp. 219, 208) a miraculous occurrence, which it *does* record. He is in error, however, when he (p. 208, 213) gratuitously assumes that, contrary to the usage of the English language, a miraculous event is of necessity identical with a miracle; as well as when he (p. 208) maintains in consequence of such an assumption, that it is 'in contradiction of my own rule,' I assign to the hail-storm a miraculous character.

Mr. Katterns not only sets reason, but sacred history itself at defiance to show (pp. 209, 210) 'that the battle of Gibeon gave the Jews possession of the land of promise, which they then subdued, not to be finally deprived of till after the coming of the Messiah.' He speaks as though Jerusalem (Jebus) had been the *only* city, which 'for a time' still held out against the Jews, at the period of Joshua's death. During the *twenty-five years* of this great leader's command, he had not succeeded in establishing a Jewish state and government in Canaan, not *one* of the tribes having acquired a continuity of territory or towns. At his demise we find the children of Israel independent it is true, yet dispersed among the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Judges iii. 5). Subsequently we find them, either all or a certain number of the tribes, *in subjection* to the Mesopotamians for *eight* years (ch. iii. 8); to the Moabites for *eighteen* years (ch. iii. 14); to the Canaanites of Hazor for *twenty* years (ch. iv. 2); to the Midianites for *seven* years (ch. vi. 1); to the Philistines and Ammonites for *eighteen* years (ch. x. 8); and to the Philistines for *forty* years (ch. xiii. 1); whilst Jebus was only taken, named Jerusalem and made the capital of the Jewish kingdom by David, upwards of *seven centuries* after the days of Joshua. Under such circumstances to represent the conquest of Canaan as the result of the battle of Gibeon (which, though *one* in a series of victories, was yet not, as Mr. Katterns would fain have it, that *series*, but ever will remain, and be considered, in regard to its consequences, as an isolated event, the fruits of which, as such, subsequently were 'swept away without leaving so much as a trace'), and to constitute that battle (p. 209) into 'one of the *great epochs* (!!) in the history of *Redemption*' (!!), none could think of doing unless such as would wish to adopt foolishness instead of reason as the standard of human judgment.

Mr.

Mr. Katterns (p. 210) thinks it 'evident that for a mortal man to ask for a miracle *under any circumstances* would render him just as liable to the charge of guilty presumption as Joshua,' who, having already obtained from God his positive promise that his prayer *should be granted*, yet asks for a miracle to confirm that promise. Let the reader decide. Not *the object of our prayer*, which it is for the wisdom of God to grant or to refuse, but *our object in prayer* renders it either an act of pious devotion or of sinful presumption. Of such a sinful presumption Joshua would have been guilty if, from a doubt in the promise of God—for nothing but such a doubt could possibly prompt a man to desire more than THE DIVINE PROMISE—he *had* asked for a miracle in confirmation of the same. Scripture says he did not: Mr. Katterns says he did; and is pleased to style my argument, 'a loose way of talking, for reasoning it must not be called.'

Mr. Katterns (p. 211), after alluding to 'what he calls a mere episode,' suddenly conjures up 'transpositions,' and then proceeds to say of me:—

'He, however, does not contend that such transpositions are unusual with the sacred historians. He knows, indeed, that the Old Testament is crowded with the same violations of chronological order, otherwise the fact which he has noted (assuming it to be a fact) might have been remarkable,' etc.

This question has inflicted on me the task of reperusing both my original paper on the miracle of Joshua and my subsequent observations on the subject in reply to Mr. Taylor. In vain: even the *word* 'transposition' does not occur in either.

He, however, 'should like to know on what grounds the verses 11-14 are to be treated as a mere episode' of the main account of the battle of Gibeon. Had he not shut his eyes to the circumstance that v. 10 carries the narrative to the *close* of the pursuit, and v. 11 leads us back to its beginning (and similarly vv. 11 and 12); had he not abstained from pronouncing his 'critical judgment' upon v. 15; and had he not arrested his argument at the very point whence he ought to have started, he would hardly have asked a question, which supposes Joshua, *AFTER ALL WAS OVER* (for v. 10 describes the *end* of the pursuit to Azekah and Makkedah), to command the sun to stand still for the purpose of awaiting his pleasure, until he shall with 'all Israel' have performed a march, without aim or object, to the camp at Gilgal and back, meanwhile postponing his further military operations. Thus according to the Authorized Version. But whether with some MSS. of the LXX. we omit v. 15 altogether, or read in it 'Makkedah' for 'Gilgal,' the deduction remains much the same. Mr. Katterns would seem to imagine that the beaten army of the Canaanites, when sun and moon, according to him, were arrested in the heavens, at the same time became rooted to the ground, instead of seeking that safety in flight and that shelter in their 'fenced cities,' which the sacred writer, v. 20, states they found, much to the disappointment of their pursuers (v. 19); but which your correspondent asserts (p. 211) they did not; knowing to the contrary that (p. 210) the good-natured

natured Canaanites, quite forgetful of their usual 'hardness of heart and their destination to be the scourges of their enemies, when they should rebel against God,' afforded those very enemies every facility for two or three days' uninterrupted slaughter among them. I 'not satisfied unless I see the Canaanites' *abandon* 'their strongholds without a struggle'? Why, I should be doubtful of the state of my mind, could I for one moment suppose with your correspondent that they, *being put to flight* by the Israelites, had not 'fled before them like chaff before the wind'—into their strongholds.

How he explains the whole tenth chapter of Joshua as a continuous narrative *without episodes*; how, under that supposition, the conduct of Joshua; and *how many hours or days* he imagines the sun to have remained 'emerging from a cloud,' I will not ask. It must be plain to every reader, that, after the battle of Gibeon had been decided, the army of the five kings been routed, and in their flight through the narrow pass of Beth-horon been overtaken by the hand of God in a fearfully destructive hail-storm, the survivors, after issuing forth into the more open country, ran as fast as their legs would carry them, to seek safety *in their nearest fastnesses*; that, knowing every way and bye-way of their own mountainous country (Mr. Katterns, p. 217, certainly makes them first fly in the wrong direction, and thereupon suddenly '*discover* that they were *wandering from home*'), in which the Israelites were as yet perfect strangers, they stood but little chance of being overtaken in any numbers by the latter (who had endured the additional fatigue of a previous night-march), before reaching a place of safety; that the time required for this purpose must have had a positive limit, altogether dependent on the fleetness of their feet, and the distance sped over, which latter, from a collation of the various but very imperfect data we possess, and guided by our own narrative, may be estimated at perhaps from fifteen to sixteen—or, *at the very utmost*, twenty British miles; and that, when the Israelites, according to v. 10, *closed* their pursuit of the fugitives at Azekah and Makkedah, at which latter place they finally encamped, the enemy, with the exception of 'the hindermost' (v. 19), or the few last straggling parties, had *already reached* their strongholds, and that even those stragglers succeeded in making good their escape (v. 20).

Admitting the truth of this argument, suggested by reason and common sense, and most explicitly confirmed by Holy Scripture, it further is equally plain on the one hand, that ver. 8-10 constitute the main account of the memorable contest of which we speak, for the simple reason that they delineate that contest to its final close, leaving only the execution of the five kings to be told; and, on the other hand, that ver. 11 and ver. 12-14 form two episodes of the above narrative, firstly, because, as I have already pointed out, ver. 11 carries us back, from the end, related ver. 10 to the middle, and ver. 12 from the middle, described ver. 11, to the very commencement of the action; and, secondly, because, were we to adopt the opposite conclusion, the presumed miracle of Joshua could not possibly have occurred,

occurred, unless we admit that the Jewish commander apostrophised the sun after all was over, to gain time, *at about half-past eleven o'clock in the morning*, only for the *unsuccessful* pursuit of a few stragglers and the execution of the five kings, prisoners, securely shut up and guarded in a cave; that (for no one will probably think of applying the words 'until the people shall have avenged themselves upon Israel's foes' to the mere act of destroying the unfortunate chieftains) Joshua commanded the sun to stand still for a purpose, which had already been accomplished, an event which had already taken place; and that the sacred writer has represented the very short time, I may say the few minutes required for the summary condemnation and execution of the five kings as ימים אחדים. To this would have to be added in regard to Mr. Katterns' argument, which supposes, and of necessity so, *but in positive contradiction to Scripture*, the miracle to have occurred shortly before evening, that the moon, seen by Joshua in the direction of the valley of Ajalon, and consequently forming with the setting sun an angle of about 150° , was nearly at her full and already risen, would, as he must have well known, in the usual course of things continue to diffuse her brilliant light throughout a large portion of the approaching night.

But let us even suppose that Joshua apostrophised the sun at the time and space indicated at the end of ver. 11. The scene is Azekah. That \aleph never introduces a *past* event, as Mr. Taylor thinks it does, I will presently show.* According to the Authorized Version, then, the miracle of Joshua would have been wrought for the purpose of securing the fruits of the pursuit from Azekah to Makedah. What were those fruits? The capture of the five hostile chieftains, the destruction possibly of some few stragglers, and a limited extension of time, in all probability not exceeding half an hour, if so much. Thus the objections, which oppose themselves to the view of Mr. Katterns, apply equally, in some slight degree modified, it is true, yet with still overwhelming force, to the supposition just mentioned; and unless, therefore, my interpunctuation of the sacred text of ver. 11, 12 is adopted, \aleph according to the positive usage of the Hebrew language in that case, rendered 'because,' and our apostrophe be assumed, as it reasonably should be, to have been delivered at the very commencement of the battle, *the asserted miracle necessarily falls of itself to the ground*. Strange that I should have to *force* my opponents, much against their will, into the only defensible position which it is possible for them to assume; and were my object, indeed, merely to 'get rid' of the miracle, Mr. Katterns might then, perhaps, not be thought altogether wrong in accusing me (p. 215) of absolute insanity in thus acting.

To return to his argument. He cannot see (p. 212) why '*the*

* On account of the length of this Letter we are obliged to postpone to our next Number the appended dissertation on the word \aleph . It is of sufficient interest to be produced separately.

fighting of the Lord himself for Israel' should not be of JOSHUA'S *commanding the sun to stand still*, as well as of GOD'S *destroying the Canaanites by a hail-storm*. Supposing a master to suffer two of his servants to fight in a lamp-lighted room, and to permit one of the two, whom we will call John, to trim the lamp at the commencement of the combat; supposing, further, the master, for reasons of his own and at a time when John already had the best of the fight, to step forward and knock the other servant down, leaving him thus at the mercy of John, until he succeeds in effecting his escape: will any man in his senses say that the *active part* which the *master* took in the contest included the trimming of the lamp by John? Yet Mr. Katterns states (p. 212) that, in direct opposition to the Word of God, 'many will continue to hold a different opinion.' But if they *will* continue so to do, why ask me for a further explanation?

In the same manner (for his next argument, exclusively resting as it does on his imagination, requires no notice), when, in answer to Mr. Taylor, I *did* explain the *vital difference* 'between a sacred historian *describing* some phenomenon of nature in the vulgar, though erroneous language of the time, and a momentary representative of God, endowed with His infinite power, *commanding* in DIRECT TERMS a creature or instrument of His will;' when I *did* explain that the language *thus* employed *becomes virtually the language of God*, and under *such* circumstances to entertain the idea of any kind, is *imputing an error to the Unerring One*.' Mr. Katterns, contenting himself 'to puzzle me by the narrative,' takes no notice of my argument, but persists in repeating (p. 214) that *a command is—a description*.

Once more, however, he asks me to *explain*; namely: the true meaning of the passage, Habakkuk iii. 11, in which he sees an allusion to the presumed miracle of Joshua, as though the prophet (in poetical language of surpassing beauty and force) gave an enigmatical history of the past, instead of an inspired vision of the future. Habakkuk lived and wrote at the commencement of the sixth century before our era. The Chaldeans have invaded the Holy Land. In thrilling tones he describes the actual sufferings of his people, and the yet far more terrible judgment that is reserved for them. But he no less foresees that a time of fearful vengeance will come for their proud, lustful, and idolatrous oppressors: 'the Lord is in His holy temple' (ii. 20). And that vengeance, as a work of God Himself, he now, in the third chapter, delineates with a pencil, the consummate skill and descriptive power of which produce an almost magical effect, and, if ever equalled, have never been surpassed. Ver. 3. *God descends from Mount Paran*: heaven and earth glorify His coming. Ver. 6. *He sets his foot upon the plain*: the heathen nations tremble; mountains cleave asunder. Ver. 8. *God bestrides his war-chariots of salvation*: it is, perchance,—the prophet asks in triumphant irony,—against the *waves* or the *sea* His wrath is kindled? The sacred text, presenting some of the most difficult passages which occur in the Old Testament, hereupon proceeds thus:—

CORRECTED

CORRECTED TRANSLATION.

'Thy naked bow is drawn forth: vows of vengeance (a pause of speech) is very torrents causest thou *them* to burst forth from the land. The mountains look upon thee and listen; the gushing fall of the waters ceases; the deep raises its voice; the height lifts up its hands; sun, moon, stand still in their dwelling of light.

Thine arrows dart away; in the brilliancy of lightning thy spear: thou walkest in judgment through the land, thou crushest the stranger in wrath.

AUTHORIZED VERSION.

9. Thy bow was made quite naked, [according to] the oaths of the tribes, [even thy] word, Selah. Thou didst cleave the earth [with] rivers. 10. The mountains saw thee and they trembled: the overflowing of the water passed by: the deep uttered his voice [and] lifted up its hands on high. 11. [The] sun and moon stood still in their habitation: at the light [of] thine arrows [they] went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear. 12. Thou didst march through the land in indignation, thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.

The Chaldean yoke is broken; the people of God are once more free.

Mr. Kaïterns is (p. 214) not content that I should refer the words of Isaiah, 'the Lord shall be wrath as in the valley of Gibeon, that he may do his work, his strange work, and bring to pass his act, his strange act,' exclusively to the hail-storm—'no very strange act,' he argues, 'since I myself incline to the opinion that the sacred text alludes to one of those fearful hail-storms of *not very unrequent* occurrence in the East, single stones of which have been found to weigh two pounds and upwards.' Having thus, 'with terrible effect,' applied my own words against myself, he proceeds (p. 219), with reference to the passage of our text: 'and there was no day like unto that day,' etc. to exclaim:—

'What! is this (the hail-storm) the circumstance which is so far beyond all parallel? It was outdone in the destruction of Sennacherib at the prayer of Hezekiah. The voice of a man prevailed with God to a greater extent when the heavens were shut up for three years and six months at the entreaty of Elijah. It was surpassed over and over again in the Mosaic miracles. On the other hand, the miracle which I plead for has never been paralleled, nor is there such another instance on record of answer to prayer.'

A few words will set this apparently formidable string of objections at rest. The prophet Isaiah alludes, in express and most explicit terms, to 'the strange work' which God, in the valley of Gibeon, did IN HIS WRATH. Is it then not sufficient to read the text and to perceive that the words in question refer exclusively to the destruction of the Canaanites by the hail-storm, and cannot possibly be applied to the presumed staying of the sun, which, at all events, in the Hebrew sense, would have been an act of surpassing *mercy*? Moreover, both the terms חֲזָקָה and נִסִּים, employed by the prophet in our text, convey the simple meaning of what one is not *accustomed* to see, for instance, a stranger in an unfrequented village, and in this sense are very properly rendered 'strange' in the Authorized Version. It was not, however, in the fearful hail-storm itself, though a *rare* occurrence, that the extraordinary, the miraculous character of the event consisted; this character it only acquired, partly by the circumstance of its proving

^b A late number of the *Bombay Telegraph* again records the fall of hailstones as large as cocoa-nuts at a village near Sattara. Several houses were beaten down, and men and cattle—nay, large fishes in the streams were killed.

destructive to the Canaanites only, but above all, from the *then unprecedented* fact of its having been brought to pass *at the prayer of a man*. So the sacred writer states. Mr. Katterns once more knows better. He knows, indeed, that the event under consideration was surpassed over and over again in the Mosaic miracles; but simply overlooks that not *one* of those miracles was wrought *at the initiative prayer* of Moses, all being worked *at the direct command of God*. He knows, indeed, that both Hezekiah and Elijah obtained infinitely greater (???) results by their prayer, than Joshua did on the occasion of which we speak; but he entirely overlooks the simple fact that Elijah and Hezekiah *lived centuries posterior to the author of the Book of Joshua*, and that the latter only speaks of what had taken place *up to his time*.

Next, your correspondent feels indignant that I should not place in the testimonies of Jesus Sirach and the marvel-loving Josephus greater confidence than they deserve; but, as he expresses himself, first 'pitch them overboard without ceremony,' and thereupon 'thrust them out of court in a contemptuous style.' Let us inquire into the real value of the testimonies in question, and first, into that 'high claim,' which the book of Jesus Sirach in regard to our subject 'has upon our respectful attention.' I might urge that, as there is no half-inspiration, all non-inspired books fall of necessity to the same common level. It is unnecessary. Mr. Katterns (p. 214) says of our author, 'His interpretation is clear—"Did not the sun GO BACK by his (Joshua's) means?"' A positive contradiction to the Word of God, which says that (seemingly) the sun *STOOD STILL*. Such then is the title of Jesus the son of Sirach to our religious consideration. As to Josephus, if Mr. Katterns doubts, as he would seem to do, his love of the marvellous, he has but to read his works to convince himself of his error. With truly 'child-like simplicity' he repeats acknowledged fables. Blind to the sacred truth of the Gospel shining around him, he pretends to be armed with power from God to look into the dark recesses of the future; and to announce *as the messenger of heaven* to a Roman General, the enemy of his country, his *destined* elevation to the imperial dignity. He was either a true prophet, or else an impious impostor and mere cunning fortune-teller. If the latter (and who will doubt it?), his interpretation of our passage, in conformity with the bias of his mind, can have little, if any, value. Yet that such is the nature of his interpretation is rendered more than probable by the circumstance of his referring, in proof of his statement, to 'the Scriptures deposited in the archives of the Temple' as the source of his opinion; for, had such an opinion at the time been current, as Mr. Katterns gratuitously asserts, he would have had no occasion to state where the proofs of it might be found, thus betraying that he himself did not expect it to gain credence. For the rest, Josephus also speaks of the hail-storm (to which he adds thunder and lightning) as the principal incident of the battle. He then proceeds: ἔστι γε μὲν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῇ θῆναι πλέον... and? no more. That is all he says, except assuring us afterwards, as if he himself doubted, that the day

day was *really* prolonged, and stating in addition the *object* and the *result* of that prolongation to be, on the one hand the uninterrupted advance of the Israelites *at the approaching night* (although he places the commencement of the battle *at break of day*), and on the other, the capture and execution of the five kings. I have already shown this to be irreconcilable with Scripture. To reject, then, such a testimony of such a man: to reject a testimony which, as that of Jesus Sirach does, flatly contradicts the Word of God, is, in Mr. Katterns' opinion (p. 215), 'an act of absolute insanity.'

In my first essay I did not wish to enter into any discussion of the much controverted *date* of the Book of Joshua. Nor do I now. Professor Keil, in his Commentary, of the Introduction to which you have given a translation in your Journal, has anything but *proved* that it 'was *written* within a generation after Joshua's death' (No. IX. p. 108, 9). On the contrary, that assertion may be shown to be indubitably erroneous. The *only* supposition (for of the tradition that the Scriptures were lost at the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldeans, and *recomposed* by Ezra,^c I will not even speak), which meets *all* the difficulties of the case, is, that the history of our Book was *composed* at no very distant date after the events which it relates, but not *committed to writing*, with certain (immaterial) additions and alterations, till the commencement of the tenth century before our era. Up to that period it must have been handed down by word of mouth. Even at a time when the art of writing had, comparatively speaking, become general among the Jews, we find them still by the same means of oral tradition perpetuate their sacred *δευτερωσεις*, which had been collected since the Babylonian exile, and were only committed to writing in the third century after Christ. And the entire early history of the people of God, for thousands of years, has it not, like the early history of every other people, been preserved by the same identical means, common to all nations—MEMORY?

Proceeding upon these premises, and by the way observing that, while I spoke exclusively of the silence of Holy Scripture in regard to the assumed miracle of Joshua, Mr. Katterns (p. 215) represents me as referring equally to the silence of heathen writers, I have nevertheless no hesitation, in answer to his question, 'In what histories, let me ask, does he expect to find the testimonies which he requires?' to state, in every work, whether treating of religion, natural science, history, or astronomy, whether composed, written, or printed, from the times of Joshua to the present day. Has Mr. Katterns ever taken the trouble to form an approximate idea of the stupendous nature of the miracle for which he 'pleads,' and of its universal relation to human history? Has he for one moment considered into what an indescribable state of fearful commotion and deadly consternation, in those times of ignorance and superstition, when the sun was by millions of human beings worshipped as a god, must have thrown the whole human race?

^c Talmud, *tr. Sanhedrim*, c. ii.; Epiphanius, *De Pond. et Mens.* c. iv.; August. *De Mirab.* lib. ii.; 'Esdras, Dei sacerdos, combustam a Chaldæis in archivis templi restituit legem.'

Why, nearly three thousand years subsequently, a mere Irish prediction of an earthquake sufficed, a few years ago, to frighten and alarm the metropolis of the modern world, and to put numbers of its 'enlightened and christianized' inhabitants to flight in all directions. Now let us imagine, if we can, that very same London a witness of the reality of the glorious orb of light suddenly stopping in his course, and remaining stationary and immoveable (be it 'in the midst of the heavens,' or in the western or eastern horizon, it matters little, for in all the various stages of his demi-circuit he would be seen from corresponding spots on the earth's surface) for four-and-twenty endless hours—or let us imagine the metropolis for the double space of a never-ceasing night to be waiting in obscurity and to wait in vain for the sun to rise—let us, I say, imagine the scene of terror and despair which would thence result—transfer it, repeated in every inhabited place of the globe, to barbarous times—and we shall then be convinced that the lights of such a day and the shadows of such a night must, like two streaks of fire and darkness, run through every page of the subsequent tradition and history of the whole human race. But whether we look to India, the sacred books of whose people reach to the very times of Joshua, or to Assyria and Babylonia, whose astronomers observed the motions of the heavenly bodies long before Moses was born—whether to China, with its accredited history of nearly five thousand years, and its numerous literary remains preceding the 13th century before our era—or to Egypt, whose civilization had reached its height so long as three thousand years before that epoch—or to Greece, where Homer sung contemporarily with Solomon,—we meet with notices of comets which have appeared some thirty or forty centuries ago, and hymns to Savitri, the sun-god of India, composed almost at the very time when our presumed miracle is said to have occurred, but of this miracle nowhere an indication, nowhere a trace is to be discovered. Nor is this all. That universal silence of the heathen world on a subject of the deepest universal import is but confirmatory of the silence of the sacred authors both of the Old and of the New Testaments, the former extending over a space of time of fourteen centuries. Thus, then, during a period, down to the days of Josephus, of *nineteen hundred years*, the UNANIMOUS silence of the WORLD on the most stupendous event (not excepting the flood itself) said to have occurred since its creation is interrupted *only* by 'one Jesus the son of Sirach,' interrupted only by him to—contradict his own presumed authority. More yet. Though Mr. Katterns entertains the preposterous opinion that 'the silence of subsequent Scriptures may be accidental,' we know that it is NOT so; for Isaiah, whilst preserving that silence on 'the unparalleled miracle,' at the same time alludes to 'an (in itself) common occurrence,' inseparably associated with it, as an extraordinary act of the wrath of God. This circumstance alone ought, in my opinion, to set the question at rest. Yet, no: how could we think of attaching to *the silence of the entire world for thousands of years* but one particle of value, when Mr. Katterns (p. 215) 'knows of no portion of Scripture' (and, as his argument of necessity implies, general

general history) 'in which a reference to the event *could have been introduced without violence to the scope and intention of the writer.*'

By reason of a similar argument, he would fain bring my honesty of purpose into distrust. 'There is little appearance,' he says (p. 215), 'of *candid inquiry after the truth*, when all the witnesses who have spoken for the last two thousand years are put rudely aside.' Now the LAST two thousand years, in regard to the FIRST two thousand years of historical testimony on a given question, may not improperly be compared to a child, just capable of coherent thought and speech, asserting that, *an age before he was born*, 'papa did such or such a wonderful thing,' and asserting it against the positive assurance of his father that he has not the remotest recollection of the circumstance; on the contrary, that, from what he *knows*, it could not *possibly* have occurred. In Mr. Katterns' opinion that CHILD, *on obstinately persisting in his assertion*, ought *not* to be 'put rudely aside,' because it is—the FATHER'S mind that SHIELDS ITSELF FROM CONVICTION' (p. 215);—in what?—in idiocy, or, to use his own words, 'in the OBSCURITY of a period, ALL WHOSE RECORDS HAVE PERISHED.' (*ib.*) The SACRED books of the Old and New Testaments; the Apocrypha; the SACRED-PROFANE literature of all India and China, of Egypt and Phœnicia, of Babylonia and Palestine, of Greece and Rome; the Vedas and the Puranas; the King and the Sse Shu; the treatises of the Talmudists; the songs of Vyasa, Valmiki, and Homer, of Bhatti, Magha, and Sri Harscha, of Kalidasa and Virgil; the fragments of Sanchoniathon, Manetho, and Berosus; the works of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Livy, of Plato, Aristotle, and Philo, of Strabo and Pliny; in a word, all the most glorious monuments and almost numberless remains of the literature of the ancient world, down to the times of Josephus, all and every one of them, whether sacred or profane, whether written on parchment or engraven in marble, Mr. Katterns blots out by one stroke of his pen, in order that he may point to *a vast gulf of OBSCURITY*, with Jesus the son of Sirach as the only solitary light—an *ignis fatuus*—floating on its expansive surface, and triumphantly exclaim, 'In what histories, let me ask, does my opponent expect to find the testimonies which he requires?'

Having answered his question, and at the same time disposed of one of his insinuations against me, there remains *another*, preferred in the same page, to notice. In allusion to the silence of Scripture on the miracle of Joshua, I stated, in answer to Mr. Taylor, that 'on a similar silence of history' we rejected, and properly so, some of the idolatrous doctrines of the Church of Rome. Dr. Tregelles, however, informs me that 'it is not by a silence of *this kind*' (as if there were several *kinds of silence*) 'that we disprove Romish additions to Scripture,' and then, begging the question at issue between us, proceeds to argue accordingly; whilst Mr. Katterns admits that 'we justly reject Romish innovations from the silence of history, because'—why because?—*there exists no such silence*; or, in his own words, 'BECAUSE all along the existence of the Catholic Church our historical documents and other writings are most copious and satisfactory.' Now I need hardly tell your readers

that Mr. Katterns unfortunately labours under a strange deception. To speak only of the *source* of all Romish errors, the two dogmas of the infallibility of the Catholic Church and of the supremacy of the Pope, both resting, like the acceptance of the miracle of Joshua, on *misinterpreted passages of Scripture*, were both rejected by the Reformers on similar, but infinitely less conclusive grounds than those which I have urged against the acceptance in question. The proofs I am ready to furnish, but they are not now required; for Mr. Katterns refers his arguments chiefly to the comparative *numbers* of witnesses in *both periods*, entirely overlooking that it is *the proportion* of their number in *each*, compared with each other, which alone has any claim to consideration. In continuation of the words quoted above, he writes: 'Can this be said of that period, extending over a thousand years after Joshua; to which, however, your correspondent, without misgiving, applies the very same argument? No matter whether the witnesses be few or many—ten writers or ten thousand—their silence upon a given fact is equally convincing! Surely a reasoner who overlooks such an obvious distinction must be read with great caution, if not suspicion.' I will abstain from remarking upon the self-contradiction into which my opponent here once more precipitates himself, in order to fell my arguments to the ground by the unfair and ungenerous weapon of '*suspicion*.' He refers to an epoch corresponding to about the year 800 before Christ, at which time there was as yet not one witness in *favour* of his interpretation—that is to say, it had then not as yet been thought of. But we will at once descend to Josephus; when there is arrayed AGAINST it the silent testimony of the universal tradition of the whole world, of all the sacred authors of the Old and New Testament, and of upwards of two hundred of the most eminent men (they are not counted by thousands and tens of thousands) who ever lived, and whose writings, in a more or less perfect state, have come down to us—writings, embracing the greatest master-productions of the human mind, exhausting all the powers of poetical conception, describing with an inspired pencil the attributes and the wondrous works of God, penetrating alike into the laws and mysteries of nature and into the darkest recesses of human history, and acquainting us with data of the motion of the heavenly bodies so long ago as three thousand years before our era. Nor are these astronomical observations of the Chinese '*mere fable*,' as Mr. Katterns might possibly object; for of their (truly wonderful) precision we may judge especially by one of three important dates, furnished by the emperor-astronomer Tschu-Kung in the year 1100 before Christ, which Laplace has submitted, like the two others, to a calculation, and found triumphantly to stand the test of modern science.^d It is worthy of remark that the state of this science, at the time when those dates were first transmitted to Europe by Father Gaubil,

^d In the year 2550 before Christ the Chinese astronomers Ho and Hi were put to death, simply because they had committed an error in calculating the epoch of an expected eclipse of the moon.

was not sufficiently advanced to perform, with the required degree of certainty, the intricate calculations necessary for their verification. Even more deserving of particular notice in regard to our question is, that astronomical observations of the Chaldeans, *reaching up to the time of Moses*, were still known to Aristotle.* Now what has Mr. Katterns to oppose to that silent testimony of the *world* AGAINST his interpretation of our passage? The testimony of Jesus Sirach, *contradictory of its own* (presumed) *source*, and the somewhat dubious confirmation of it by the marvel-loving and fortune-telling Josephus,—two opinions, in a moral point of view, absolutely worth nothing, and numerically considered as at the best 1 to 100 against them. On the other hand, I will not even ask Mr. Katterns to state the approximate number, either of the writers, down to the time of the Reformation, whose *positive* testimony has *supported* the infallibility of the Catholic Church and the supremacy of the Pope, or of the very few authors he can quote *against* it, or of the *tens* of years of early silence he has to oppose to the *hundreds* of years of historical evidence; but I will venture to say that, *numerically* speaking, that proportion is very much like 10,000 to 10 in favour of the Romish errors, which, it must not be lost sight of, repose as much upon misinterpreted passages of Scripture as the presumed miracle of Joshua does. So much for the foundation of Dr. Tregelles' denial of my proposition, and of Mr. Katterns' uncandid charges against me. But *supposing* even the latter had not been altogether unfounded, and that, instead of my opponent shutting his eyes to those features of the case, imagined by him to stand as 1000 to 1 in his favour, which prove it to stand as at least 100,000 to 1 against him, I, attaching to the testimony of *ten sacred* writers as much weight as to *ten thousand profane* witnesses, *had* overlooked their respective *numbers*; then, if Mr. Katterns is of opinion that an author, guilty of the oversight of 'such an obvious distinction,' *ought to be read with great caution, if not suspicion*, what must his judgment be of a writer, who, not to mention minor points, overlooks that the sun rises in the *east*, overlooks the difference between Joshua and Jehovah, between an act of wrath and an act of mercy, between the historical value of the testimony on a given event of the *first two thousand years following that event* and the *succeeding* two thousand years, between a suppositious and a real miracle; who converts the battle of Gibeon into the conquest of Canaan and one of the great epochs in the history of redemption; who argues as though the author of the book of Joshua had lived in our own days; urges upon our respectful consideration a testimony flatly contradicting the Word of God; looks upon *his sense of propriety* as the standard which has guided the language of tradition and history from the days of Joshua to those of Josephus; who, for mere controversial purposes, scorns reason and *sets Holy Scripture at defiance*,

* The earliest dates of those Babylonian observations which have come down to us have been preserved by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*. They relate to two eclipses of the moon, which occurred in the years 721 and 720 before our era.

and by a stroke of his pen blots out the monumental remains, and almost the entire literature, sacred and profane, of the ancient world? 'Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee!'

Next your correspondent notices (p. 216) that I 'hold myself at liberty to choose my own time of day for beginning the battle;' that I 'choose this hour for no other reason except that it agrees with my own interpretation, without offering a single particle of evidence for even the probability of the conjecture;' and that 'on other grounds, indeed, that conjecture is extremely improbable.' Mr. Katterns has already given so many proofs of his utter disregard of the testimony of the sacred writer, when in opposition to his *opinion*, as to create any surprise on my part at the remarks I have just quoted. Ver. 13, it is positively stated that upon Joshua's apostrophising the sun, the latter stood בְּחֻצֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם (comp. חֻצֵי הַלֵּילָה 'mid-night') 'in the midst of' or 'mid-way in the heavens,' which does not mean in the *horizon*, but in the *zenith* of Gibeon; in other words, it was then about the time of *noon* in the latitude in question. Now, having shown that the address of Joshua was delivered at the *commencement* of the battle, it follows of itself, *according to the distinct evidence of Scripture*, that the attack was made, and that the contest took place, during the Jewish mid-day. Or will Mr. Katterns still maintain that at *about half-past eleven o'clock in the day the PURSUIT of the Canaanites had already been FOLLOWED UP AS FAR AS AZEKAH?* Hardly. Under any circumstances the celebrated words of Joshua were spoken *at the epoch named*, unless we prefer my opponent's 'presumption' to the testimony of the Bible; and, however '*unnatural*' it may have been for 'the sun in that position to attract the eye and inspire the enthusiastic general with a *sudden gleam of thought*'—the sudden gleam of thought *to suspend the laws of nature and to arrest sun and moon in their allotted course!*—I greatly fear myself that, should he not come with me to the conclusion that Joshua may have had eyes, like those of common men, moveable in their sockets, he will indeed on the present occasion have to hold him guilty of having 'stretched his neck in a painful and most unpoetic manner, *out of deli-*

' Mr. Katterns, apparently, cannot bring himself to allow me even the small merit of having pointed out the true grammatical construction of Josh. x. 12, 13. I will answer him by an authentic anecdote in point, showing how *every* 'common reader' naturally *will* and *must* understand the Authorized Version of our text. Here it is, in the words in which some of the English papers have but lately repeated it:—'Soon after the Copernican system of astronomy began to be generally understood, an old Connecticut farmer went to his parson with the following inquiry: "Dr. T., do you believe in the new story they tell about the earth moving round the sun?" "Yes, certainly." "Do you think it is according to the Scriptures? If it's true, how could Joshua command the sun to stand still?" "Umph!" quoth the parson, "Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, did he?" "Yes." "Well, it stood still, did it not?" "Yes." "Very well. Did you ever hear that he *set it a-going again*?" The farmer's scruples were silenced.' That my opponent's explanation of that '*peculiarity* of expression, it *seemed* a whole day,' on which I have, according to him, 'lavished such an amount of useless criticism,' has no other foundation save his imperfect acquaintance with the Hebrew language, and of which his defence of the common interpunctuation of the passage in question furnishes but another proof, I have already stated.

berate

berate intention, even to glance at it' (the sun). However kind Mr. Katterns' intention to accommodate him with 'a cloud,' and to place the sun 'lower down in the heavens,' where 'it would attract attention in a moment,' thus rendering his apostrophe 'exceedingly beautiful, sublime, and impressive,' and the opposite 'theory,' however 'forced and unnatural, clothed in the forms of poetry indeed, but without its soul' (p. 217), yet, alas for your correspondent, the 'poetry' is *his*, but the 'theory' is—the *sacred writer's*.

He further (p. 216) either gratuitously, or contrary to experience and common sense, assumes that an army, after a day's and night's march, requires no rest, but is in a fit state and condition to fight an important battle from morning till night, and, being victorious, to pursue the enemy for miles through a difficult country, the day having been prolonged for the purpose; that the whole Hebrew army, without adopting any of the usual measures of military precaution, should have 'slept out all the morning in the presence of the enemy'; that in a mountainous country, well-guided, and by the enemy believed to be far distant, their not being discovered should be incredible; and that mid-day, which he himself describes as a most unusual time for an attack, should be a strange time for a surprise. These gratuitous assumptions are followed up by as many errors in the next page. Firstly, he states that I 'confessed' the defeat of the Canaanites in one hour—a defeat, the result of a *surprise*—to be 'incredible'; although I had already in my answer to Mr. Taylor to point out that my original words were: 'the sudden and irresistible attack of the Israelites *during mid-day at once decided the contest*, in so incredibly short a time' (incredibly short, considering the result obtained), '*it appears to the narrator*, as if the sun, *instead of an hour*, had tarried in the midst of heaven a whole day.' What can possibly be said in palliation of such repeated—consciously repeated—misrepresentations? Secondly, he writes: 'Subsequently there *was* a pursuit in one direction to Beth-horon; and in *another* as far as Azekah and Makkedah;' and immediately afterwards allows himself that Scripture (v. 11) seems to imply, as it does, the contrary. Thirdly, he asserts that the capture of Makkedah took place on the same day with the battle of Gibeon; whereas in the Bible, time is reckoned according to the custom of the Jews, who commenced their civil day at sunset; and Joshua (x. 27) transfers the narrative to a day following the day of the said battle. Fourthly, he asserts, upon the strength of his mere estimate, that a space of six Jewish hours and a half, which, as we have every possible reason to place our narrative in the summer season, corresponded to about seven hours and a half, according to our mode of reckoning time, was utterly insufficient for the events in question to have taken place in; whereas I have already stated that there exists no ground whatever to think that the entire distance sped over by the fugitive and pursuing armies exceeded twenty miles, if so much. There consequently was not only *the most ample time*, according to my interpretation of the sacred text; but there *was* time even for the five kings, in conclusion of the day's fearful slaughter, to have been left hanging on the trees for an hour,

hour, or a couple of hours, till the going down of the sun, in the usual course of things.

I have now come to the staying of the moon, on which Mr. Katterns, as left unexplained by me, both in my original essay and in my answer to Mr. Taylor, lays much stress. My exposition, he writes, p. 218,—

‘leaves the standing still of the moon wholly unaccounted for. Yet it is not only said that the sun stood still, but *the moon stayed*. If there were no miraculous change of any kind in nature, the sun only *appeared* stationary from its position in the zenith, and the moon, being near to the horizon and “about to set,” ought to have gone down as usual.’ ‘But it is said “*the moon stayed*.” How, then, is this to be explained?’

Mr. Taylor, also (p. 222), and very truly, asks :—

‘Could the Israelites possibly fail to see (whatever their theories) that the moon, when near the horizon, so far from being stationary, sinks rapidly to rest?’

Certainly not. But is it not surprising that both those gentlemen (unless they are so willing to believe in *anything miraculous*, as to accept even *my* simple word for what would be the most stupendous miracle on record, inasmuch as it implies the earth to have revolved round its axis *at one and the same time, in opposite directions*, with regard to the sun from west to east, with regard to the moon from east to west), should have overlooked the TRULY ‘obvious’ circumstance, that the moon, seen in a *south-easterly* direction, cannot possibly be ‘about to set,’ as, in connection with the former words, stated in my essay by some odd inadvertence of mine? Thus seen at Gibeon at the time of mid-day, she must have formed with the sun an angle of about 60° (equal to nearly a five days’ moon), and her apparent motion during an hour being about half a degree *less* than that of the sun, compensating for her apparent greater velocity from *position*, she would to the eye, to which the sun would appear to ‘tarry’—appear to tarry—in *precisely the same manner*. Thus the objection is most satisfactorily met. But has Mr. Taylor, too, overlooked that feature in our narrative, which induced me to think that the staying of the *moon* required no explanation at all? We have no right to suppose a sacred writer either to state, or to omit stating, any particular thing, without having an object in so doing. What, then, could his object be in so pointedly marking out the poetical quotation he introduces into his history, as a quotation from the *Sepher Hajashar*, an undoubtedly then well-known and popular collection of national songs, if it were not to indicate that he wished those words to be taken precisely for what they are, and for no more,—the poetical rendering of a passage from the prosaical, because *real*, address of Joshua to his army? What could have been his object, when, proceeding to vouch in his own words for the general truth of that quotation, he pointedly omits any allusion to the moon, if it were not to indicate that, in regard to this subject, he did *not* confirm his source, but wished the particular sentence concerning it to be altogether considered as the mere conception of the poet? True, Mr. Katterns (p. 218) places the author of the Book of Jasher among the *inspired* men of God; but all we *know* of this is, that the sacred author, from what I have just explained, evidently

dently implies the contrary; and when your correspondent further 'submits that it is not the custom of inspired poets to indulge themselves in pure fiction,' I would submit to him in return for his *historical* explanation, among many similar passages, for instance, that of Judges v. 20, where the Authorized Version reads thus: 'They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' If this be more than purely poetical imagination; if a *fact* is here recorded: we are in presence of a miracle, in comparison with which even the miracle of Joshua sinks into utter insignificance.

But let me now ask: in what terms of just appreciation of, and deep wonder at, the astounding nature of the latter miracle, presumed to be related by the poet whom he quotes, does the sacred writer express himself? Why, he is in the most perfect ignorance of such a miracle: not one word in allusion to it does he utter. His simple, his *only* remark upon the quotation is as to its *meaning*, that, indeed, during mid-day the people of God *had* so completely 'avenged themselves upon their foes;' *i. e.*, had inflicted on them so severe a defeat, *as if* that defeat had been the work, not of one short hour, but of the entire day. *Literally*, he expresses himself, taking up the terms made use of by the poet, and conforming himself to the vulgar notions of the Jewish people, in these words: 'And the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and tarried to go down;' a common descriptive pleonasm, on which no scholar will, with Mr. Katterns (p. 220), lay the slightest stress—'as if *it had tarried*'—instead of the usual space of an hour, and with reference to the results obtained, 'the entire day.' It is impossible, unless we are determined to shut our eyes, and *will* not enter into the Jewish notions of those times, not to perceive the simple, common-place character, if I may use the term, of this remark, the only object of which is to point out the *importance* of the victory gained by the Israelites, as contrasted with *the time in which* it was gained. In this respect the day was a remarkable one; but it was *unparalleled* up to those days for a very different reason; the reason, that never had God until then so graciously listened to the prayer of man as on that day he had done to the prayer of Joshua for His direct assistance; because, having listened to that prayer, He himself fought for Israel in a hail-storm, which slew more of the enemy than the sword of the Jews. The *literal* words of the sacred writer are these: 'And there has been no *day* like unto that day, neither before it nor after it, in respect of the Lord's hearkening to the *supplicating* voice of a man: because the Lord himself fought for Israel.' That 'the fighting of the Lord' must of necessity and *exclusively* be referred to the *hail-storm*, I have more fully explained in a preceding portion of this letter; whilst in my original paper may be found the following remarks: 'It is, v. 14, positively stated that never was prayer of man so graciously listened to by Jehovah as was the prayer of Joshua on this occasion, *because* the Lord himself fought for Israel; which *proves*, both that Joshua prayed to God, *not* for power to work a miracle, but for His direct assistance, and that God rendered this assistance *because* Joshua prayed to him.' On this conclusive argument my opponents bestow no further notice,
except

except that Mr. Taylor (p. 227) on the sole ground of his erroneous opinion that 'it cannot mean 'because,' remarks that it simply constitutes an argument—against myself! Likewise, when in another place I advance that 'it is (v. 14) *positively* stated that the miraculous occurrence of the day, and the object of Joshua's prayer to the Lord were confined to His direct assistance:—'plain as the words of the sacred writer are,' Mr. Katterns tells me (p. 212) in answer,—

'There are still many who *will* think that the Lord's fighting for Israel may be interpreted, not only of the shower of hail-stones, but also of the very miracle in question.'

Of that miracle, I repeat, the author of the book of Joshua states nothing, and therefore knows nothing. On the contrary, he passes over his quotation from the song of an uninspired poet, on which the belief in it rests, with a simple comparative remark as to the exceedingly short space of time in which so important a victory had been gained by the Israelites, they having taken the enemy by surprise; and thereupon proceeds to relate, in becoming terms of wonder, the *unparalleled* event of the day, the 'strange' act of God's merciful interposition by the hail-storm in favour of His chosen people at the prayer of a man. The belief in a miracle being related in this place—a belief which did not spring into existence till fifteen hundred years after the times of Joshua—owes its origin solely to a misinterpretation of the Hebrew text on the one hand, and on the other to the erroneously connecting the words of the sacred writer, related, v. 14, with the import of the preceding, v. 18; whilst they logically refer back, as proved by their very tenor, to v. 11. Yet when on the strength of the conclusive proofs I had adduced in support of that view, and deeply conscious that we all 'now see but through a glass darkly,' I exclaimed:—

'How is it possible, we would ask, that the common interpretation of our passage should by men of piety and learning have so long been insisted on—nay, that it should ever have been entertained *in direct opposition to the testimony of Holy Scripture*? The love of the marvellous and the influence of inherited impressions must, indeed, hold a powerful grasp upon our mind, to shut its eye even against *that light, which emanates as evidence from the inspired volume itself*;'—

Mr. Katterns (p. 212) stamps my remarks as 'an oratorical trumpet-blast expressive of astonishment that views opposed to his own should have been so long entertained.' No, no; views, not opposed to my own, but opposed to the testimony of *the whole ancient world*, opposed to the clear, the palpable meaning of *the Word of God*.

Mr. Taylor, in a handsome manner, and in terms which demand my acknowledgment, opens his 'explanation' of some portions of his former letter by an assurance that he had no intention of doing, what his letter appeared to imply, '*anything so unfair*' as to impute to me personal opinions of neology. He has done me but justice. On the other hand, I confess I cannot *now* see (nor am I singular in this respect) that I have either misquoted or mangled his argument—an accusation on his part (p. 222) to which I am anything but indifferent, and

and for which I certainly would never *knowingly* give cause. It has not even entered my thoughts, however, to make him say the absurdity to which he alludes: he seemed to me to have overlooked that the ancient Israelites *did* 'believe that the whole vault of heaven revolved round the earth, carrying the sun and moon along with it, so that if one of these bodies was stopped, the other must necessarily be stopped at the same moment,' and I simply wished to remind him of the *fact*, the bearing of which upon the words, 'and thou moon (stand thou still), over the valley of Ajalon,' as a proof of their purely poetical character, which I have more fully explained above, I would then not further argue. If, however, I should not have expressed myself with sufficient clearness to that effect, of which your readers can best judge, I shall but have performed a pleasing duty in thus offering to Mr. Taylor, by explaining my meaning, the *amende honorable*. The reason why I 'missed the point of another argument,' resting on the moon being 'about to set' in a south-easterly direction, I have already stated.

That I do not use the Talmud without 'proper caution,' Mr. Taylor may conclude from my paper on the *Chronological Harmony of the Gospels*, which appeared in the last number of your Journal, and which I may be permitted to mention was sent to you more than two years ago. But can he assign so much as the shadow of a reason why the view in question should not have been the view of the whole Hebrew nation in those ancient times, and as indirectly confirmed by so many passages from the sacred writers themselves?

I certainly have relinquished (as I shall most willingly relinquish any error upon satisfactory proofs) my first erroneous translation of *וְכָל הַיּוֹם* in the *pluperfect*; but I remarked at the time that the correction nowise affected my argument, and I cannot consequently, in regard to the meaning of our passage, consider it of the very slightest importance. On the other hand, Mr. Taylor commits a strange mistake in telling your readers that I have 'partially relinquished a second error ("it seemed"), and tacitly abandoned a third ("but in the sight of Israel he said").' Whether *וְכָל הַיּוֹם* be rendered '*it seemed the*' (for this is here, upon grammatical and logical grounds, the more correct translation) '*whole day,*' or '*as if the entire day;*' and *וְכָל הַיּוֹם* '*but he said,*' or '*and he said,*' I care little: the *sense remains precisely the same*; and my opponent has not even attempted to deny the essential property of *וְכָל הַיּוֹם* to be, as stated to be in my first paper, comparative, expressive of what a thing appears or seems to be. That, and that *alone*, is here of importance.

I cannot help esteeming it somewhat bold tactics on his part to declare, as he does, for the purpose of setting aside a view of mine, that I am ignorant of *my own language*, in other words, that, as to the meaning of *וְכָל הַיּוֹם*, my 'appeal to the authority of Gesenius is founded on a mistake, that high authority being *really* on the other side.' He then refers to a *translation* in proof of his somewhat singular assertion. Now I do not wish to inquire into the scope of Dr. Tregelles' 'Corrections' of the German edition of Gesenius' *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*,
from

from which *I* quoted, but will simply reproduce my countryman's own words *sub voce* לָּ, namely: 'No. 3, *da* s. v. a. (in the sense of) *darum*—Jer. xxii. 15, Ps. xl. 8,' (further *sub voce* לָּ: 'לָּ s. v. a. לָּ *adv. dann, da*, Ps. cxxiv. 3-5'); and hereupon leave it to Mr. Taylor to convince himself from any good German-English dictionary that '*darum*' never as yet bore the meaning of either 'then' or 'after that,' but invariably (except in its sense of 'round about') according to the position it occupies in a period, sometimes attracting '*dass*,' the meaning of 'on this (or that) account,' 'for this (or that) reason,' 'therefore,' 'for which reason,' 'because,' 'because that,' etc. But which of these expressions to choose? Knowing that '*darum*' is to be taken in the sense of '*da*,' or '*da*' in that of '*darum*,' the meaning of either particle is easily ascertained. '*Darum*' cannot stand for '*da*' at the commencement of a period; '*da*' not for '*darum*' in the middle of a sentence. Both terms can only be interchanged one for the other, '*darum*' attracting '*dass*' in the middle of a period and at the commencement of a sentence, when they assume of necessity the meaning 'because.'

Mr. Taylor remarks that the passage Jer. xx. 15—

'as the main pillar of my theory' was by me 'supposed, it seems, to be used under the high sanction of the authority of Gesenius. Gesenius *does* refer to it in that place along with Ps. xl. 8 in proof of the meaning "because of that;" and with amusing consistency these two passages have been accordingly transferred to the defence of the imaginary meaning "because." *Need we say more?*

I can well afford with a smile to pass over the first part of this paragraph; but before indulging in similar insinuations, before 'amusing' himself at the 'imaginary' ignorance of others, before publicly accusing an author, who ventures to write in a foreign language, with not knowing HIS OWN; Mr. Taylor, who himself it would appear does *not* understand that language, will no doubt see the propriety of using for the future a little more consideration.

And is it in this wise that your correspondent is wont to STUDY a 'novel view' submitted to his judgment? Certainly it would seem so. My first proposition being, 'Whenever לָּ is used in the Bible in the strict sense of "at that time," it must be regarded'—as the very terms of the rendering indicate—'as the accusative of the noun.' Mr. Taylor states: 'It is sufficiently probable that לָּ was originally a noun (compare לָּ *now*); but we must at present waive such speculations'—a method of study this, of so decidedly novel a character, that I must fear I hold a very antiquated notion in thinking that, when a scholar accepts an invitation to 'study' a certain question, he accepts the duty of entering into it, of examining it in all its bearings, and, in case he sees reason to reject it, to state his grounds for so doing. As to these grounds, let me refer to the high authority of Gesenius, whose opinion in regard to the *fundamental* nature of לָּ is diametrically opposed to that of Mr. Taylor, who believes it to be *adverbial*. *Sub voce* לָּ, at the commencement, Gesenius decides thus: 'לָּ *fundamentally* A NOUN. "Time" (from לָּ, comp. לָּ); next, in the *accusative* "at the time," and THENCE as an adverb of time לָּ "then," etc.' Thus

Thus the question as to the meaning of *יָסַד*, so far as it bears on the contested sense of the passage from Joshua, may be regarded as virtually set at rest. Still, as this opponent assures me that, from the peculiar interest which attaches to the construction of *יָסַד*, he has 'not dealt with my "novel view" of that particle in *as summary a manner* as he *might* have done' (?), I will adopt the same course in regard to his 'theory,' not by waiving all comments upon it, but by examining first into the rules, to which it leads, comparing the same with my own; and, secondly, into those passages which he especially adduces in support of *his* and against *my* view. The result will be found in the appended note.*

In conclusion, I must once more revert to the chief object of our inquiry, embodied in the following text, JOSHUA x. 6-14:—

§ I. (a) 'And the Gibeonites sent unto Joshua, to the camp at Gilgal, to say, "Withhold not thy protection from thy servants, *but* come up to us quickly; save us, help us; for all the Kings of the Amorites, who inhabit the mountains, are gathered together against us." So Joshua broke up from Gilgal, he and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of valour.

§ II. (b) 'And the Lord said unto Joshua: "Fear them not, for, they being delivered into thine hand, not a man of them shall stand before thee." Joshua, therefore, having marched up from Gilgal all night, (d) attacked them straight-ways. And the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way, that goeth up to Beth-horon, (f) and smote them to Azekah and unto Makkedah.

§ III. (e) 'And it came to pass, as they fled before Israel, in the way that goeth down from Beth-horon, that the Lord cast great stones from heaven upon them as far as Azekah, and they perished: they were more, who perished by the hailstones, than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword, because (b) Joshua communed with the Lord on the day, when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel.

(c) 'And in the sight of Israel he said:

"Sun, stand thou still over Gibeon,

And thou, moon, over Ajalon's vale."

And the sun stood still, the moon stayed,

Until the people

Shall have avenged themselves upon Israel's foes!'

'Is it not thus written in the Sepher Hajashar? So the sun stood still midway in the heavens, and tarried to go down, as if he had tarried the entire day.'

§ IV. (g) 'And as regards the Lord's hearkening unto the prayer of a man, there has been no *day* like unto that day, neither before it nor after it, because the Lord Himself fought for Israel.'

I have endeavoured to show, 1st, that, *according to sound grammatical rules, and the internal evidence of Scripture*, the above is a correct rendering of the sacred text; 2nd, that § III. forms an episode in the preceding narrative of the battle of Gibeon, relating the miraculous interposition of the Lord, by a hailstorm, in favour of His chosen people, *at the prayer of Joshua*; and at the same time alluding, in the form of a quotation from a collection of national songs, to the concluding sentence of an address, delivered by Joshua to his army subsequent to his prayer; 3rd, that § IV. refers, and only can refer, to the hailstorm destructive of the Canaanite army, and to the prayer of

* See the note at p. 474.

Joshua, upon which that hailstorm was brought to pass by the Lord; 4th, that the poetical expression of the sentence quoted from Joshua's address to his army, refers to a peculiar, but then common view of the Jewish people, namely that the sun, during their *hour of mid-day*, remained stationary in the heavens, or rather did not perceptibly move onwards in his course; 5th, that the sacred writer, conforming his own expressions to that view, only confirms the *general* truth of his poetical quotation, in order to point out the remarkably short time in which so important a victory—the enemy having been taken by surprise—had been achieved by the Israelites; 6th, that he obviously represents the subject of that quotation as a common occurrence, and not by one single word, not by one single allusion assigns to it, in any sense an extraordinary character; whilst relating, in terms of becoming wonder, the *unparalleled* event of the Lord, at the instance of Joshua, showering down a destructive hailstorm upon the enemy; 7th, that the sacred text, consequently, contains not even a trace of what is commonly regarded as 'the miracle of Joshua;' and 8th, that the belief in that presumed miracle, which has in latter centuries become more or less vulgar, has no other foundation save a *misinterpretation of the Hebrew text* on the one hand, and on the other *the erroneously connecting v. 14 with the poetical quotation from the Sepher Hajashar, instead of with the narrative of the wonderful interposition of God in favour of His chosen people.*

Moreover I have endeavoured to show, 1st, that during the space of *the first fourteen hundred years following the days of Joshua, the sacred writers themselves*, who in the course of that vast expanse of time prophesied, or chronicled the history of their people, have discovered no trace in our narrative of that stupendous miracle, in comparison with which all the miracles of both the Old and the New Testament taken together are as nothing; for they not only do not allude to it, but *Isaiah passes it over in utter silence whilst alluding*, in terms of awe and wonder, to an event *inseparably connected with it*, yet in itself a *common* event, and only rendered 'an act, a *strange* act of the wrath of God,' by the circumstances under which it was brought to pass; 2nd, that the *FIRST* (apocryphal) *author*, who, after a lapse of *fifteen hundred years*, interprets the passage in question in a miraculous sense, does so *in terms which are in positive contradiction with the Word of God*; 3rd, that the *next* author who again, *four hundred years subsequently*, adopts that interpretation, was a *credulous lover of the marvellous and an impositious fortune-teller*; and 4th, that, consequently the *origin* of the interpretation, after such a lapse of time and under such circumstances, bears its condemnation in itself.

Next I have endeavoured to show, 1st, that the presumed miracle being of a *cosmical* nature, must, if it had really occurred, have produced such effects upon the whole human race of the period, as to warrant us in concluding that it would have formed *by far the most prominent feature in the subsequent tradition and history of all nations, as well as the exhaustless theme of the speculations of astronomers*; 2nd, that yet neither in the tradition nor in the literature, whether

whether sacred or profane, of *the whole ancient world* (although extant works in the Hebrew, Sanscrit, and Chinese languages reach up to the period in question, and beyond it), *so much as the slightest trace, so much as the remotest allusion to the presumed event is to be discovered*; and that this unanimous silence is the more striking as some of the labours of the Chaldean astronomers since the days of Moses were still known to the Greeks at the most brilliant epoch of their civilisation, whilst the Chinese observations date from a time more than a thousand years anterior to the birth of Joshua; and 3rd, that the fact of the erroneous interpretation of Jesus Sirach and Josephus having found adherents among the equally credulous of subsequent ages, and at last, in the course of seventeen centuries, raised itself to the level of a more or less vulgar notion among Jews and Christians, is, *in opposition to the universal and unbroken silence of the first fifteen hundred years, and the but once broken silence of the next four hundred years, a circumstance, to which, as regards the truth of that interpretation, absolutely no value whatever can or ought to be attached.*

Lastly, I have endeavoured to show, 1st, that Joshua's address to his army, of which the sacred writer quotes a passage in the words of the poet, was delivered, as it usually is, at the commencement of the battle; 2nd, that, according to the biblical narrative, the battle was decided during the Jewish hour of mid-day; 3rd, that the time necessary for the pursuit of the defeated Canaanites was *limited*, and *solely limited*, on the one hand, *by the distance, to which that pursuit was carried*, and on the other *by the speed of human feet*; 4th, that, from the end of the Jewish noon-tide to the close of the day, comprising an interval of upwards of six hours, this interval affords, in the usual course of things, *more than ample time* for the pursuit and following occurrences related by the sacred writer; and 5th, that, consequently, *there could exist no possible reason for Joshua to desire a prolongation of the day*; but *on the contrary*, that, when he had secured the fruits of his victory, *as far as it was in his power to do*, he must have felt anxious to grant to his army that rest of which they cannot but have stood so greatly in need.

And thus I leave it to your readers, after combining and duly weighing all these various arguments, to decide for themselves whether they will be convinced by *the authority of the Word of God, the power of reason, and the historical testimony of the whole ancient world*; or whether they will yield their judgment to *the force of inherited impressions, the voice of prejudice, and the allurings of the imagination.*

J. VON GUMPACH.^b

^b The discussion of the Miracle of Joshua has run through so many Numbers of the Journal, and has occupied so much of the attention of our readers, that we think it may suitably close here, with the full reply of the author of the article which raised this discussion to the different Correspondents who have questioned his views.—EDITOR.

PROFESSOR WEIR'S ANSWER TO DR. SAMUEL LEE.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

DEAR SIR,—In the Eighth Number of your Journal you inserted a paper of mine on the Tenses of the Hebrew Verb, which, I observe, has brought out two more on the same subject; the one by Dr. Murphy, the other by Dr. Lee. These communications I have read with attention and interest; and, with your permission, I shall now lay before your readers such remarks as they have suggested.

At the outset, however, I must advert to a charge of a rather serious nature which Dr. Lee has brought against both Dr. Murphy and myself. We are accused of appropriating Dr. Lee's ideas and discoveries without due acknowledgment. I think I shall be able to satisfy your readers that there is not the slightest ground for such an accusation.

In expounding the theory of the Tenses which I ventured to propose, I had made large use of the fact that 'the Hebrews were accustomed to regard and describe past events as present, because they transported themselves, as it were, to the period when the events of which they speak took place, and thus viewed and described as if they were spectators of them.' These words Dr. Lee quotes, adding, 'I am sorry that I am under the necessity of finding some fault with Mr. Weir. The truth is, he has taken this, his favourite principle, from my Grammar. . . . I do blame Mr. Weir for not acknowledging the source from which he took it; and from none but my Grammar could it have been taken, for it is nowhere else to be found except in the Grammarians of the East. It was for this, among other things, that I deemed it my duty to chastise Dr. Ewald, and it will presently be seen that I must remind Dr. Murphy of the same plagiarism.' And again, at p. 204—'These are what I term in my Grammar the *absolute* and *relative* uses of the Tenses. In this particular, therefore, Dr. Murphy adopts my theory, just as Mr. Weir has done, and this without one word of acknowledgment as to its author.' And again, at p. 207—'They have, like Dr. Ewald, both ploughed with my heifer, and they have misused her.' Such is the charge; and now let us see how the matter really stands.

1. First of all, let it be remarked, I made no claim to the original discovery of the principle in question. Immediately after the sentence Dr. Lee quotes, I add the following: 'This is a principle which is adopted, to some extent, by all Hebrew grammarians, but is not, I think, carried out far enough by any of them.' I certainly do think that this, which Dr. Lee calls my favourite principle, has been more fully illustrated in my paper than ever before; and all will allow that there is some novelty in the application of it. But the words just quoted will show that I never claimed to be the first to bring it to light.

2. Moreover, it is not true that my paper contains no acknowledgment

ment of Dr. Lee's acquaintance with this usage. At p. 331 of your Eighth Number, your readers will find the following quotation from his Grammar: 'From what has been said, it must have appeared that the writer placing both himself and his reader in times contemporary with the events of which he is treating,' &c.; and I add, 'With the first sentence of this paragraph,' the sentence just quoted, 'I agree entirely, believing it to be precisely the principle which the Hebrew writers adopted.' What terms could have been more express? What acknowledgment more explicit? Yet Dr. Lee, with his eye upon this statement (for he quotes in another part of his letter the words in immediate connection with it), accuses me of adopting his theory without one word of acknowledgment.

3. But the truth is, I do not admit Dr. Lee's claim to be the original discoverer of this Hebrew usage. What will Dr. Lee say if I retort on himself the charge of plagiarism? I make no such accusation, however, for I believe Dr. Lee to be not only a learned Hebraist, but—what is better—an honest man, who would shrink from laying claim to what 'he knows to be another's. And yet the idea which he avers so stoutly to be his own, and which he charges Dr. Ewald and Dr. Murphy, as well as myself, with appropriating without acknowledgment, *is not his*. He has no more right to it than we. I am so situated at present that I have not access to any extensive collection of Hebrew grammatical works, and but little time to consult such a collection, even though I had. But there is now before me a Hebrew Grammar, written by Professor Robertson of Edinburgh, from the second edition of which, published nearly seventy years ago, I extract the following sentences. Your readers will bear in mind the words of Dr. Lee: 'These are what *I term* in my Grammar the absolute and relative uses of the Tenses.' I quote from the notes to p. 248—'Tempora definita, vero, vel *absoluta vel relativa* dici possint. Absoluta tempora ea sunt, quæ in se spectata sine ullâ relatione ad aliquod præcedens sive consequens tempus vel præsentia vel præterita vel futura sunt. . . . Tempora vero relativa sunt, sive non adeo absoluta seu in se spectata, sed *in relatione ad aliquod sive præcedens sive consequens tempus* vel ut Præsentia vel ut Præterita vel ut Futura considerata veniunt. . . . Imperfectum præteritum plane videtur esse *præsens quoddam relativum seu præsens in re præterita*,' &c. Now here we have the very principle which Dr. Lee insists is his and his only. It is plain it once belonged to Dr. Robertson, the author of the Grammar I have quoted; and how Dr. Lee has come to inherit it I cannot conjecture. In truth, if it is to be the property of some one in particular, I think I have myself as good a claim as any other, seeing that Dr. Robertson was a countryman of my own. However, I cheerfully waive my claim, provided Dr. Lee retracts his charge.*

So much for the accusation of plagiarism. Will Dr. Lee pardon

* Dr. Robertson refers to the Dissertations of Koolhaas for a fuller exposition of his views. 'Vir doctissimus Koolhaas, Professor Amstelodamensis, vestigia prædicti De Bruin premens, in dissertationibus suis de analogia temporum et modorum Hebrææ linguæ hanc rem fusius illustravit.'

the suggestion that such grave charges ought not to be thrown about at random? A man's real discoveries, if they are of any value, the public will never permit to be appropriated by another.

Having defended my character, I come now to defend my theory. Had either Dr. Murphy or Dr. Lee convinced me that my views were erroneous, I think I would not have hesitated to avow the conviction. But, so far from changing my views, the discussion that has taken place has tended to confirm them.

It would be tedious and unsatisfactory to go over, clause by clause, those statements of your learned correspondents in which I differ from them, assigning in each case my reasons of dissent. Such a course would necessarily extend the present communication beyond all reasonable bounds. I shall therefore restrict myself to a review of those points that seem most essential.

There is, however, a preliminary matter of some importance which must not be altogether overlooked, especially after the frequent references to it in Dr. Lee's letter—I mean, the place to be assigned in this investigation to the usages of other Oriental languages. To these Dr. Lee again and again points; and he imagines his system derives peculiar support from them. But, after examining all that Dr. Lee has advanced both in his Grammar and in his Examination of Ewald's Theory, it is quite clear to me that the question cannot be settled by an appeal to Arabic or Persian forms of speech. True, there are some analogous tense-usages common to all languages, and others which peculiarly distinguish the languages of the East. But the Hebrew tense-usages are in several respects quite peculiar and distinct from all others. There is no language, so far as I am aware, in which we meet with those uses of the Tenses which constitute the *chief* difficulties of the Hebrew Syntax. The forms of expression to which Dr. Lee appeals are by no means to the purpose. In what other language do we meet with anything corresponding to the so-called 'converse'?^b And yet that is the central difficulty of the Hebrew Syntax. In what other language do we find those *regular* changes from קטל to קטל', and from קטל' to קטל, which we meet with in Hebrew? And even though there were some kindred tongue in which the tense-uses are nearly the same as in Hebrew, that would not greatly assist us. Still, the inquiry with regard to that language would remain—How has this system been formed? What has been the origin of these usages—the source of these apparent anomalies? Thus would we in our new field of inquiry encounter the very same difficulties we meet with in the old, and perhaps in a more complicated form.^c To determine, therefore, the real

^b See Ezra vi. 16-22. Of these seven verses the first three are in Chaldee, the last four in Hebrew. Mark the striking contrast between these portions in the use of the tenses.

^c This, in truth, has proved the fact. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the real character of the tenses in Syriac, Arabic, etc., is as much the subject of discussion as the character of the Hebrew tenses. Dr. Lee seems to stand almost alone, at least among moderns, in his views of the former, as well as of the latter.

real character of the Hebrew Tenses we must examine the Hebrew writings. That theory of the Tenses is the true theory, which is most successful in removing the difficulties which those writings present.

Another preliminary question relates to the terms by which to designate the Tenses. Dr. Murphy strongly objects to those commonly employed—Present, Past, Future. He prefers the terms Anterior, Central, Posterior. It appears to me that old terms, like old friends, ought not to be summarily discarded. In the present case there does not appear to be any strong necessity for the change Dr. M. proposes. A simple explanation is all that is needed to obviate mistake.

I. The leading principle which I endeavoured in my former paper to establish by showing its value in unravelling the intricacies of the Hebrew tense-usages, was this:—that 'the Hebrew writers, instead of keeping constantly in view the period *at* which they wrote, and employing a variety of tenses to describe the different shades of past, present, and future time, accomplished the same object by keeping their own times quite out of view, and regarding as their present the period *not at* which but *of* which they wrote.' In other words; 'In that language an action done and a present action seem to be one and the same thing. The very mention of an action as performed, implies that the action spoken of is regarded by the speaker as actually present. The period of performance is for the moment his standing-point.' Grant me this, I said, and I undertake to explain all the difficulties of the Hebrew tense-system.

This modest request Dr. Lee rejects with indignation. He says, that 'disregarding the paradoxes which it involves, it can lay claim to nothing beyond a thorough-going tissue of assumption.' Now assumption to a certain extent, and in a certain sense, it undoubtedly is. The principle is not put forth as one deduced from the nature of things or from the peculiar conformation of the Hebrew mind, but simply as a hypothesis by means of which to explain some acknowledged difficulties of the Hebrew language. The truth of the hypothesis I rested mainly on its power of explaining these difficulties. If it failed in this, I was prepared to abandon it. But, if it succeeded, at least to a greater extent than any theory before propounded, then I was prepared to show, as I did show, that the principle itself, instead of involving any paradox, is extremely natural, and 'quite in accordance with the habits of thought and expression prevalent in a simple state

To set one's self to discuss and define the tense usages of these cognate languages, as a means of getting at right views of the Hebrew tense-usages, is a very round-about mode of procedure. Rather does the opposite course seem preferable, especially when one has to do with the first principles of language. Explain the uses of the tenses in Hebrew (which I believe to be the oldest of all the Semitic languages, and therefore most likely to contain what is primitive and original), you throw light upon the usages of the later dialects. I believe the views of the Hebrew tenses I have unfolded may be thus extensively applied. Dr. Lee, I know, is no Papist: yet with him traditional usages seem to be more regarded than Scriptural forms, and Arabian grammarians as highly venerated as Latin Fathers.

of society.' While, therefore, it is quite true that the principle in question was *assumed* at the outset, the object of my whole paper was to establish it as a true principle in the only way in which the truth of any hypothesis can be established—by showing its adequacy to the explanation of all the phenomena. Till Dr. Lee proves that I have failed in this, I must be allowed to say that the 'assumption' is on his side, not on mine.

Dr. Lee becomes wrathful again in noticing my remark that, on the principle just noticed, אֵלֶּךָ in Gen. i. 1, may be translated as a present. What I said was this: 'Thus, to take as an example the very first words of the Bible—in the beginning God אֵלֶּךָ the heavens and the earth—this may be rendered either God created or God creates. Adopting the former, we suppose the historian to speak from his own position, looking back on an event long past. Adopting the latter, we suppose him to speak as one present, a spectator—to forget himself and his time, and bring the event prominently before his reader's eye by describing it as present to his own. Either of these renderings may be adopted without in the least affecting the sense of the passage; the latter we deem preferable, because it seems most in accordance with the general structure of the Hebrew language.' And this it was the object of my Essay to show.

Now you will observe I did not pretend to *prove* from this passage that אֵלֶּךָ is a present tense. What I said was substantially this:—Grant me that אֵלֶּךָ may be a present tense here—that such a rendering is *admissible* in such a position, then I undertake to solve all the difficulties connected with the tenses. Dr. Lee, however, after his usual mode, talks of the first verse of Genesis 'being determined to be enounced in the present tense,' and adds: 'Surely it must be extraordinary and not a little abrupt for a historian to commence the narrative of facts which had taken place upwards of 2000 years before his time with a verb in the present tense.' Now this may sound very plausibly to a mere English reader: but let us see how the matter stands. It is not the fact that the narrative begins with a verb in the present tense. The narrative begins with the noun בְּרֵאשִׁית . That term at once fixes the time of which the historian is speaking; and it is in relation to the period thus fixed that אֵלֶּךָ is present. Does Dr. Lee object to this? Let us go on to the third verse, which he would render thus:—And God *says* let there be light. Here, according to Dr. Lee, the historian uses a present tense. But surely,—one may say,—it is most extraordinary for a historian to describe as present an event which had taken place upwards of 2000 years before his own time. No, Dr. Lee will at once reply, for he transfers himself in thought to the time of which he is writing: the act of speaking is present in relation to the state of things mentioned just before. And does not Dr. Lee perceive that my explanation of אֵלֶּךָ is identical with his explanation of אָמַר ? The act of creating, I say, is present in relation to the period 'the beginning' mentioned just before.

Dr. Lee, indeed, lays it down in his Grammar that a writer, in commencing his narrative, 'must necessarily speak of past, present, or future

future time, with reference to the period at which his statement is made.' But the fact is that many of the Scripture narratives begin with what Dr. Lee himself calls the present tense. How does he account for this? His solution is, 'I believe the writer has taken the liberty of transporting himself and his reader into former times without the usual notice, i. e., some term expressive of past time, or a verb in the past tense.' And if so, if the Hebrew writers do sometimes commence their narratives with a present tense even when there is no term expressive of past time accompanying it, is it not extraordinary that Dr. Lee should object to *הָיָה* being accounted a present tense, *when it is actually accompanied by such a term*—the term *בְּרֵאשִׁית*?

Your readers will not be surprised, therefore, that Dr. Lee's remarks have not induced me to abandon, or even to modify, the principle unfolded in my former paper—that the Hebrew writers were accustomed to regard as their present the period not *at* which, but *of* which, they wrote.

To this principle Dr. Murphy has all but given his assent. 'Coming from his own time,' he says, 'the Hebrew thinker takes his stand at a point of time within, or *at least not beyond*, the initial event, and thence takes cognizance of the several events of the series as they move along at their natural pace. The initial event, being usually beyond him, he describes by the proper extreme tense.' And again:— 'He takes his stand next the initial event, on his own side of it, not beyond it. For, in the first place, he has a tacit consciousness of his own time, and thence his imagination has carried him towards the event. When he first meets it, therefore, he finds himself on his own side of it, and to go farther in order to take cognizance of it and give expression to it is unnecessary, if not unnatural.' In accordance with this view he renders the opening words of Genesis:—'In the beginning God has created.' Here Dr. Murphy goes so far along with me that I think we shall one day agree entirely. He supposes Moses, in writing the words just quoted, to leave his own times and go back in imagination till he finds himself but a little way from the act described. But why not go the whole way and look at the act as a present act? To do this, Dr. Murphy says, would be unnatural. But why so? On the contrary, it seems to me most unnatural to travel back in imagination so far and yet no farther. I can easily imagine myself present at some past scene—a spectator of all that is going on: but I cannot imagine myself stationed at a day, or an hour, or even a minute's distance on this side of the event. I can understand how Moses may have described the act of creation as a past act, looking back on it from his own position; or how he may have described it as a present act, coming from his own position and standing in thought a spectator of the scene: but I cannot understand how he could take up the kind of middle position which Dr. Murphy assigns to him. And, indeed, Dr. M. himself admits that such a position is not at all necessary; he admits that the first event may be *at* the point of observation; he speaks of the writer taking his stand at a point *not beyond* the initial event: in all which I go along with him heartily. What he adds to this tends
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to complicate the whole matter and leave the tense-usages in the same state of uncertainty as before.

II. Leaving the consideration of this general principle, let us turn now to the facts of the case. Let us view the tenses, 1. separately, and 2. in combination.

1. That the *PPP* form includes the idea of present time I endeavoured to prove. The argument and illustrations formerly employed I cannot now repeat, as the reasoning was chiefly inductive, and the conclusion drawn from a great variety of particulars. In justice to my argument, therefore, I must ask the reader to examine anew the evidence formerly adduced; the force of the remarks which follow will not otherwise be duly appreciated.

I must begin with noticing the singular mode of reasoning by means of which Dr. Lee affixes the idea of past time to this form. He admits its connection with the participle, and adds: 'The form *PPP* will therefore signify one, or some one, killing, i. e., at any time, past, present, or future, as the context may require. But where no such determining context is given, as the form implies *an agent*, etc., i. e., a being *previously* existing, and hence combined the verbal signification, the *prior* existence of such agent must necessarily be implied; and in the absence of any other determining consideration this might be well taken as supplying to the verbal sense priority of action likewise.' That is, as I take it, the act of killing necessarily implies an agent who kills; that agent must have been in existence prior to the act of killing; therefore the act of killing must have had a prior existence too. Dr. Lee, I remember, in his controversy with Ewald, excused a blunder he had made by reminding his readers that Homer himself sometimes nods. I cannot but think that Dr. Lee was fairly asleep when he penned the sentence just quoted.

I appeal, therefore, from Dr. Lee asleep to Dr. Lee awake. I turn to his Grammar, and there I find the following remark: 'To the present tense the participles and infinitives are nearly allied; that is, either of them, when unrestricted by any other considerations, is generally to be understood *as referring to the present time* either absolute or relative.' And again: 'When it is necessary to announce anything in the absolute *present* tense, either our present tense or *one of the participles* may be used.' And again of the participles he says: 'They include within themselves no particular tense, and are very much like the present, to be construed either in the past, present, or future tense, as the context may require, and may in almost every case be *substituted for the present*.' How is this consistent with what is said above, that the participle 'may be taken as supplying to the verbal sense priority of action,' or with the seemingly contradictory assertion at p. 199 of your last number, that 'it can involve no tense whatever, any more than any adjective or substantive can?' The truth is, we cannot conceive of any act or state without connecting with it the notion of time; and in all cases in which past and future time are not distinctly specified, it is natural to conclude that present time is meant. Hence, notwithstanding Dr. Lee's repeated assertions,

I adhere

I adhere to the conviction that the participle includes within it the idea of the present time, and that it is never employed to indicate any other time than present. See No. VIII. of this Journal, p. 316.

However, my main proof that the קָדַם form is a present tense, I did not rest on its connection with the participle, but on the fact which I endeavoured to establish—that by assigning to it this signification, the most formidable difficulties of the Hebrew syntax might be very easily removed. These I shall notice immediately.

In most of his remarks on my view of this tense, Dr. Lee has confounded what I advanced as simply illustrative with what I advanced as proof positive (compare p. 200 of your last Number with p. 215, etc., of your eighth). And in noticing the examples I cited, he has overlooked the most material parts of my statement. Thus in his remark on Zech. vi. 5, etc., he passes over without explanation the first clause of the sixth verse. He says, 'Then, at verse 6th, the white horses are said to have gone forth.' But why not notice the first clause, in which the participle is used, and on which I founded my first remark on the passage? I adhere to the view of the whole passage formerly given.

Let us now turn to the קָדַם form, which, I undertook to prove, always involves the idea of futurity. In this I only follow almost all Hebrew grammarians, who call it the future tense. Ewald and his followers, with whom in many points I agree, call it the imperfect, as denoting something not yet finished. But, even according to this view, the idea of futurity, *if of time at all*, must be implied in it, seeing it indicates something yet to be done at a certain point of time. My views of this tense being, therefore, in substantial accordance with the views of all Hebrew grammarians, with the exception of Dr. Lee, I need not enter into a lengthened defence of them. One or two points I cannot altogether omit.

'The primary reason,' says Dr. Lee, 'on which Mr. Weir grounds this [that קָדַם is a future tense] is his fact that it is formed on the imperative, which, as such, implies futurity in the action, etc., meant.' To this Dr. Lee objects, 1, that 'in language, practically considered, the imperative does not necessarily imply futurity;' and 2, that 'it is beyond the power of Mr. Weir or any other person to show that the form here taken is not that of the infinitive. Certainly the most respectable authorities are against him both in the East and West, and to these may be added that of Mr. Weir himself, as we shall presently see.'

I am not sure what meaning Dr. Lee attaches to the term 'primary' in the commencement of this paragraph. In such a position it must, I think, be equivalent to *principal*. If this be Dr. Lee's meaning, if he intends to affirm that the principal reason I assigned for accounting קָדַם a future tense was its supposed connection with the imperative, I must say he has entirely misapprehended my statement. And yet that cannot be so either; for in the very next page he says that in truth 'I make no use of my future sense of the imperative.' How both these statements can be correct—the one, that my primary reason
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for believing קִפֹּד to be the future tense is, that it is formed from the imperative, which necessarily implies futurity; and the other, that I make no use of the future sense of the imperative—I cannot understand.

The truth is, my primary reason for taking קִפֹּד to be the future tense was this—that that form, as actually employed by the Hebrew writers, seemed to me uniformly to involve the idea of futurity. This it was my object to show. What I said of its connection with the imperative was subordinate and auxiliary.

Dr. Lee has fallen into another mistake in the close of the paragraph I have just quoted. He says it is out of my power to show that the *infinitive* is not, rather than the *imperative*, the root of the קִפֹּד form; and for this he rather smartly adduces my own authority; thus making me, as he seems to think, a witness against myself. But what is the fact? Why, I stated, as plainly as words can express an idea, that the קִפֹּד form is *just the infinitive* with pronominal prefixes (p. 310). There is, therefore, no difference whatever between those who trace this form to the infinitive and myself. We agree quite; only I added this other statement, that ‘the infinitive is a more abstract and indefinite form of the imperative.’ The imperative, the infinitive, and the קִפֹּד form I believe to be all closely allied; and that on two grounds—the first, their *structure* $\text{קָפַל, קָפַל, יִקָּפַל}$; the second, their *use*, these forms being very frequently interchanged the one with the other.

The idea of futurity I believe to be implied in each, though it has not in all the same prominence. This Dr. Lee denies of the imperative ‘practically considered.’ But he admits that ‘the action implied, abstractly considered, must indeed be future to the command,’—and that is all I ask. That is just the sort of futurity which, I think, is implied in the three forms of the imperative, the infinitive, and the future tenses, and which I endeavoured to trace through a variety of Hebrew idioms. Here, again, I must refer your readers to my former article, pp. 319-324, in which I think they will likewise find a sufficient reply to Dr. Lee’s strictures on some of the examples there adduced.

‘But,’ says Dr. Lee, ‘we have in the next page a better example than this in which to test the soundness of Mr. Weir’s theory. It is Job iii. 3, Perish the day in which I was born $\text{יּוֹמִי יִפְּדֵנִי}$, let I to be born in it, Job going back in thought to a period preceding his birth.’ Dr. Lee’s remarks on the ‘to’ in *to be born* I pass over, as every reader must see at once that I did not intend, as Dr. Lee supposes, ‘to elicit a future sense by means of this particle,’ but simply to give expression in the best way I could to the future sense already elicited. He goes on. ‘But the most extraordinary thing of all is Mr. Weir’s making Job to utter this imprecation before he was born! Surely this is a new thing in the earth!’ And with this thought Dr. Lee is so pleased that he reverts to it in a subsequent part of his letter. ‘How Mr. Weir could have allowed himself to make Job prophesy of his own calamities before he was born is to me a problem too difficult to solve.’

solve.' Now, I must say I do not grudge Dr. Lee or any one else a little amusement now and then ; but, now that the Doctor's laugh is over, I must take him seriously to account.

First, then, I ask Dr. Lee on what ground he affirms that this example is a good one by which to test my theory or any theory.⁴ A good example, as it appears to me, is the example of a mode of construction of frequent occurrence. The more common the usage the greater its value in testing the theory which undertakes to explain such usages. Dr. Lee, however, seems to be of quite the opposite opinion. The rarer an example the more precious he deems it : and so this example from Job he lays hold of as quite a prize.

But, after all, I do not see what Dr. Lee, consistently with his own principles, can object to my explanation of this passage. וְיָלֵךְ, I say, is future, because Job, in thought, goes back to a period preceding his birth, just according to the very principle which Dr. Lee is so resolved to claim and keep as his own peculiar property. If the Hebrew writers in general, even the meanest of them—the humblest prose scribe—had the liberty, as Dr. Lee maintains they all had, 'of placing themselves and their readers in times contemporary with the events of which they are treating,' I cannot understand how so sublime a poet as Job should be chained within the narrow bounds of his own lifetime. If Moses can go back even to the Creation and look on, a spectator of the great transaction, why may not Job be allowed to go back in thought beyond the day of his birth?

But let us see what Dr. Lee himself makes of the passage. He would have us read, 'Perish the day in which I am born,'—that is, to use his own mode of expression, he makes Job prophesy of his own calamities *on the day of his birth*. *Surely this is a new thing on the earth!*

'It will be unnecessary to examine the theory of Mr. Weir farther, as every portion of his article may be brought under one or other of the considerations offered above.' Will it be believed that the portion of my article which Dr. Lee has omitted to notice, is just that in which the chief difficulties of the Hebrew syntax are grappled with—that in which I apply myself to explain the usages connected with the ו converse—*that on which I relied as the main foundation of my theory?* Though Dr. Lee has chosen to pass this over, I must be permitted to advert to its leading features.

2. I therefore pass from the tenses viewed separately to the tenses viewed in combination.

There are two formulæ to which the tense usages, when thus viewed, may be reduced. The one represents the mode of describing what is past, the other the mode of describing what is yet to be. The formulæ are—

1. פקד ויפקד ופקד
- and 2. יפקד ופקד ויפקד

⁴ In the corresponding passage, Jerem. xx. 14, 'Cursed be the day in which I was born,' we have not בְּיוֹמִי נִלְמַד but יִלְדָּתִי בּוֹ.

The theory which best explains these formulæ is the true theory of the Hebrew tenses.

(1.) פקד ויפקד פקד. Let us attend first to Dr. Murphy's explanation of this formula, then to Dr. Lee's. According to the former, the Hebrew writer, beginning his narrative, has the opening event before him in point of time, and therefore employs the anterior tense, i. e. he assumes an imaginary position somewhere between ויפקד and פקד, looking back on the event expressed by the former, and forward on that expressed by the latter. With Dr. Murphy's explanation of ויפקד I agree, but I do think it extremely unnatural to assign such an imaginary position to the writer. This will appear still more clearly by attending to what Dr. Murphy says of the last part of the formula פקד פקד. It is used, he says, in the case of parallel or complementary events. 'At the commencement of the event the mind is before it in point of time; but when it has stated part of it, it finds itself at the end, and therefore after it, and so has to use the retrospective tense to describe so much of it as has not yet been stated.' His example is Gen. i. 5:—And God called יקרא the light Day, and the darkness he called Night ויחשך. In the beginning of this sentence the historian is before the event he records in point of time: he therefore describes the calling of the light Day by the posterior tense. Thereupon he suddenly changes his position, so as to stand in thought not only after the event thus described, but after another event connected with it—the calling of the darkness Night. How much more simple the explanation given in my former paper!—'And as for the darkness, he calls it Night,'—darkness being put in the beginning of the clause, because in emphatic contrast with light mentioned just before; and ויחשך being in the present tense, because, by the very mention of darkness, the mind is fixed on it as a present thing, and on the act of calling it Night as a present act, rather than on the succession of that act, in point of time, to the act mentioned just before—the calling of the light Day. That this explanation, which rests upon the precedence in place of ויחשך, is the true explanation, is farther evident from this—that had this term not been put first and connected with י, we should have had for the verb, not ויחשך but ויחשך, for which, on Dr. Murphy's theory, there is no adequate explanation.

Let us turn now to Dr. Lee's explanation. פקד with him is a past tense, ויפקד a present; ויפקד he looks on as a kind of historical present, the speaker throwing himself back on the period of which he speaks; and for פקד פקד he accounts thus:—'We must not suppose, however, that the Hebrew writers never recur to the original time from which they set out. This they seem to do *optionally*, just as we find it done in the Greek and Latin historians.' On this statement of Dr. Lee I made the following remark in my former article:—'To say that the Hebrew writers recur to their own times, just as the Greek and Latin historians do, is certainly a most extraordinary statement. Dr. Lee has given no explanation whatever of the real facts of the case. He has not hinted at the extreme regularity of the construction. He has given

no reason why the קָדַם form is employed only when separated from the connecting particle. He has left us to suppose that the Hebrew writers vary the use of the forms optionally, whereas, in almost every case, we are able to perceive and assign the reason of the change.' To this objection Dr. Lee has given a reply, to which I beg the attention of your readers. They will find it at pp. 197, 198 of your last Number.

With that reply before me, I again say 'Dr. Lee has given no explanation whatever of the real facts of the case.' He had appealed to the Greek and Latin historians; now he abandons them, and makes his appeal to the New Testament. And what has he proved? What every one knows—that the present tense is often employed by the evangelists to describe past events. But surely Dr. Lee must perceive a marked distinction between this New Testament usage (which he rightly says is to be traced in all languages) and the Hebrew idiom. The thing to be explained is not the use of the present tense in the description of past events, but the fact that the one tense, when so used, is connected with וְ —the other is not. Why is the historical use of the tenses וְקָדַם and וְיָפַקְדָּהוּ , and not וְיָפַקְדָּהוּ and $\text{וְקָדַם$? This is the thing to be accounted for; and yet neither Dr. Ewald, nor Dr. Murphy, nor Dr. Lee, gives any real explanation of it. Dr. Lee does not even hint at such an explanation. He appeals to New Testament usage; but that usage corresponds as closely with the latter of these formulæ as with the former, and *might therefore be as confidently appealed to were the Hebrew use of the tenses just the reverse of what it actually is.*

And yet Dr. Lee closes his remarks on this point thus:—'I conclude, then, that whether my reasons here satisfy Mr. Weir or not, I think my facts as to the occurrence of this usage will prove too stubborn to be got rid of.' To be sure they are. The usage Dr. Lee labours to establish every one admits, but then that is not the usage to be explained. He has proved what needed no proof, and left untouched the real difficulty. He has not given even a passing hint on the connection of the וְ with the one tense and not with the other. This is the great peculiarity of the Hebrew historical style, and yet Dr. Lee does not attempt to account for it.

The explanation I have given is very simple. Viewing קָדַם and יָפַקְדָּהוּ as present and future tenses respectively, and applying the principle adverted to in a former part of this paper, we arrive at an easy and natural solution. The writer takes his stand in thought at the event he records. That event he regards not only as *done*, according to Ewald, but as *done before his eyes*; and therefore he employs the present tense. From the position thus assumed he looks *forward* on the events that follow; and therefore, in describing these events, he employs the future tense, and in such case the verbal form is connected with the initial וְ to indicate its dependence upon the verb going before, and its futurity in relation to the act expressed by that verb. Should some other object, however, be brought prominently before the mind of the writer, so as to be viewed and spoken of as a present object, in that case the object thus placed before the mind's eye is set down in the beginning of the clause, in close connection with the initial וְ ; and the position

position of the writer, in respect of time, being thus carried forward to that object, the future tense necessarily gives place to the present. The result is the same when the copulative is immediately followed, as it often is, by a particle, which itself expresses the succession in time, or, as in the case of אֲל , indicates that there is no succession. See this more fully illustrated and explained in pp. 329-332 of your 8th Number.

(2.) $\text{יִפְקֹד וְיִפְקֹד וְיִפְקֹד}$. On the views just stated, the explanation of this formula, representing the use of the tenses in the description of future events, is not less simple. The object of which the writer speaks is, as usual, looked on as a present object; but the action affirmed of that object is yet to be done, therefore the future tense is employed. If, however, another action or series of actions follows the first, closely connected with it, then the present tense, in union with וְ , is employed to denote this close connection and dependence; but if some other object be brought into prominent view, and therefore placed at the beginning of the clause, or if some particle be necessarily joined with the initial copulative, in such cases the time previously fixed is lost by the introduction of this new object or idea, and therefore the futurity of the series must be indicated anew by the employment of the future tense. See No. VIII., pp. 332-334.

Let me notice the other explanations of this formula. According to Dr. Murphy, 'the spectator, having observed or described the initial event, glances in imagination along the line of action to its close, and standing there contemplates the reverse event of the series as before the point of view, and therefore describes it by the anterior tense with the conjunction prefixed.' As an example, Dr. Murphy cites Joshua vi. 26, $\text{וְיָבִיט וְיִבְנֶה וְיִבְנֶה}$, 'who goes to arise and has built,' as he renders the passage. I cannot but think this view sadly wanting in simplicity and naturalness. I wish to describe a series of future events. I fix my mind on the initial event, and describe it as yet to be. This is natural; but then to add that, in order to describe the other events of the series, I must suddenly change my position from its commencement to its close, and thus look at these subsequent events from a point of view opposite to that from which I viewed the first event of the series—this does seem a strange and unnatural device; and yet this explanation, or something like it, we must have recourse to, so long as the יִפְקֹד form is supposed to involve the idea of past time, whether we call it the past, or the perfect, or the anterior tense.

Dr. Lee, indeed, seems to explain the formula in a manner somewhat different. He says that 'the Hebrews, in common with some other nations of the East, often represent events, of the future occurrence of which *they have no doubt*, as having already taken place.' But I cannot imagine that Dr. Lee himself is satisfied with this explanation. Every one must see it does not meet the case. Were the יִפְקֹד form employed only occasionally and emphatically, when a future event is more than usually certain, then Dr. Lee's explanation might be sufficient; but the fact is that this tense is invariably employed in certain positions, without any regard to the certainty or uncertainty of the event described
by

by it : and, on the other hand, it is never employed in other positions, however certain the event to be described. It were waste of time adducing examples of this. In describing a series of future events, the initial event is usually put in what Dr. Lee calls the present tense ; those which immediately follow, in the past. Will Dr. Lee affirm that the subsequent events in such a series are more certain than the first ? And again, when this order is broken in upon, and the ׀פפ form resumed, will Dr. Lee affirm that this change of form is intended to indicate a lesser degree of certainty ? I must again say of this, as I have already said of another part of Dr. Lee's system, that ' he has given no explanation whatever of the real facts of the case.'

On the theory which I have ventured to propose, every difficulty disappears. The future tense, with which the writer commences, indicates the futurity of the whole series ; the present, with ׀ , indicates the connection of its parts. This arrangement is broken only when some new object is brought prominently before the mind of the writer, in which case the futurity of the event connected with that object must be distinctly expressed.

DUN. H. WEIR.

Manchester, August, 1850.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Interpretation attempted of the Phœnician Verses found in the Pœnulus of Plautus. By WILLIAM BEESTON, of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn, and sometime of Queen's College, Cambridge. London, Cox, 1850.

As it is probable that but few persons in this country devote any special attention to the study of Phœnician remains ; and as it is certain that an adequate acquaintance with Hebrew is the most indispensable, although not by any means the only linguistic requisite for their philological interpretation ; it will not appear at all irrelevant if we first inquire into Mr. Beeston's attainments as a Hebraist : and the rather, as by so doing, the main question will be brought before a much wider, as well as more competent, tribunal.

Fortunately Mr. Beeston has himself supplied ample means for this preliminary inquiry. He published, in the year 1843, *Hieronymian Hebrew ; or, a Grammar of the Sacred Language on the System disclosed by the Writings of Saint Jerome*, 8vo. pp. 68. No title more attractive to our individual taste could have been easily devised. For, what could be more interesting, even in a merely historical point of view, than a systematic representation of the aspects under which the very greatest, and all but the only Hebraist in the whole range of the Fathers regarded the manifold grammatical phenomena of that lan-
guage

guage so long ago as the fourth century? In the sanguine expectation of finding in 'Hieronymian Hebrew' a grammar of the language exactly as Jerome apprehended it—a kind of counterpart to Thiersch's Grammar of the Homeric idiom—we ordered the work, on seeing its first announcement. We leave the reader to imagine our disappointment on discovering that this promising title was only the fraudulent disguise of one of the very sorriest and commonest sketches of the Hebrew rudiments. The Hieronymian part of the bait turned out to be nothing whatever more than this passage, which we cite *entire* :—

'It [the Masoretic system] is recognised by St. Jerome in two passages of his writings. The first occurs in the commencement of his treatise *De nominibus Hebraicis*: Non statim ubicunque ex A, litera quæ apud Hebræos dicitur Aleph, &c. The other will be found in one of his *epistles to Evagrius*: Nec refert utrum Salem, an Salim nominetur,' &c.

Two passages, indeed! Jerome's mere name is mentioned on three other occasions; but the work has not a rag of pretension to exhibit the grammatical system *disclosed* in his writings; or, at any rate, not a whit more claim to do so than every other rudimentary Hebrew Grammar which follows the Masoretic punctuation. Further—as those who have only read Mr. Bosworth's article, in the sixth Number of this Journal, must be aware—it would be a very ignorant presumption to suppose that the vocalisation of Hebrew, as it appears in any of the editions of Jerome's works, is exactly and in all particulars conformable to the Masoretic punctuation; and even if it were, or could be made so, Mr. Beeston does not adhere to it, even when it does agree with it: for, at p. 23, he decides that Kametz, in a compound syllable, should not have the sound of short *o*; and he therefore calls that Haphal which other men call Hophal—when yet there is no doubt that Jerome, for example, pronounced כֹּל *kôl*, as we do.

But as a mere rudimentary Hebrew Grammar also—apart from any Hieronymian pretensions—this is a wretched production, whose only novelties are egregious blunders, and blunders on points too, which might have been found more correctly stated in almost any one of the five hundred Hebrew Grammars which are said to be extant. Let us take a hurried glance at some of his doctrines. At p. 6 we read :—

'Shewaw (:) is nothing but the marks, placed vertically, by which we intimate the pronunciation of vowels drawn asunder by diæresis, as in *Áira*. Put under or over a letter, it directs that such letter must be separated in pronunciation from that which follows it. Thus יְרֵמְיָהּ (Yi-r-m-yah), Jeremiah; אֲמוֹס (Am-os) Amos,' &c.

Now to say the least of it, it is evident from this that Mr. Beeston does not recognise the distinction between silent and vocal Sheva; that he is ignorant of the elementary laws of the Hebrew syllable (*e. g.* that each syllable must *begin* with a consonant, and that the *length* of the vowel exercises a definite effect on simple and compound syllables); and that, with regard to his theory of Sheva being placed *over* the letter—which, as far as we are aware, is perfectly original—he has only mistaken the *accent* Zaqef-qaton for Sheva! In the very next paragraph we learn that—

'When

'When a *vowel-point* and a *shewaw* are added to a letter, they exert their influence on the pronunciation separately. Thus לֹהִים (*E-lo-him*), &c. . . *Shewaw*, when applied to the letter *kheth*, will frequently divide it: thus וְלֹהִים (*W-lak-ho-shech*).'

The first remark is so curiously contrary to the received notions of the nature of the Chatef vowels, that it can only be original; and the absurdity of the *separate* influence of each element in those compounds may be almost termed ingenious. As to the other remark about Cheth, Mr. B. has only had the misfortune to use an indistinctly printed edition of Genesis; for what he conceives to be a Sheva under that letter is only the *accent* Tifcha! to say nothing of the laws of the syllable again. The next paragraph informs us that it is *dagesh* which 'removes the point of ו from the right to the left horn, thus ו , when the letter is called *sin*.' (!) All these Hieronymian novelties are on one and the same page of this work; and it would be an endless task, as well as a sheer waste of time and space, to pursue this inquiry any further. But, lest it should be supposed that we have only noticed the theoretical portions of this Grammar (as some may consider them), it may suffice to add one example that comes most fairly within the region of facts. In the table of *nominal* suffixes he gives ו as the suffix of the first person to a singular noun: there can be no question whether that is a mistake.

If the reader admits the justice of the preceding remarks, and if he has formed anything like an adequate appreciation of the manifold difficulties which beset the interpreter of these Punic verses, he cannot but form a most unfavourable augury of Mr. Beeston's success. As the geologist who attempts, from a few bones of some extinct antediluvian animal, to reconstruct the lost portions of its frame, and to define the precise place to which the creature belonged in the series of its living congeners, ought to be profoundly versed in the structural peculiarities which distinguish each type of animals; so the interpreter of Phœnician remains—for, notwithstanding the disparity of matter, there is no little analogy between the cases—ought to possess so sound and comprehensive a knowledge of the whole *genius* of Semitism, as to be able, from these scanty documents, to revive the lost language in its living proportions, and, at the same time that he allowed it to display peculiarities enough for an idiom, should be careful to preserve its essential harmony with its other sisters. Mr. Beeston, however, neither entertains our views of the difficulties of this task, nor of the attainments requisite to accomplish it. He mentions no other names of his predecessors in this inquiry than those of Bochart and Gesenius, and does not seem aware that Wex, Von Ewald, Movers, and Judas have each published their lucubrations on these difficult lines since the date of Gesenius's great work. He is also content to adopt the text as he finds it in one single edition (that of 1472), although so much has been done by Gesenius, and especially by Wex, to collect the readings of all the MSS. in one conspectus. Thus he has evidently been as little indebted to his predecessors in this walk, as we have shown him to have been in his Hebrew Grammar; and the consequences are the same in both cases. The man who cannot compile a meagre outline
of

of the Hebrew accident with even tolerable accuracy, is of course led, by the very difficulties and conjectural nature of this attempt, to break the Semitic Priscian's head with the most reckless audacity. He shows the quality of his scholarship in his interpretation of the very first line. For he reads *nyth*, and resolves it into נָתַן נָתַן; although even Gesenius had justly remarked that the Hebrew syntax cannot allow נָתַן to occupy that place, as it is only an enclitic. Then he reads אֱלֹהִים, although Bochart saw that that should be עֲלֵיוֹנִים—a form of the common עֲלֵיוֹן—and all the best moderns have followed him. But these are only trifles to what comes next. He discovers, namely, that *sicorathi* consists of 'a verb in the conjugation *shaphel* or *shiphel*,' and of 'נָתַן' (a pronoun of the *first* person singular, invented by him, which he also recognises in two other places of these lines); and he writes this in Hebrew thus: שִׁקְרָא נָתַן. Now, to say nothing about the *causative* force of this conjugation, nor of its existence in Phœnician, it is enough to observe that, if שִׁקְרָא is a verb in *Shafel*, it is in the *third* person singular of the perfect: so that we have here the absolutely monstrous combination of discordant persons in the verb and its subject—and that subject a pronoun! We have, in fact, a concord like קָרַב נָתַן! It is useless, after this, to mention that he sometimes even *transposes* the two nouns belonging together in *state construct*, or to enumerate any of his other freaks. We regret, however, that we have no space to give his translation of these lines, together with the Latin version found in Plautus, and the version lately given by Von Ewald. He would be a grave man, indeed, who could preserve his gravity when he compared them. We also regret being obliged to leave unnoticed some of the merely incidental general statements which this tract contains. Let it suffice to warn the reader who is curious in such things, that we have here but gathered a few grapes of the vintage.

Brief Outline of the Study of Theology. By Dr. FRIEDRICH SCHLEIERMACHER. Translated from the German by WILLIAM FARRER, LL.B. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark, 12mo., 220 pp. 1850.

The translator of the above-mentioned work dedicates the result of his labours to Dr. Pye Smith. When we saw that respected name in connection with that of Schleiermacher, we exclaimed, 'What fellowship is there between English congregationalism and German theology? between the orthodoxy of Homerton and the enterprising thought of Berlin University?' It is true, as the translator remarks, that no adherence to the system of the author is implied either on the part of the translator or his venerable friend to whom he dedicates the work. We wonder, nevertheless, whether the authorities at Homerton wish their disciples to tread in the footsteps of the great German divine; whether they are desirous that some of the 'churches and congregations' should be indulged with Schleiermacher's elaborated thoughts. But we proceed to answer the inquiry, Are we to thank
Mr.

Mr. Farrer for his translation? We will hazard an affirmative reply, though we confess to some misgivings.

The 'outline' is the work of a gigantic mind. It is comprised in a space comparatively small, but the amount of matter is perfectly overwhelming. It is incomparably the most suggestive work we ever read. Every sentence is a mine of thought. In fact, Schleiermacher saw that theology embraced every energy of the human mind, commencing in the inner life, gathering men into communities, and extending a cumulative influence over the coming centuries. He was not satisfied to go over the old routine, or to adhere to the text-books which have served their turn for successive generations, but drew out a plan for widening the study in every direction. He would make each theologian an investigator; he would teach every student self-reliance; he would say to all, Be no longer children, but men. Hence he allows nothing to be taken for granted, and the very modes of arriving at truth are themselves to undergo the sifting process. His ultimate object is practical theology as applicable to church-guidance: but ere we come to this, how many steps are to be built up and secured. We may illustrate this. Let us change the theological professor into a teacher of navigation, and church-guidance into ship-guidance. He does not at once explain the compass and Hadley's sextant, nor does he show in his first chapter how to find the hour of the day by observations of a star's altitude: we must go back to plane-geometry and the properties of the circle, to the construction of telescopes, the laws of optics, and the manufacture of flint-glass and crown. Nay, he will have us know the *development* of the theory of navigation, and the history of every eminent sailor.

It may be conceived that this little book of compressed paragraphs stimulates to enormous activity of research. This seems to be its leading merit. It points out where a man may most profitably direct new labours. It maps out the whole field of theology, and shows almost at a glance where the tracks are well beaten, where the country is comparatively unexplored. One or two of his paragraphs, taken at random, will explain our meaning:—

'Every one who wishes to make himself master of a particular discipline in its whole extent, must make it his object to *sift* and to *supplement* what others have already accomplished therein.'—p. 98.

'There is no such thing as a knowledge with regard to Christianity, so long as men—instead of endeavouring, on the one hand, to understand the essential nature of Christianity in its contrast to other modes of faith and other churches; and on the other, to understand the essential nature of religion and of religious communities in connexion with the other activities of the human mind—content themselves with a merely empirical mode of apprehension.'—p. 99.

His remark on the extent of historical investigation is not flattering to the easy-chair student:—

'If we take into consideration how many auxiliary branches of knowledge are required to follow out the different branches of Church history, it is manifest that this department of labour is of *infinite* extent.'—p. 157.

The main characteristic of the work before us, and that which impresses itself on every part thereof, is the priority given to the study of

philosophical theology. He gives to what he calls historical theology (in which he includes dogmatics as well as ecclesiastical history) a claim to be the body of Christianity; but to the former he assigns the office of ascertaining the pure expression of the *idea* of Christianity. In fact, his mode of answering the question, 'What is Christianity?' is one that wears quite an original aspect to the English reader. In our 'bodies' of divinity we start with the ultimate facts of a great First Cause and the relation of the creature to the Creator, and speedily advance to that objective revelation which we readily admit may be conceived to have been given by God to man. In general we take the Apostle's Creed as the 'trunk-line,' (if we may borrow a railway technicality,) and the propositions that may swell the twelve articles into thirty-nine are so many branches. Calvin's 'Institutes,' Archbishop Usher's 'Body of Divinity,' Pearson's inestimable book on the Creed, (the latter of necessity,) proceed on this homely plan. The German divine, whether professedly or not, gives inspiration a low place in his system, and attributes to the human mind the 'critical' faculty of discovering the *idea* of Christianity. He proposes to take the various modifications of religious faith at present in existence as bearing testimony somewhat contradictory, to aid the inquirers. We subjoin his own enunciation of the problem:—

'It admits of being defined critically by comparing that which, in Christianity, as historically given, with those antitheses by virtue of which it is possible for religious communities to be different one from another.'—p. 104.

In fact, the essential notion of Christianity is to be discovered from the *developments* which have taken place by the efforts of the human mind acting during a succession of ages. The religious communities are presumed to differ among themselves, to progress with time and consequent intellectual modification, but to 'retain a certain unity with regard to this notion.' It is not our fault if the technology of the professor is rather obscure. In fact we should not add to the obscurity if we may be allowed to translate his problem into the language of algebraical analysis.

Let x , the independent variable, represent the element of time; y , the dependent variable, will represent developed doctrine. This is obviously a function of x . Suppose $F(xy)$ to be an unknown function of x and y . Let this be the idea of Christianity which is sought. Every religious system will be represented by a *differential* equation, involving x and y . The critical process alluded to by the Professor will correspond to the algebraic process of eliminating the differential coefficients, and *discovering by integration* an explicit form of $F(xy)$.

Let the mathematical reader judge whether an idea of this kind was not working in the Professor's brain. In fact, we have anticipated in algebraical terms the following *theological* language:—

'It will be necessary to lay down a formula expressive of the peculiar, essential character of Christianity, and, connecting it with that which is characteristic in other religious communities, to take it up, under the said notion, in the way of generalization.'—p. 109.

We

We are here reminded of the peculiar technology employed by Schleiermacher. We know not whether to pronounce it a fault or an excellence that he rigidly avoids the terms of Scripture. His language is throughout that of science, implying that divine things are brought to a scientific test. We believe that in Germany such a mode of procedure has its advantages in reasoning with those whose belief is not founded on the writings of apostles and prophets, but of philosophers and metaphysicians. Moreover, the German language is wonderfully adapted to this enunciation of subtle thought; but, with all deference to the translator, we must avow that English is but a sorry medium to convey it to us. We often wished that he had used the dialect of Athanasius; as assuredly whosoever attempts to utter Anglicè these compound words, expressive of yet more compounded thought, is *ἡ ἀναγινωσκόντι βάρβαρος*.

We have two formidable objections to bring against Schleiermacher, which are quite sufficient to hinder our recommending his work to orthodox readers: first, with regard to his theory of development; and secondly, to his low estimate of the Old Testament. We might add also his idea of the unsettledness of the New Testament canon, which his rejection of the first epistle to Timothy (see page 25) abundantly illustrates. With regard to development, we were ignorant that Protestantism admitted the principle. 'Where,' we ask, 'is the developing *authority*?' Mr. Newman has pleaded consistently, and honestly told us what the CHURCH has invented. His book is, in fact, the most unanswerable argument *against* Romanism which has ever fallen into our hands, simply because we deny the developing power. Mr. N.'s arguments thereby become suicidal; and Schleiermacher's principle would be equally suicidal to Protestantism. Make doctrine a function of time (to revert to our algebraical illustration), and, primitive or normal, Christianity can no longer be a perfect guide.

With regard to the Old Testament, it is because we regard the New as its legitimate development, where *He* wielded the developing power who said, 'I came not to destroy, but to fulfil,' that we bow to its inspired claims to our allegiance. It is not because it is occasionally quoted (as Dr. S. hints, p. 140) that we are to study it, but because it is the word of truth and the power of God; because those Scriptures are 'they which in every page testify of Christ.'

The translator has evidently had to cope with enormous difficulties, which he has mastered with extraordinary skill.

THREE ESSAYS: *The Reunion and Recognition of Christians in the Life to come; The Right Love of Creatures and of the Creator; Christian Conversation.* By JOHN SHEPPARD. London: Jackson and Walford. 12mo., 236 pp. 1850.

THE great recommendation of the above essays lies in their unpretending character. The author forewarns his readers not to expect any original strokes of genius, or any brilliant discoveries in theological science. He says in his preface, 'That nothing new, properly speak-

ing, may be here elicited or adduced; and that he is only encouraged by the belief that, within a certain circle, old truths and hopes discussed by one known and remembered, may have kinder welcome and more indulgent acceptance than as if treated of by a stranger's pen. Such is his excuse for publishing thoughts to the defects of which he is unfeignedly sensible.' With this previous warning we have read the little volume, not without pleasure and profit. The author's views are always scriptural and safe. His own mind is clear and fully determined in regard to the subjects on which he treats. His reasoning is close and consecutive, and all his points made out to our entire satisfaction. In fact, we never read a book that more completely disarmed all criticism. We feel as if we had been taking a quiet walk with a sober sensible friend whose conversation abounded in good sense and whose ideas followed one another with a regular flow. The tone of his voice might be occasionally monotonous, and we might be glad of a turn in the road to give variety to our excursion; but we liked our friend well, and were sorry to say adieu. The first essay on future mutual recognition has the most pretending title of the three. We are not sorry to see this truth enforced, as there are many to whom it is not so obvious as we have been always accustomed to think it. We have long been in the habit of declaring publicly our belief in the 'resurrection of the body' and the 'communion of saints.' To infer mutual recognition seems therefore quite as legitimate as to deduce from the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid that an equilateral triangle is also equiangular. However angelic we shall be, to use a word of Mr. Sheppard's coinage, our personal identity cannot disappear, and scarcely less the faculty of personal identification. We assume, therefore, that we are raised the same beings as heretofore, and with a recognizable aspect. And if there is a communion of saints, this mutual identification will be one of its first features.

It is curious, however, to see how carefully the essayist cuts his parallels and prepares his approaches. He exhausts his subject most laboriously, and brings a great array of scripture-proofs to demonstrate in succession a future life, the existence of a church on earth, the future resurrection, the heavenly assemblage, &c. We find no fault with this. There are many readers (we will scarcely say thinkers) to whom this will be most useful. But this species of *warfare*, where the enemy does not make his appearance, has a species of Woolwich Common dulness in comparison of the excitements of a real battlefield.

In the second essay, the subject is of a practical character. The love of God is a topic on which too much can never be said. But the more important a subject is for enforcement from the pulpit, the more difficult is it to bring to bear a sufficient amount of original thought to make a new essay desirable, and for the reason that the mine has been already worked out. The humblest missionary may command attention by his account of a newly-discovered tribe in the interior of Africa; the most illiterate sailor may interest us with what he saw within

within a few degrees of the pole; shipwrecks and captivity have annals that need not an accomplished annalist; but it requires a lofty genius to astonish the world with an old pulpit-theme. We were pleased, however, to find a novel, and so far, an exciting, feature in the treatment. The author conceives himself to be listening to the instructions of an unfallen being.

'I come, says the stranger, from the small planet which your astronomers have named Ceres; one of those happy worlds into which evil has not entered. Among its joyful inhabitants the law of love is universally obeyed.'

This is perhaps an original stroke: but the author is puzzled to invest him with much more than mundane wisdom. After all, he is listening to himself. Like the disputant who was in his dream vanquished by a rival's arguments, which were, in fact, the productions of his own brain, our author supplies the revelations of the planet Ceres from the stores of the planet Terra. And so we find it. Beyond claiming a retentive memory and a capacity of enlarged judgment, he is very like one of us. In fact (p. 186), he implies that he has read Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' and most of the information which he gives is drawn from sound old Puritan divines.

The last essay, that on Christian conversation, comes, as we think, within a more practicable range. It does not tread, like the first, in the region of dogmatic theology; nor, like the second, borrow a theme from the pulpit; but taking up a subject which, strictly speaking, belongs to neither, is more likely to convey lively and agreeable instruction. It is the philosophy of the tea-table, and shows in an engaging manner how Christians in their mutual intercourse may convey mutual improvement. The author guards against the common faults of religious conversation, whereby it too often degenerates into cant, or, by being abruptly intermingled with untimely jests or common-places, may defeat its own object.

On the whole, we gladly recommend this book. It does not pretend to assist theologians, but it abounds in common sense and clear views of Scripture that will serve to supply most useful meditation to a large class of those who attend perhaps an intelligent ministry, but have not leisure to extend their studies beyond that range of topics to which the pulpit is confined. To such readers this book will serve to gather into unity some of their scattered ideas.

We subjoin a paragraph on Love, which we think a very fair example of our author's style:—

'You know how diversely the sentiment is modified through this gradation of instances, and how truly it may be styled in many respects another, though in one respect the same. If you love a flower, or tree, or fountain, the sentiment is only that of pleasure and admiration at beauty in this work of God, and perhaps some refreshment from it; if a fine statue or painting, there is mingled a gratification in witnessing the imitative skill conferred on man. In loving a gentle and docile bird, or a handsome and faithful dog, your sentiment involves fondness—care to protect—pity when it suffers. Love to the infants or children of others partakes the same qualities, but with a totally different and far higher feeling, of concern as to the capacities, perils, and hopes of their nature; while in love to your own child there is associated with all this the tender-sense of a oneness wholly peculiar. Gratitude for kindnesses, or for reciprocal affection, often enters deeply, as years

go on, into this parental love, and it is not excluded even from your love to that sagacious animal who would do his master good offices if he could, and sometimes has done so. Whereas in love to a depraved and wretched outcast, gratitude, fondness, esteem, are alike impossible; and compassion for a being who casts away its own capability of happiness is the only emotion of which such love consists. But the grateful emotion becomes far stronger and more elevated between equals, friends, and partners. In filial love (when it is what it ought to be) respect and deference more largely mingle with grateful and confiding affection; and those qualities are yet more dominant, if not exclusively manifested, in deferential esteem for a just and kind superior, or loyal attachment to a beneficent sovereign. Lastly, in love to the great Author of your being, the sentiments of pity and solicitude, as well as of fondness or familiarity, are totally excluded; while those of awe and veneration combine with profound gratitude for countless benefits, and admiring homage to unsearchable perfection.

Standard Library of British Divines. The Works of John Owen, D.D. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM H. GOOLD. With a Life of Owen. By the Rev. A. THOMSON, B.A. Johnstone and Hunter, London and Edinburgh. 1850.

THE first volume of Messrs. Johnstone and Hunter's great enterprise has at length appeared. We wondered greatly at the low price at which they proposed to give a new edition of Owen's works, and our wonder is only increased when we look at the handsome octavo before us, at its paper, printing, and external costume. The publishers have faithfully kept their promise—'good edition,' 'large type,' 'good paper.' Sixteen volumes of such elegant workmanship for three guineas is verily the cheapest of intellectual luxuries; and we rejoice, both for the sake of the churches as well as the publishers, that they have received three thousand subscribers to their scheme.

But mere cheapness and material beauty are not enough to commend a reprint of the works of Owen; we desiderate revision and accuracy. The productions of this theological Titan have long been disfigured by numerous and grievous blunders; and the last edition (London, 1826) literally swarms with them. We have for many years been alternately amused and angry as we read its Greek quotations; nor is the Latin much superior. Indeed the editor, Mr. Russell, shrunk from the duty of verifying the quotations, and formally confesses his incompetency and unwillingness to correct the barbaric Greek. But the editor of Johnstone and Hunter's reissue braces himself for the laborious task. We have ample faith in his ability and honesty; and his preface, modest and businesslike, is proof of his zeal in the work, which, like a hearty scholar and divine, he welcomes as one of love. The first volume of this Edinburgh edition contains the well-known treatise on the 'Person of Christ.' We turned at once to its preface, as printed in the last London edition, and to the first Greek quotation that met our eye, and we found that the editor of the reissue before us has printed it in his edition with no less than twelve different corrections of twelve scandalous blunders, and that in a citation only occupying six lines. Such scholarly accuracy, added to its cheapness, surely makes this last edition a permanent benefit to the Christian ministry and all students of the Puritan theology. Again, in the first Greek quotation
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of any length which occurs in the same preface, there are eight various blunders in the last London edition corrected by Mr. Gould in the present volume; and we have no doubt that these specimens are indices to the character of the two editions. We must again add that the terms of the prospectus are fully realized in the first volume of the issue: the work is 'unexceptionably good and unprecedentedly cheap.'

We are not called upon in such a case as this to speak of Owen's theology, as another occasion may present itself. Our province is simply to pronounce upon the character of this new edition of his multifarious treatises. We cannot omit, however, to notice the record of his life and labours prefixed to this volume. Mr. Thomson has a thorough and cordial appreciation of Owen's character, position, genius, struggles, and achievements. The memoir is quite captivating; and though it is based principally on Orme's, it has all the freshness, piquancy, and charm of an original production. The various scenes of Owen's life are depicted with graceful fidelity, and the many foul insinuations heaped on the Puritan Vice-Chancellor are easily and admirably rebutted. The memoir is too short, however, to do any thing like justice to Owen's numerous works: the literary sketches which Mr. Thomson has drawn are faulty only through their brevity. Mr. Thomson has set in a clear light what were Owen's views of church government—that they were by no means strictly Congregational, nor fully Presbyterian, but akin in many points to both these forms of ecclesiastical order and fellowship. The leading characteristics of Owen's mind, as embodied in his theology, are also truthfully delineated; and instructive matter on many collateral topics is elegantly blended with the narrative. The biography, like the engraved portrait preceding it, is a happy and faithful likeness.

In one word, Owen was a mighty man, with an elephantine mind, somewhat massive and unwieldy, but at the same time overpowering and irresistible from its very bulk and energy. Occasionally entangled in a sophism of his own creation, he rudely bursts the fetter, all unconscious of its existence. He is only weak when he ventures into the field of critical literature, where, most surprisingly, he is at once bewildered and paralysed. But in his own chosen domain, he scarce feels he is crushing an argument when his weighty logic falls upon it. When he plays wittily with an antagonist, his attempted gentleness is terrible in its aspect. His slightest *pat* is death to his victim. And though his system of theology is not invulnerable at all points, nor in all its elements self-consistent, still it is a noble structure—formed like the ancient altar of unbewn stones, but firm, compact, and well proportioned. What better mental discipline than to read and master Owen's scheme of Christianity! His writings on practical and experimental theology are rich and pure—the product of a simple faith and a tried and holy spirit. And we cannot but regard the revival of an interest in his writings as an auspicious omen in these days of 'rebuke and blasphemy,' when a conceited and paradoxical philosophy lifts its vaunting brow, and arrogantly questions the reality and advantage of that Revelation, whose claims none could better defend, whose doctrine
none

none more clearly and fully understood, and whose laws none more cordially and humbly followed, than this 'light and glory' of the Cromwellian era. Were the Theology of Owen fully studied, understood, and appreciated by the younger ministry, the glare and tinsel of superficial sermonizing would vanish from our pulpits, and flashy oratory, so innocent of all good effect, would be replaced by eloquent divinity and solid instruction.

Biographical Notices of some of the most distinguished Jewish Rabbies, and Translations of some portions of their Commentaries, and other Works, with illustrative Introduction and Notes. By SAMUEL TURNER, D.D. New York.

THIS is a valuable little work, and we are somewhat to blame in not having sooner introduced it to the notice of our readers. The author is a most distinguished Biblical scholar, who has produced some works of great value, but less known on this side the Atlantic than they deserve to be. This is doubtless owing to their not possessing that popular character which booksellers require in the works they reprint; while it must be admitted that American books, not reprinted, are all but inaccessible to those who most need them, on account of the high price at which they are offered in this country. It is an impression that a large demand might be created for the productions of the American press in Biblical and educational literature, were arrangements made for supplying them at a price not materially larger than that for which they are furnished in America. Original works of this kind are not cheap even there, and can the less bear the heavy additional charge at which they are offered to the English reader. The present author's excellent Companion to Genesis, which is priced at one dollar in Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana*, costs or did cost 8s., or nearly two dollars, in London.

The author of the work before us expresses his conviction that for any probable success in labouring for the salvation of Israel, it is essentially necessary to obtain some knowledge of the state of Judaism in the world, of its leading articles of religious belief, and of the principles and views advanced in the works of their standard authorities:—

'The intelligent Christian missionary to the Jews will not content himself with a general acquaintance with the Hebrew Bible. Some knowledge of their Rabbinical works is indispensable, both for his own respectable standing among them, and also that he may be able to develop inconsistencies with the revealed law, and erroneous principles, whereby prejudice is strengthened, and religious blindness perpetuated. And here the Church of Christ has generally been, and is now, in a very great degree, deficient. The writings of learned Jews are sealed books to the great mass of the Christian clergy; and it may be presumed that this is true also of some of those whose ministrations are especially directed towards their conversion.'

In harmony with these considerations, and with the view of facilitating in some slight measure an acquaintance with Jewish commentary, this little work has been produced. The first portion of the volume is occupied with very interesting biographical notices of
Jarchi,

Jarchi, Judah Halleivi, Aben Ezra, Maimonides, David Kimchi, Abarhanel, and Saadiah the Gaon. This is succeeded by different Commentaries on Isaiah ix.; on Isaiah lii. 13–liii.; on Hosea i.–ii. 1; on Daniel ix. 24–27; and on particular passages—and the work closes with extracts from the Yad and the Moreh Nevochim of Maimonides.

Our sense of the value and importance of this work is shown by our having appropriated a considerable space in the present Number to the reproduction of that portion of the specimen commentaries which refers to Isaiah lii. 13–liii. The most essential importance of becoming acquainted with the Jewish views on this portion of Scripture will, we are certain, be recognised by every reader, and will secure for this specimen of the work an almost eager perusal—the passage being one which is almost always the first that comes under consideration in any discussion with Jews, and a natural anxiety is generally felt to know how they can fail to recognise the Messiah Jesus in ‘the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief.’

We sincerely trust that Dr. Turner may find adequate encouragement to persevere in his endeavours to induce Christian scholars and divines to cultivate a larger acquaintance with Hebrew literature.

The Four Gospels Combined; or the Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as narrated by the Four Evangelists. Being a Chronological Arrangement of the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in the words of Holy Scripture according to the Authorized Version, and omitting repetitions only. 12mo. London. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE design of this publication is to present one continuous narrative of the life of Christ, without deviating from the words of Scripture. This is a less easy task than it may seem to many, and has been repeatedly attempted with various success. That task seems in the present instance to have been skilfully and most carefully executed, with results which will leave few readers unsatisfied. It may be supposed that in combining the four books it would be necessary to introduce connecting words or sentences so frequently, as to affect the identity of the original narratives: but this, the author assures us, has not been the case:—

‘It is so entirely otherwise, that, although the chain of the separate narratives has been broken and linked together again in more than 1800 places, the only additions necessary to maintain the connection are the following:—The words *or*, *in*, *it*, *her*, *him*, and *them* have been introduced once only; the word *the* has been inserted twice; the word *they*, four times; the word *he*, six times; the word *and* twenty-three times.

‘In the exposition of the parable of the Sower, the singular number is used by Matthew, and the plural by Mark and Luke; in combining them it was necessary to assimilate them in this respect. Matthew mentions two men possessed with devils coming out of the tombs; Mark and Luke confine their narratives to one man only. Continuity has been preserved by introducing the words *one of them*.

‘By interrupting the words of one Evangelist to introduce those of another, a pronoun has in a few instances been removed so far from its antecedent as to produce obscurity. This has occurred seven times, and has been obviated by repeating the antecedent noun (in a parenthesis) after the pronoun.’

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These are the only interpolations, and they are distinguished by being printed in italics. It will be imagined by many that much of the text must in this operation be omitted. On this point, we are assured, that not a single word in 'either Gospel' has been intentionally or knowingly omitted, unless the same, or a synonymous, or more comprehensive word has been found in another Gospel and adopted. We must confess, however, that we are somewhat surprised to learn that the omission of all the repetitions reduces the combined length of the four Gospels by about *one eighth only*. The words omitted in the Book of John, as being comprised in the other Gospels, are equal to only fourteen verses, or a sixty-third part of the whole book.

The Annotated Paragraph Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms; with Explanatory Notes, Prefaces to the several Books, and an entirely new selection of References to Parallel Passages. Part I. The Pentateuch. London. The Religious Tract Society. 1850.

THIS will probably be found one of the most useful and important undertakings of the Religious Tract Society, which has now become quite as much a Religious *Book Society*. The present work is founded upon the 'Paragraph Bible' of the same Society, and the difference between the two is indicated in the difference of title. The present work is 'Annotated,' and the 'Paragraph Bible' is not. Other differences that we note are, that the introductions to the several books are somewhat extended, that the sections are more distinctly marked, and that the marginal references are given in a side-column, instead of being set at the foot of the page, where it was no easy matter to find the particular reference required.

In the Explanatory Notes, which form the distinctive feature of this work, it is stated that—

'The chief objects have been to give improved readings where the present translation appears incorrect or faulty—to elucidate what is difficult or obscure—to bring out the true meaning and force of the text—to illustrate the language of sacred writers by references to the manners, customs, geography, and history of the countries and of the times in which the events of the Bible occurred—to show the harmony and mutual connection subsisting between different parts of the inspired writings, and the progressive development of Divine truth—and, in short, in every practicable way, so far as the limits would allow, to promote the right understanding of the Scriptures. In order to do this, the help of the most judicious Biblical critics and commentators has been diligently sought; and the endeavour has been to give in a small compass—in a condensed, but at the same time convenient and popular form—the substance of what the learning and piety of successive ages have contributed to the elucidation of the word of God.'

So far as we are able to judge from the portion before us, this description of the Notes is fully substantiated by the contents. They are very concise, as well as careful and judicious, and rarely incorrect. It must have been exceedingly difficult to compress so much information within the narrow compass of these Notes; and, upon the whole, the work seems to us rather under than over-annotated.

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This will, however, be regarded by many as a merit in this age of over-doing ; and, as the work stands, it will undoubtedly form, when completed, one of the most *serviceable* editions of the Bible which has been produced. This was what has been intended, and the intention has been fully realized.

Objections to the Doctrine of Israel's Future Restoration to Palestine, National Pre-eminence, etc. With an Appendix on the Ten Tribes and the Future Destinies of the World and the Church. By EDWARD SWAINE. Second Edition. London ; Jackson and Walford. 1850. Pp. xvi.-163.

THIS little work is deserving of more attention than many larger books of greater pretension. It is evidently the production of a devout mind well acquainted with revealed truth. The arguments in favour of the restoration and national supremacy of the Israelites have always appeared to us unsatisfactory, and we commend this small but well-considered treatise to the study of those who are inclined to favour these arguments. It is well that they should see what can be advanced on both sides of this contested question. The modesty of Mr. Swaine contrasts favourably with the confidence of writers on the other side. We cannot help remarking, that the spirit of many of the advocates of millenarian opinions is unworthy of the careful student of Scripture, who is sincerely desirous of knowing the will of God. Mr. W. S. Chauncy, in the contemptuous spirit of his party, has remarked that ' to notice the objections which have been made against a mass of evidence so vast and detailed as is furnished on this subject in the Scriptures, must appear futile to all who bestow a due attention on their perusal ' (*Unaccompl. Prophecy*, p. 96) : nevertheless, we assure him that the objections of Mr. Swaine deserve more consideration than he and his party seem disposed to admit. The reasons assigned for objecting to Israel's restoration to Palestine are thus stated in the author's Introduction :—

' 1. Because unsupported by the New Testament. 2. Because at variance with the genius of Christianity. 3. Because the allusions in the New to the language of the Old Testament, and the use made of those allusions, are opposed to it. 4. Because there are phrases, terms, and passages in the Old Testament, which cannot be taken literally, or without qualification ; and which yet have an equal claim to be so taken with the phraseology adduced in support of a literal restoration ; while the literal meaning of others is negatived, some by the New Testament authority, and some by the mode of their collocation, or by the sense expressly attached, or otherwise attaching to them. 5. Because there was only one prophet (Malachi) after the last reformation of Nehemiah until the Christian era, and he does not predict any future deliverance of the Jewish nation ; thus leaving us to conclude that the predictions of former prophets were fulfilled, as to their literal import, on the return from Babylon, and the subsequent prosperity, and therefore had no reference to the present dispersion. 6. Because the doctrine is encumbered with certain difficulties which are not necessary to be encountered, because obviated by an interpretation more simple and more in harmony with the general tenor of the word of God, than that upon which the said doctrine is built. The difficulties are of three kinds. (1.) Arising from the magnitude of the events necessarily implied. (2.) Arising from the ordinary course of things. (3.) Arising from the apparent contradiction to Scripture testimony which the doctrine involves. 7. Because the doctrine is fruitless

fruitless of good, and prolific of bad effects on the public mind in general, and on the minds of the Jews in particular.'

Seldom does the author mention a writer by name, either for confirmation or confutation; but he gives as thorough an examination of the Scriptural argument as his limited space will permit. From some allusions, he seems to be imperfectly acquainted with the literature of the question. For instance, in p. 123, he recommends certain articles in the *Congregational Magazine*, in which 'the whole system of the modern millenarians has been so ably refuted;' but it would have been more to his purpose to have referred to the ablest work on the same side, that of the Rev. David Brown on *Christ's Second Coming*. His desire to be brief, too, has left some sentences apparently open to objection. For instance, he says (p. 158), that the millennial holiness and happiness of men shall progressively 'go on, without any serious interruption, or interval, any *loosing* of Satan,' till the trumpet shall sound, the dead be raised, and the living changed. Are we to understand our author as denying that after a thousand years 'Satan shall be loosed a little season' (Rev. xx. 3)?

But as a whole the book is excellent, and has our cordial commendations.

The Mercy Seat: Thoughts suggested by the Lord's Prayer. By GARDINER SPRING, D.D., New York. Edinburgh; T. and T. Clark. 1850. Pp. 222.

DR. SPRING is favourably known on this side of the Atlantic by previous reprints of his popular and useful volumes. This is a careful reprint of his interesting treatise on the Lord's Prayer. It is popular rather than profound, being meant for the general reader rather than the student. It is illustrative rather than explanatory; but the illustrations are remarkably apt and interesting. It is divided into sixteen chapters, on the various clauses of the Lord's Prayer, and some collateral topics. There are some subordinate subjects treated at disproportionate length; as, for instance, the chapter on War, which is the longest in the volume—having a bearing, though not very direct, on the fifth petition. As a whole the treatise is well entitled to the attention of the reader, and is written in the simple and attractive style of the writer.

The Highway of Holiness. By the Rev. WALTER WEIR, Minister of Longformacus. Edinburgh; M. Macphail. 1849. Pp. 192.

THIS is a long discourse, or rather series of discourses, on Isa. xxxv. 8-10, 'An highway shall be there,' etc. In the author's words: 'The history of this little book may be simply told. During some solitary walks, the extreme beauty of the sacred text upon which it is founded was greatly impressed upon the writer's mind; this led to some thoughts being committed to paper, until these branched out, and the volume attained its present size.' It consists of ten chapters, on the following subjects;—the preparation of the highway of holiness—the way itself—those

those not in it—preparation for walking in it—examples of those in it—encouragements, duties, difficulties, enjoyments of those in it—end of this way.

The book indicates an earnest and pious spirit, but the style of thought and expression is rather commonplace. It appears to contain an abstract of pulpit discourses; and to the author's congregation it can hardly fail to prove interesting and useful.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

NOTICE.—We omitted to point out in our last Number that we had therein commenced a new plan of affixing letters to the articles of our contributors, generally excepting Notices of Books. In dropping the plan of giving the names in full, some inconvenience was experienced, which it was thus attempted to obviate. From the latitude of discussion allowed, within certain well-understood limits, to the Contributors, it was found embarrassing that the absence of any sign of individuality, and the use of the plural number, should give an editorial responsibility to all the articles; and, on the other hand, the use of the first person singular by some of our contributors, while it indicated the individuality of the writer, rendered the absence of any signature awkward. For these reasons, as well as to enable the reader to distinguish the different articles *by the same writer* from those by other writers, we have affixed *alphabetical* characters to all the articles, and the same characters will always be affixed to the contributions of the same author. These are sometimes the actual initials of the writers; but (as the object is to individualize, and not to identify them) they are more usually selected arbitrarily from the alphabet.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF NEANDER.—In addition to the information respecting this eminent and lamented scholar, contained in the letter of Dr. Tregelles, we have the satisfaction of presenting our readers with the following interesting communication, copied from the (American) *Literary World* for August 24, in which it appears as reprinted from the *Boston Transcript*:—

'*Berlin, July 22.*—Neander is no more! He who for forty-eight years has defeated the attacks upon the Church from the side of Rationalism and Philosophy—who, through all the controversies among theologians in Germany, has remained true to the faith of his adoption, the pure and holy religion of Jesus Christ—Neander, the philosopher, the scholar—better, the great and good man—has been taken from the world.

'Augustus Neander was born in Göttingen, of Jewish parentage, in 1767; studied at the Gymnasium at Hamburgh; at the age of seventeen was converted to Christianity and baptized. After his conversion he went to Halle to study theology under Schleiermacher. Having completed his studies, he was first appointed in 1811 private lecturer in Heidelberg, and in 1812 professor at the newly-founded University in Berlin. He was never married, but lived with his maiden sister. Often have I seen the two walking arm-in-arm upon the streets and in the parks of the city. Neander's habits of abstraction and short-sightedness rendered it necessary for him to have some one to guide the way whenever he left his study to take a walk, or to go to his lecture-room. Generally, a student walked with him to the University; and just before it was time for his lecture to close, his sister could be seen walking up and down on the opposite side of the street, waiting to accompany him home.

'Many anecdotes are related of him illustrative of his absence of mind, such as his appearing in the lecture-room half-dressed; if left alone, always going to his old residence after he had removed to another part of the city; walking in the gutter,

gutter, etc. In the lecture-room, his manner was in the highest degree peculiar. He put his left arm over the desk, clasping the book in his hand, and after bringing his face close to the corner of his desk, effectually concealed it by holding his notes close to his nose.

In one hand was always a quill, which, during the lecture, he kept constantly twirling about and crushing. He pushed the desk forward upon two legs, swinging it back and forth, and every few minutes would plunge forward almost spasmodically, throwing one foot back in a way leading you to expect that he would the next moment precipitate himself headlong down upon the desks of the students. Twirling his pen, occasional spitting, jerking his foot backward, taken with his dress, gave him a most eccentric appearance in the lecture-room. Meeting him upon the street, with his sister, you never would have suspected that such a strange-looking being could be Neander. He formerly had two sisters, but a few years ago the favourite one died. It was a trying affliction, and for a short interval he was quite overcome; but suddenly he dried his tears, calmly declared his firm faith and reliance in the wise purpose of God in taking her to himself, and resumed his lectures immediately, as if nothing had overtaken him to disturb his serenity.

Neander's charity was unbounded. Poor students were not only presented with tickets to his lectures, but were also often provided by him with money and clothing. Not a farthing of the money received for his lectures ever went to supply his own wants: it was all given away for benevolent purposes. The income from his writings was bestowed upon the Missionary, Bible, and other Societies, and upon Hospitals. Thoughts of himself never seem to have obtruded upon his mind. He would sometimes give away to a poor student all the money he had about him at the moment the request was made of him, even his new coat, retaining the old one for himself. You have known this great man in your country more on account of his learning, from his books, than in any other way; but here, where he has lived, one finds that his private character, his piety, his charity, have distinguished him above all others. It would be difficult to decide whether the influence of his example has not been as great as that of his writings upon the thousands of young men who have been his pupils. Protestants, Catholics, nearly all the leading preachers throughout Germany, have attended his lectures, and all have been more or less guided by him. While Philosophy has been for years attempting to usurp the place of Religion, Neander has been the chief instrument in combating it, and in keeping the true faith constantly before the students. Strauss's celebrated *Life of Jesus* created almost a revolution in the theological world. At the time of its appearance the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs consulted Neander's opinion as to the propriety of prohibiting its sale in Prussia. Neander, who at that time was reading lectures upon the *Life of Christ*, replied that as his opinions were in direct opposition to those of Strauss, he would write a book, in which he would endeavour to confute the dangerous positions taken by that author. He could not advise to the prohibition of the work: it had already taken its place in the scientific world, and could only be put down by argument. "Our Saviour," said he, "needs not the assistance of man to maintain his Church upon earth." Neander's principal lectures were upon Church History, Dogmatics, Patristic, and the books of the New Testament. His lecture-room was always well filled; and one could see, from his earnest manner, that his whole soul was engaged in the work—that it was to him a labour of love. Neander's writings have been translated, and are well known in America. The principal among them are *Julian and his Times*, 1812; *St. Bernard and his Times*, 1813; *The Development of the Gnostic System*, 1818; *St. Chrysostom*, 1822; *History of the Christian Church*, which has reached its tenth volume; *The Anti-Gnostics*, 1826; *Planting of the Church by the Apostles*, 1832; *Life of Jesus*, in reply to Strauss, 1837.

He was better acquainted with the Church History and the writings of the Fathers than any one of his time. It has been the custom, upon the recurrence of his birthday, for the students to present to him a rare edition of one of the Fathers, and thus he has come to have one of the most complete sets of their writings to be found in any library. Turning from his great literary attainments, from all considerations suggested by his profound learning, it is pleasant to contemplate the pure

pure Christian character of the man. Although born a Jew, his whole life seemed to be a sermon upon the text, "That disciple whom Jesus loved, said unto Peter, *It is the Lord!*" Neander's life resembled more "that disciple's" than any other. He was the loving John, the new church Father of our times.

His sickness was only of a few days' duration. On Monday he held his lecture as usual. The next day he was seized with a species of cholera. A day or two of pain was followed by a lucid interval, when the physicians were encouraged to hope for his recovery. During this interval he dictated a page in his Church History, and then said to his sister, "I am weary—let us go home." He had no time to die. He needed no further preparation: his whole life had been the best preparation, and up to the last moment we see him active in his Master's service. The disease returned with a redoubled force, a day or two more of suffering, and on Sunday (less than a week from the day of attack) he was dead.

On the 17th of July I attended the funeral services. The procession of students was formed at the University, and marched to his dwelling. In the meantime, in the house, the theological students, the professors from Berlin and from the University of Halle, the clergy, relatives, high officers of government, etc., were assembled to hear the funeral discourse. Professor Strauss, for forty-five years an intimate friend of Neander, delivered the sermon. During the exercises, the body, not yet placed in the coffin, was covered with wreaths and flowers, and surrounded with burning candles. The procession, which was of great length, was formed at 10 A.M., and moved through Unter den Linden as far as Frederick Street, and then the whole length of Frederick Street as far as Elizabeth Street Cemetery. The whole distance (nearly two miles), the sides of the streets, doors and windows of the houses, were filled with an immense concourse of people who had come to look upon the solemn scene. The hearse was surrounded by students, some of them from Halle, carrying lighted candles, and in advance was borne the Bible and Greek Testament which had ever been used by the deceased.

At the grave a choir of young men sang appropriate music, and a student from Halle made an affecting address. It was a solemn sight to see the tears gushing from the eyes of those who had been the pupils and friends of Neander. Many were deeply moved, and well might they join with the world in mourning for one who had done more than any one to keep pure the religion of Christ here in Germany.

After the benediction was pronounced, every one present, according to the beautiful custom here, went to the grave and threw into it a handful of earth, thus assisting at the burial. Slowly, and in scattered groups, the crowd dispersed to their various homes.

How insignificant all the metaphysical controversies of the age, the vain teachings of man, appeared to us as we stood at the grave-side of Neander! His was a far higher and holier faith, from which, like the Evangelist, he never wavered. In his life—in his death—the belief to which he had been converted, his watchword remained unchanged: "*It is the Lord!*" His body has been consigned to the grave, but the sunset glory of his example still illumines our sky, and will for ever light us onward to the path he trod.—AGINDOS.

LITERARY SOCIETY OF JERUSALEM.—A letter from J. Finn, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul at Jerusalem, is in private circulation, from which we learn with great satisfaction that the small English colony in Jerusalem has instituted a Society for the investigation of all subjects of interest, ancient or modern, scientific or literary, belonging to the Holy Land, with the Anglican Bishop for its patron, and with corresponding members in Jaffa, Safet, Beyrout, and Damascus. The formation of a library and a museum has been commenced, to which liberal access will be afforded to persons of all nations and religions, under certain simple regulations. It is proposed that the library shall be not only of a general character, but shall have an express Oriental department, for books and manuscripts in Asiatic languages. During the few months of its literary existence, the Society has had twenty-two weekly meetings, for reading original papers, and the exhibition of curiosities, and have erected a handsome sundial for public benefit. An experimental garden for practical horticulture has been commenced. The interest felt in the country by Europeans is now far greater than has been known for many ages past, and it is chiefly shown by the increase of travellers resorting thither,

thither, many of them being persons eminent in rank and learning. For their advantage, as well as for that of the residents, it becomes desirable to have a library of reference, and something of literary intercourse to offer them. 'There is,' Mr. Finn remarks, 'scope enough here for the exercise of great talents and industry, in the birth-place of Christianity, surrounded by Asiatic institutions and processes of the human mind; there is an interesting range of investigation to be found among unknown products of nature; we have strange combinations of the human family presented for study in this religious centre of the world, and ancient languages are spoken here every day and all day long. The land given to Abraham, with all its chequered history subsequent to the donation, can never fail to demand attention, and our aim is to explore not only what might be matters of curious research in any country, but impartially to record whatever may corroborate the Sacred Scriptures of the Bible.' It is stated that pecuniary aid in the purchase of books, especially old books relating to Palestine, and a few philosophical instruments, will be most acceptable. Contributions for the library are invited, and will be received by Messrs. Wertheim and Macintosh, booksellers, 24, Paternoster Row, who will forward boxes occasionally, by sea to Jaffa; and any information required can be obtained through J. B. M'Caul, Esq., St. Magnus Rectory, London Bridge.

Biblical as well as all other literary intelligence is meagre at this time, the rather as it is expected that the publishing season will be delayed even to the spring, to meet the concourse expected in London at the Industrial Exhibition. For continental intelligence, we must refer to the letter of Dr. Tregelles, inserted among our CORRESPONDENCE.

We have seen a large specimen, extending to Romans xv., of a work which is, we understand, to be published in November. Its title, which well describes its object, is this:—'*The Chronological Testament*, according to the Authorized Version, newly divided into Paragraphs and Sections, with the dates and places of transactions marked, the Marginal Readings, and many illustrative Parallel Passages printed at length, to which are added letters over each of them as a help to devotional Self-Examination.' This work consists of a new and judicious arrangement of the text into sections and paragraphs. Figures are placed on the right over each section to mark the order of time. By this simple process a sort of Harmony has been produced, while the text of each Gospel remains in its usual order. The dates of each transaction are attempted to be ascertained, and are exhibited at the top of the marginal columns; localities, certain or conjectural, are given; each book has a brief introduction; the chronological position of each of the Epistles is marked, by figures in the Book of Acts and over each Epistle, while the present order of our Testaments is preserved. Every section is headed with its own subject matter; and in the Epistles a condensed analysis of the argument is given. Quotations from the Old Testament are printed in a different type (small capitals), and this we very much approve, as it enables the reader to see at a glance what and how much of the Old Testament is contained in the New. Speeches are marked by inverted commas; letters are placed over the sections, to assist in the devotional reading of the New Testament by reference to a schedule provided by the Editor: thus the letter A indicates the question 'What *Acknowledgment* to God does this declaration require from me?' The marginal references are given, and a selection from them are printed in full along the sides. This part of the plan has been anticipated by Mr. Moody's work, noticed in our last Number, with this difference—that Mr. Moody gives all the references in full at the foot of the page, while here a selection, very judiciously made, is given in the margin alongside the text. The advantage of this publication, in its multifarious utilities, seems to be, that it combines in one work the advantages which have hitherto been attained only in many different publications and editions of the New Testament. The design seems to us very praiseworthy, and it appears to have been executed with care and judgment. We cannot but augur well for its success.

It appears that there is some prospect that the Journals of Seetzen will at last be published. This enterprising traveller was several years in Syria and Palestine, from 1803 to 1809, when he went to Egypt; and perished at last by poison in Arabia

Arabia in 1811. His journals were written out by himself during his residence at Cairo. They were recovered and received in Germany in 1822 or 1823. Immediate measures were taken for their publication, and it is much to be regretted that these were broken off, as the original value of the papers must have much diminished by 28 years of delay.

Messrs. Hall, Virtue, and Co., announce a serial work under the title of the *Protestant Sacred Library*, which is to comprise Treatises on the Doctrines, Morality, and Evidences of eminent Christianity; select Sermons of Divines, the most interesting specimens of Religious Biography, and the choicest examples of Devotional and Sacred Poetry. There are to be original Introductory Essays, Memoirs, and Notes, by Dr. J. Pye Smith, Dr. Cumming, Dr. Stebbing, Dr. Croly, and others. Each work is to be published without abridgment, and to be carefully revised and collated. The first volume will consist of Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, with a Memoir by Dr. Croly. This scheme seems similar to one started some five and twenty years ago by Messrs. Collins of Glasgow, and which, if we recollect aright, likewise commenced with Butler's *Analogy*, with an Introductory Essay from the pen of the Rev. Daniel Wilson, the present Bishop of Calcutta.

Among the announcements of Messrs. Longman we find 'Amended Translations from the Original Hebrew of various passages of the Authorized English Bible, with notes Critical and Explanatory; exhibiting the true sense of many passages of Scripture hitherto unintelligible to the majority of Christians, and on which the greatest difference of opinion now exists among the learned, by Charles Dalton.'

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- Bible.—The Annotated Paragraph Bible; containing the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms; with Explanatory Notes, &c. Part I. The Pentateuch; with 2 maps and 2 engravings. Super-royal 8vo. pp. 216.
- Blackburne (Rev. J.)—"Why are they then baptized for the dead?" a Supplement to the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. 8vo. pp. 116.
- Brown (Rev. Dr. J.)—Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, illustrated in a Series of Expositions. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 1704.
- Capes (J. M.)—The Bible History; for the use of Young Persons. 12mo. pp. 386.
- Caunter (Rev. J. H.)—An Inquiry into the History and Character of Rahab. By the Rev. J. H. Caunter. 8vo. pp. 380.
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- Douglas (J. of Cavers)—The Structure of Prophecy. 8vo. pp. 132.
- Four (The) Gospels combined; or, the Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as narrated by the Four Evangelists; being a Chronological Arrangement of the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. 12mo. pp. 376.
- Holy Bible (The), containing the Old and New Testaments, according to the Authorized Version, arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms, and printed Phonetically.
- Kelly (J.)—Discourses on Holy Scripture; with Notes and Illustrations. By John Kelly. 12mo. pp. 372.
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- Legge (Rev. Dr.)—Christianity in Harmony with Man's Nature, Present and Progressive. 8vo. pp. 174.
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- Margoliouth (Rev. Moses)**—A Pilgrimage to the Land of My Fathers; or a Narrative of Travel and Sojourn in Judea and Egypt. 2 vols. 8vo.
- Mohammed, Life and Religion of**, as contained in the Sheeâh Traditions of the Hyât-ul-Kuloob. Translated from the Persian by the Rev. James L. Merrick. 8vo. (Boston, U.S.) pp. 300.
- Montgomery (Rev. R.)**—God and Man: being Outlines of Religious and Moral Truth according to Scripture and the Church. 8vo. pp. 423.
- Neander (Dr. A.)**—Light in the Dark Places; or, Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages. Fcp. 8vo. pp. 416.
- Oliver (Rev. William)**—Family Piety; or the Elements of Domestic Religion familiarly illustrated and practically enforced. 12mo. pp. 480. Belfast.
- Owen (John, D.D.)**, the Works of, edited by the Rev. W. H. Goold. Vol. i. Standard Library of British Divines. 8vo. pp. 612.
- Robinson (Dr. E.)**—A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament. New edition, revised and in great part re-written. 8vo. pp. 612.
- Sears (Barnas, D.D.)**—Luther, his Mental and Spiritual History. 12mo. pp. 422.
- Theory of Human Progression, and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice.** 8vo. pp. 525.
- Yad-Namuh: a Chapter of Oriental Life.** Post 8vo. pp. 300.

FOREIGN.

- Chastel (E.)**—Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme dans l'empire d'Orient. 8vo.
- Ewerbeck (Hermann)**—Qu'est-ce que la religion? d'après la nouvelle philosophie Allemande. 8vo.
- Felice (G. de)**—Histoire des Protestants de France, depuis l'origine de la Réformation jusqu'au temps présent. 8vo.
- Knobel (Aug.)**—Die Völkertafel der Genesis. 8vo. (Giessen).
- Polyglotte Catholique, ou Exercices de linguistique, en douze langues, comprenant les principes élémentaires, théoriques et pratiques, de la loi Chrétienne.** 8vo.
- Raumer (K. v.)**—Palästina. 3rd edition. 8vo. (Leipz.) 2 plans and a coloured map.
- Ritter (C.)**—Erdkunde, Vol. XV. Die Sinai Halb-Insel, Palästina u. Syrien. Vol. 2. 8vo. (Berlin.)
- Testamentum novum, Graece et Latine.** C. Lachmannus recensuit, P. Butmannus graecae lectionis auctoritates apposuit. Tom. II. 8vo. Berolini.
- Testamentum vetus, Graece, juxta LXX interpretes. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos Novi Testamenti parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephraemi Syri, Friderici-Augustani subjunxit, commentationem isagogicam praetexit Constantinus Tischendorf.** 2 vols. 8vo. (Lipsiae.) pp. 1340.
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- Wolf (R. A.)**—Der erste Brief Johannis, in kirchl. Catechisationen. Vol. I. 8vo. (Leipzig.)

. Although the names of the Contributors to this Journal are no longer given in connection with their articles, the publication still remains an organ for the discussion of subjects in Sacred Literature. The views advanced will thus necessarily vary, and are to be regarded as those of the several writers; the Editor not being held responsible for every opinion and argument, but only for the general adaptation of the article to the design of the Journal.

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